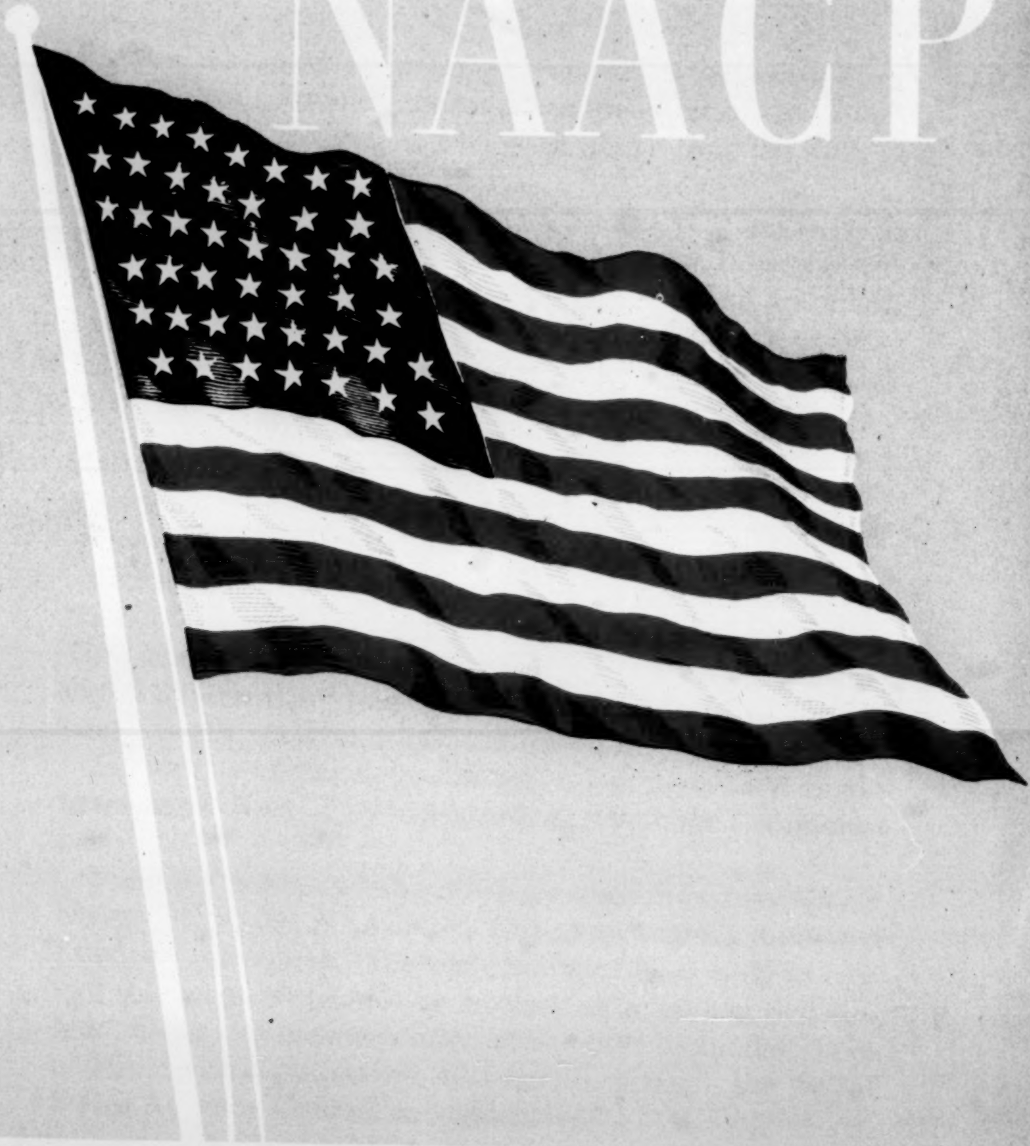
[1956, June]

NAACP



AN AMERICAN ORGANIZATION

I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands; one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

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THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE is an American organization. Its philosophy, its program and its goals derive from the nation's hallowed democratic traditions.

From the beginning, the task of the NAACP has been to wipe out racial discrimination and segregation. It has worked always in a legal manner, through the courts and according to federal and state laws and the United States Constitution. It has also sought the enactment of new civil rights laws and the development of a favorable climate of opinion.

The Association, as the record plainly shows, has won many battles in the long struggle for first class citizenship for Negro Americans. These successes have aroused the anger of those who believe in the Jim Crow way of life.

The leaders of this outmoded system have declared war on the NAACP because it has spearheaded the fight for equality. They have passed laws, invoked economic sanctions, and resorted to threats, intimidation and violence in their efforts to wreck the NAACP and halt the march of progress.

In recent years the defenders of this lost cause have sought to smear the NAACP by falsely linking it with the Communist party.

The more reckless white supremacy spokesmen have openly charged that the NAACP is "Communist-dominated" and listed as "subversive." The more cautious have tried to convict the NAACP of "guilt by association," claiming that certain officers and members have, at one time or another, been affiliated with organizations subsequently listed by the United States Attorney General as "subversive."

The NAACP position on the Communist party is clear and unequivocal.

1. ***The NAACP is not, and never has been, listed as subversive by any federal official or agency.***

Neither the United States Attorney General nor the House Un-American Activities Committee includes the NAACP on a list of subversive organizations. Both the House and Senate committees empowered to investigate subversive activities have at times been headed by such avowed white supremacists and declared enemies of the NAACP as Representative John Rankin and Senator James O. Eastland, both of Mississippi. The NAACP has never been called before either of these committees because there has never been any evidence of Communist domination of the organization.

Citation by the House Un-American Activities Committee is not proof of subversion. Before each citation the Committee places the following notice:

> "The public records, files and publications of this committee contain the following information concerning the subject individual. This report should not be construed as representing the results of an investigation by or findings of this committee. It should be noted that the individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler unless otherwise indicated."

A citation may merely be a record that some unnamed person has made an accusation. Anyone can be so cited.

Senate committees, after investigation, have found so little substance in some of these citations that they have approved confirmation for high federal appointment of certain persons so named.

2. *The NAACP was established and its basic anti-segregation program formulated before the Communist Party of the U.S.A. was organized.*

The NAACP grew out of a conference called on Feb. 12, 1909, the centennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth. Its basic policies were formulated in the early years. The Association's annual report for *1913* declared: "We intend to push vigorously the fight against segregation in all its forms."

It was not until 1919, after World War I, that the Communist party was organized in the United States. It was not until years thereafter that the Communists initiated an active program to enlist the support of American Negroes.

3. *The NAACP is not now, and never has been, in any measure dominated by the Communist party.*

Because of the NAACP's strongly pro-American program and policies, the organization has been under constant attack by the Communist press and spokesmen who have repeatedly branded the Association as "reformist" and "reactionary." Leaders of the NAACP have been called "tools of capitalism," "Wall Street stooges," and "collaborators with the lyncher-bosses of the South."

A 1932 Communist pamphlet, *Negro Liberation,* by James S. Allen, a party spokesman, asserts: "An imperialist policy, softened with meaningless mumblings of protest, is followed by National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its leaders."

Reporting to his party's eighth convention in Cleveland, Ohio, April 2-8, 1934, Harry Haywood, a longtime Communist functionary, said:

> "Among the Negro reformist organizations we find the chief role is still allotted to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In the leadership of

> this organization, we find Negro bourgeois reformists of the type of Walter White, Pickens, Schuyler, DuBois en bloc, with white liberals ('enlightened' imperialist elements) of the type of Spingarn, Mary White Ovington, etc., and even outspoken imperialist politicians such as Senator Capper, Governor General Murphy of the Philippines, etc.; also open Negro reactionaries of the type of Dr. Moton of Tuskegee."

4. *The NAACP has a long record of fighting the Communist party.*

The unscrupulous tactics of the Communist party in the notorious Scottsboro case of the early 1930's were exposed and attacked by Walter White, the Association's late executive secretary. Writing in *Harper's* Magazine of December, 1931, Mr. White charged: ". . . that at least some of the Communists did not want the nine boys saved but sought instead to make 'martyrs' of them for the purpose of spreading Communist propaganda among Negroes." Later, in his autobiography, *A Man Called White,* published in 1948, he denounced "the cynical use of human misery by Communists in propagandizing for communism."

The Association's official organ, *The Crisis,* asserts editorially in September, 1931, that for twenty years the NAACP "has fought a battle more desperate than any other race conflict of modern times and it has fought with honesty and courage. It deserves from Russia something better than a kick in the back from the young jack-asses who are leading Communism in America today."

Time and time again, *The Crisis* scored the Communists for their scandalous tactics and warned against efforts to mislead Negroes. An editorial in *The Crisis* for March, 1949, written by Roy Wilkins, then editor, pointed out that the purpose of the Communists in trying to gain a foothold in the Association "is *not* to build a better NAACP to fight more effectively for civil rights for Negroes under the American Constitution, using legitimate American methods, but to operate one more front group to confuse and embarrass Americans and the American government in the present contest of ideologies."

When the Communists, in 1949, demanded, in the name of "unity," a place in the NAACP-sponsored Civil Right Mobilization, Acting Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins promptly and bluntly rejected the demand. Responding to William L. Patterson, executive director of the Civil Rights Congress, Mr. Wilkins reviewed the history of Comunist betrayal of the Negro and attacks upon the NAACP.

"In the present Civil Rights Mobilization," the NAACP leader told the Communist spokesman, "we have no desire for that kind of cooperation, or that kind of 'unity.' We do not believe it will contribute to the success of the campaign. On the contrary, we believe it will be a distinct handicap. . . . It seems to us that the organizations of the extreme Left, when they campaign for civil rights, or in behalf of a minority, do so as a secondary consideration, activity upon which is certain to be weighted, shaped, angled, or abandoned in accordance with the Communist party 'line.' We can have no truck with such unity."

Writing in the *American* Magazine of December, 1951, Mr. Wilkins said:

> "The greatest failure of the American Communist Party has been the complete fizzle of its attempt to recruit millions of American Negroes into a fifth column for Stalin . . . Their colossal failure can be chalked up to one simple fact which the

> Communists either ignored or just did not comprehend: The American Negro is an *American*. The vast majority of our colored citizens have never even been fellow travelers; a few have been hitch-hikers for short stretches when it served a particular purpose. True, they are dissatisfied with their treatment, often angry and bitter, but at bottom they are loyal to America and its ideals."

5. ***The NAACP has firmly and consistently turned back efforts of the Communists to infiltrate the organization.***

Because the Communists have periodically tried to penetrate and capture the NAACP, the Association's annual convention in Boston, June, 1950, passed a resolution "directing and instructing the Board of Directors to take the necessary action to eradicate such infiltration and, if necessary, to suspend and reorganize, or lift the charter and expel any unit, which, in the judgment of the Board of Directors, upon a basis of findings of the aforementioned investigation and study of local units, comes under Communist or other political control and action."

Previously, in 1947, an NAACP West Coast regional conference had passed a resolution "condemning and actively opposing" efforts of the Communist party to influence the local units of the organization.

Meanwhile, NAACP leaders and *Crisis* editorials repeatedly pointed out the danger of the Communists and urged the membership to be on the alert to keep them out of the organization.

Unable to make a successful penetration of the NAACP, the Communists have on several occasions tried to set up competing organizations under their direct control. Among these defunct organizations have been The American Negro Labor Congress, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, National Negro Congress, and the Civil Rights Congress.

6. *The NAACP has, from its beginning, enjoyed the support of eminent Americans of both races and all faiths.*

Many famous Americans have held membership in the NAACP, some of them serving as officers or members of the national board or of special committees. Others have been presidents of local branches. Some have expressed their appreciation of the work of the NAACP in addresses before Association conventions and conferences.

Among the 53 outstanding educators, publicists, clergymen and social workers who signed the original call for the organization of the NAACP were Jane Addams, famed head of Hull House in Chicago; Samuel Bowles, publisher of the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican;* Professor John Dewey of Columbia University; William Lloyd Garrison, the Boston Abolitionist and his grandson, Oswald Garrison Villard, publisher of the New York *Evening Post;* William Dean Howells, at that time the nation's leading literary critic; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; Bishop Alexander Walters; Mary White Ovington; Lincoln Steffens; President C. F. Thwing of Western Reserve University; Dr. Henry Moskowitz; Rev. John Haynes Holmes; William English Walling; Ida Wells Barnett; and many others.

The Association continues to enjoy the support of men and women of the calibre of the signers of the original call. Distinguished persons in government, in business, the arts, science, organized labor, the church, education and the law serve the NAACP in various capacities. Both President Eisenhower and former President Truman have addressed NAACP meetings. These and other Presidents have regularly sent messages of greetings to NAACP conventions.

Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York City has annually proclaimed "NAACP Week" as have mayors of numerous other American cities. In his 1956 proclamation, Mayor Wagner cited the NAACP as "an American organization working for American goals within the framework of the American constitutional system."

The late Senator Arthur Capper, Republican of Kansas, was a member of the Association's Board of Directors and was at one time the president of the NAACP branch in Topeka, Kans. The late Harold Ickes, who served as Secretary of the Interior under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was at one time president of the Chicago NAACP branch.

J. Edgar Hoover, whose business as head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation is to know who is and who is not a Communist, has said:

> "Equality, freedom and tolerance are essential in a democratic government. The NAACP has done much to preserve these principles and to perpetuate the desires of our founding fathers."

7. ***The NAACP has been exonerated by the nation's press of the Communist smear.***

The press of the country, including the pro-segregation newspapers of the South, has generally recognized that the attempt to pin the red label on the NAACP is a fraud. Writing in the New York *World-Telegram and Sun* of May 19, 1956, Frederick Woltman, who won a Pulitzer Prize in journalism for exposing red infiltration, said that of the various organizations the Communists tried to penetrate, "the NAACP was one of the least receptive." Further he wrote:

> ". . . NAACP's top leaders have sternly resisted Communist inroads. Not only are they opposed to the philosophy and strategy of communism, but they realize the Communists' first allegiance goes to Russia and world revolution. And that the Red tag would mean the kiss of death to their entire movement. Consequently, the Communists have waged intermittent war on Roy Wilkins, the late Walter White, and other NAACP officers."

Other newspapers have editorially dismissed the charges of Communist domination.

The Cheraw (S.C.) Chronicle: "It is simply not true that the NAACP is a Communist-inspired organization."

The Fayetteville (N.C.) Observer: ". . . let it be said that the charge of Communism has not been proved against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

The Springfield (Ill.) Journal: "If Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia has proof that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a 'front and tool' for subversive groups in the United States, why didn't he cite chapter and verse to substantiate his claim? He has no such evidence, of course."

The Florence (S.C.) News: "The NAACP is highly unpopular in our Southland, but it isn't illegal. In spite of extreme speeches and editorials, it hasn't been properly identified as an arm of the Communist Party."

The Louisville (Ky.) Times: "The NAACP is not a conservative organization. But neither is it subversive. It has consistently fought attempts by Communists to gain inroads among Negroes. It is an aggressive organization . . ."

The Greensboro (N.C.) Daily News: ". . . difference of opinion by no means justifies this campaign to smear the NAACP with the paintbrush of subversion . . . J. Edgar Hoover, whose vigorous hostility to any organization even faintly tinged with Communism is widely known, has frequently praised the NAACP."

8. *The NAACP is a thoroughly American organization.*

In a keynote address opening the Association's 40th annual convention in Los Angeles on July 12, 1949, Roy Wilkins eloquently summed up the Americanism of the Negro and the NAACP in the following memorable statement:

> "In demanding these things — that our national government enact a civil rights program and that mobs, whether they be lynchers in Georgia or swimming pool hoodlums in Missouri, be blotted out — we do not cry out bitterly that we love another land better than our own, or another people better than ours.
>
> "This is our land. This is our nation. We helped to build it. We have defended it from Boston Common to Iwo Jima. We have helped to make it a better land through our songs, our laughter, our expansion and clarification of its Constitution and its Bill of Rights, through our talents and skills, all the way from Benjamin Banneker who helped to lay out Washington, D. C., to Ralph Bunche who made peace a working reality in 1949.
>
> "No, we are Americans, and in the American way, with American weapons, and with American determination to be free, we intend to slug it out, to fight right here on this home front if it takes forty more summers — until victory is ours."

9. *The NAACP makes no concession either to the Left or the Right.*

The business of the NAACP is to work for civil rights, for the elimination of racial barriers, for an America with full equality for all its citizens. It was founded for, and has adhered to, this high purpose. The Association does not propose to be diverted from this goal by the enemies of our country, either of the Left or the Right. The Association will not be intimidated by the threats and smears of the white supremacy cabal. Nor will it let down the bars against the red conspiracy. The Association will continue to operate as an American organization.

June, 1956

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 West 40th Street New York 18, N. Y.

[ca. 1958, April 14]

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

(September 23, 1955 to April 14, 1958)

NASHVILLE
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

by anna holden

To accompany

A First Step Toward School Integration

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

Price of Chronology, 10¢ each

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Suit Filed

September 23, 1955 - Parents and guardians of twenty-one Negro children refused admission to neighborhood public schools file suit.

December 15, 1955 - School suit amended to include two white children, also refused admission to neighborhood schools; the children, whose parents teach at Fisk University, live in a predominantly Negro neighborhood.

Preliminary Discussion and Planning

February 6-7, 1956 - Twenty-seven community organizations sponsor Workshop on School Desegregation, with over 500 attending night sessions; participants in this second Desegregation Workshop report the community is "positively oriented toward the Supreme Court decision on desegregation of the public schools, but there is no active movement toward desegregation."

March, 1956 - School board holds open meeting to adopt desegregation plan, instead invites 80 people present to give views; representatives of various groups speak for and against desegregation.

March 21, 1956 - School board votes to postpone adopting desegregation plan until after court decision

March 27, 1956 - School case heard by Federal three-judge court; judges grant continuance in case, at board's request give board until fall term of court to present desegregation plan.

May 30, 1956 - Nashville Community Relations Conference, newly formed bi-racial human relations organization, requests members to urge school officials to start desegregation in the fall.

October 29, 1956 - School board votes partial desegregation plan to be submitted to Federal district court; plan calls for desegregation of first grade, September, 1957, continued study of desegregation; race of students in school defined as valid condition for transfer.

Acceptance of Plan and Support

February 20, 1957 - Federal district court accepts school board plan with one change: board is ordered to bring in complete plan for desegregation of all grades by December 31, 1957, with a time schedule for accomplishing plan.

March 14, 1957 - School board passes resolution authorizing planning for desegregation, calls on "people of good will to join in its attempt to comply with court orders. . . ."

April 2, 1957 - Nashville Council of Parent-Teachers Associations adopts motion approving the board's school desegregation plan.

Increased Opposition

June 23, 1957 - Parents Preference Committee formed to spearhead drive to see that children go to school of parents' choice. This Plan would require three school systems - one Negro, one white and one integrated.

July 11, 1957 - Segregationist groups protest desegregation plans at school board meeting, ask board to use Tennessee 1957 public school assignment law.

July 30, 1957 - New school zones for first grade announced, new transfer system explained; Parents Preference Committee launches campaign to raise funds and secure signatures in fight for application of Tennessee's 1957 segregation laws to Nashville.

July 31, 1957 - Attorneys advise board to stick with plans for desegregation, say there is no way to skirt the order.

August 4, 1957 - White Citizens Council leader, John Kasper, and Ku Klux Klan hold rival meetings; Kasper moved from city park for not having permit, holds meeting with six other segregation figures in Croleywood on the outskirts of the city.

August 7, 1957 - Representatives of Parents Preference Committee appear at school board's instruction committee meeting, propose 5-point plan to substitute for fall desegregation.

August 8, 1957 - Segregationists, including Kasper, representatives of KKK, Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, appear at school board meeting to protest integration; school board authorizes instruction committee to continue studying legal opinion on Parents Preference Committee request; Nashville Community Relations Conference and sixteen affiliated organizations, plus PTA assure board of support, present petition pledging support signed by 600 citizens.

August 10, 1957 - School officials announce they are making plans to inform parents of first graders about transfer procedures.

August 11, 1957 - Kasper rally attended by about 300; future meetings announced.

August 22, 1957 - Nashville Association of Churches mails letter to 350 clergymen asking them to deliver statements supporting desegregation to their congregations.

August 23, 1957 - Kiwanis Club adopts resolution opposing desegregation, Men's Club of Monroe Street Methodist Church votes similar resolution; school board instructs its attorneys to ask Federal court whether Tennessee's school preference law conflicts with court's desegregation order.

August 25, 1957 - Kasper, Ace Carter of Birmingham and other segregationists from Knoxville and Birmingham hold rally, drawing crowd of 250; Kasper announces nightly meetings downtown on courthouse steps; 28 of 62 ministers quizzed by Tennessean appealed to their congregations to maintain a Christian spirit in dealing with school integration problems.

Registration

August 27, 1957 - Thirteen Negro parents register children in neighborhood schools in special registration day for first-graders; forty-seven Negro parents transfer children out of assigned neighborhood zones to schools formerly designated as Negro schools; small groups of protestors gather at schools, but registration goes smoothly, with no incidents.

Parents who registered subject to threats and abusive telephone calls, also school officials and teachers.

August 28, 1957 - Group of 125 appears before Mayor to protest desegregation of schools; mayor, in first statement on school desegregation, says he must uphold the law of the land.

August 29, 1957 - Night meeting of 250 segregationists held on Buena Vista school grounds; boycott of schools urged.

September 4, 1957 - City teachers spend day in human relations workshop as part of in-service training; background on Nashville's situation presented by panel.

September 6, 1957 - Federal court rules Tennessee school preference law "unconstitutional on its face," instructs school board to proceed with desegregation as planned.

September 7, 1957 - Mayor West pledges "peace and quiet and good order;" Nashville Human Relations Conference reaffirms support of school board; segregationists hold fourth unauthorized meeting on school grounds at Fehr school.

September 8, 1957 - Police chief promises safety for all pupils, says persons causing disorder will be arrested.

School Opens

September 9, 1957 - Nineteen Negro children enter neighborhood schools, amid disorderly crowds of segregationists; in addition parents of four children attempt to revoke transfers to "Negro" schools. Three arrests made at Fehr school, where white women throw rocks and bottles. Neighborhoods in vicinity of schools where Negroes attend remain disorderly throughout day; near-riot broken up by police Monday night in Fehr school area--500 chase, throw bricks and bottles at Negroes, burn one Negro's car.

September 10, 1957 - Hattie Cotton school dynamited in early morning hours; crowds continue outside schools; police arrest 20 during day, including Kasper, in crack-down on segregationists; Negro hung in effigy in downtown area and disorder continues particularly in Fehr neighborhood; tool shed behind home of Mrs. Grace McKinley, whose daughter enrolled in Fehr, burned, rocks thrown at house.

September 11, 1957 - Schools remain under police guard with no crowds permitted to gather; Kasper put in county workhouse pending bond; city administration and U. S. court file for injunction against Kasper and other segregationists; carload of armed Negroes arrested.

September 12, 1957 - U. S. District Court issues temporary order restraining Kasper and eleven others from interfering with school desegregation; Kasper and follower John Mecurio arrested for vagrancy, loitering and disorderly conduct; cross burned in white residential area.

September 12, 1957 - State indicts Kasper for inciting to riot (earlier charges pressed by city); attendance rises and school officials announce crisis is over.

September 16, 1957 - District Judge William E. Miller issues permanent injunction ordering Kasper and nine others to refrain from interfering with school desegregation; children urged to return to school.

September 17, 1957 - Enrollment back up to 90% of total, with only eleven Negro children left in neighborhood schools; others go back to "Negro" schools.

September 18, 1957 - Kasper freed on bond, leaves city.

Aftermath of Crisis

September 26, 1957 - School Superintendent-elect Oliver states he can see "no advantage to the colored children in being allowed to attend formerly white schools. . . ."; says Negroes prefer segregation and "we were doing a better job with our city schools (before desegregation) than we could have done with both races together."

October 3, 1957 - Three PTA officers at Glenn school resign because of integration and Glenn Men's Club disbands.

October 10, 1957 - Donald Davidson and representatives of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government appear before school board to plea for adoption of "voluntary" integration plan; Kasper back, ruled vagrant by circuit court.

October 14-23, 1957 - Series of cross burnings at different points in city; one burned in front of McKinley home, where Negro child is still in neighborhood school.

Next Step?

December 4, 1957 - School board adopts Parents Preference Committee's "voluntary" integration plan to present to Federal court; says will test state school segregation laws to "clear the air."

January 20, 1958 - School board files petition to dismiss original suit on grounds that 1957 Tennessee school assignment law provides plaintiffs with adequate administrative remedy.

January 28, 1958 - Federal district Judge Miller hears arguments supporting "voluntary" integration plan presented by school board; school superintendent Oliver, sole witness at hearing, says nine Negro children remain in neighborhood schools, are satisfied and doing well.

February 13, 1958 - Parents Preference Committee files amicus curiae brief stating outright desegregation of schools would be "preferential treatment of Negro pupils."

February 18, 1958 - Judge Miller disapproves parent preference plan, orders school board to submit "suitable plan" by April 7; new hearing scheduled April 14.

March 13, 1958 - Parents Preference Committee petitions schoolboard to refuse to submit any integration plan (which had been requested by the Federal District Court). Anna Holden presents to school board the stand of 26 Nashville organizations favoring desegregation of the entire public school system as of September 1958.

March 16, 1958 - Jewish Community Center is damaged by dynamite. Its Rabbi and Federal Judge Miller are threatened. Both the bombing and the threats thought to be protest of integration stand.

March 31, 1958 - School board votes to desegregate rest of system one grade a year, with only opposing vote cast by the lone Negro member of the board who stated that the plan violates the Supreme Court requirement for all deliberate speed. A number of organizations and churches, over and above the 26 stating their views on March 13th, ask for complete desegregation in September, 1958. The Nashville Branch of NAACP announces it would contest the legality of any one-grade-a-year plan.

April 14, 1958 - Federal District Court hearing on the school board's one-grade-a-year plan held. Judge Miller allows 24 days for the school board to file its brief in support of the plan and for the NAACP to file a brief in opposition.

New York Post

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1958

NOT
FOR SALE
WE BELIEVE IN
DEMOCRACY

Post Photo by Pomerantz

The Arthur Groelings show where they stand.

By TED POSTON

The 11-by-17-inch signs in scores of tree-shaded windows of Springfield Garden homes, and in other private homes in neighboring Queens communities, read quite simply:

NOT FOR SALE
WE BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY

But they mark the barricades of a quiet, but dramatic, battle being waged by hundreds of white property-owners against a group of unscrupulous real estate agents trying to drive them from their homes in various sections of Queens.

The agents, few in number, but highly organized and efficient are pushing a decades-old housing racket—"block-busting." They are trying to force the white home-owners into panic selling with tales of a "Negro invasion" of their communities and a threat of resulting depreciation of the market value of their property.

The white owners many of them living in already well-integrated blocks, are fighting back effectively. For the first time in the city's history, they are being aided by a city agency—the Commission on Intergroup Relations.

The current Queens "block-busting" campaign, the second in two years, began several weeks ago. Mrs. Walter Kuehnert, whose home at 137-32 Thurston St. is one of eight in that block displaying the "not for sale" signs, recalls it vividly.

"First," she remembers, "there were circulars stuck in our doors offering to buy our homes. Then similar requests through the mails.

"Then one day a car drove up, stopped in the middle of the block and five salesmen got out. They divided the block among them and starting ringing individual doorbells on both sides of the street. I had no intention of selling anyway, so I wouldn't let them in my house. But some of my neighbors did.

"They told some of them that Negroes were moving into the block; that all the white people were moving out; that property values would deteriorate as soon as the Negroes came in. And when they got one fellow to agree, he urged others to sell and 'make a quick buck.'

"In some cases, including my own, they resorted to a telephone campaign—often at night. They offered preposterous prices—sometimes $20,000 for a house not worth $15,000. Not that they kept the promises. I've heard of cases where people even got less than their homes were actually worth after listening to such promises."

But most of the owners didn't panic, thanks to Mrs. Kuehnert and others in her block. They organized informally and appealed to COIR Queens field consultant Irving Levine.

Levine brought the facilities of the new anti-bias agency to their aid. Meetings were called, not only in the block, but in surrounding areas. Twenty-two families attended a showing in Mrs. Kuehnert's home of the effective 16 mm. movie "All the Way Home" dealing with panic selling and "block-busting." COIR literature was distributed.

And two weeks ago, the Neighborhood Relations Committee was formed as part of the Tri-Community Council of Queens to combat the racket not only in Springfield Gardens, but in Laurelton and Rosedale.

Rev. David S. Sheldon, 178-11 137th St., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, whose block, as well as church, is well-integrated, is co-chairman of the committee. And he stressed that orderly integration and community stability is the goal of the group.

"Most of our churches here," he said, "including my own and others like Bethany Lutheran and St. Mary Magdalene, are integrated, and so are many of our blocks. We are trying to keep our integrated neighborhoods and prevent the spread of segregated communities."

He said the PTA's in PS 37 and 161 and the principals of these schools and the local junior high schools had joined in the campaign.

The other co-chairman, attorney Bernard Berlly, of 248-10 130th Av., Springfield Gardens, whose street has not yet been visited by the "block-busters," revealed that the committee is expanding its activities to cover most of Queens.

"We are seeking a general awakening of the people in the whole area," he said, "To this end, we are continuing the human relations workshops instituted in the schools here two years ago.

"We have established a real estate committee to work with reputable real estate agencies to halt these unscrupulous practices. We intend to speak with all of the local banks on their mortgage practices. We don't feel that either Negroes or whites should experience difficulties in obtaining mortgages in integrated neighborhoods."

The City of New York
Commission on Human Rights
80 LAFAYETTE STREET
NEW YORK 13, N. Y.

The New York Times.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1958.

Queens Homeowners Seek to Keep Racial Balance

Whites Reject Panic Sales of Homes as Negroes Move In

By PETER KIHSS

A city agency is helping white homeowners who are trying to maintain a racially balanced community in an area into which Negroes are moving. Both the agency and the residents want to avoid any slide into the ghetto patterns that have occurred elsewhere.

The Commission on Intergroup Relations for the last six weeks has been starting block discussions and helping to create a Neighborhood Relations Committee in the Springfield Gardens section of southeast Queens.

One result has been the appearance in the last fortnight of the following sign in the windows of a least forty homes owned by whites who are resisting panic sales:

"Not for sale. We believe in democracy."

These white residents and others have welcomed the new Negro families.

Mrs. Evelyn Klavens, a parent-teacher representative of 137-22 Southgate Street, has stressed how well the neighborhood schools have got along over the years with integrated student bodies drawn from areas as far away as St. Albans.

Of Southgate Street's twenty-four homes, five are occupied by Negro families. Thurston Street, the next one south, received two Negro families last summer among its twenty-one. Each block-long street has about ten staying-here signs.

The one-and-a-quarter-square-mile area from a few blocks west of Farmers Boulevard eastward to Cross Island Parkway, between Merrick Road and 130th Avenue, has about 20,000 residents. Bernard Berlly, a lawyer and co-chairman of the new committee, says perhaps 10 per cent are Negroes, many clustered in specific blocks west of Springfield Boulevard. Individual Negro families have long lived in Springfield Gardens, a community of well-kept one and two-family brick and frame homes, five to thirty and more years old.

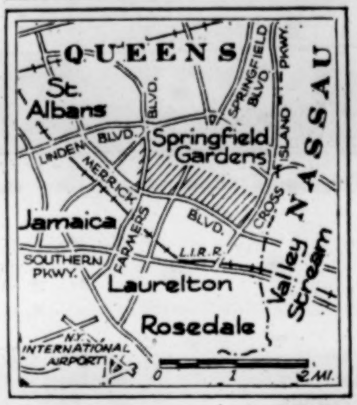
Mrs. Floyd Liburd, who came to 189-01 Nashville Boulevard when the area was almost rural eighteen years ago, has been parent-teacher president at both Public School 15 and Junior High School 59.

The major Negro influx has come in the last five years. Mr. Berlly, who lives at 218-10 130th Avenue, recalled one neighbor who demanded that the others buy his home at full price, under the threat of his selling to Negroes. A neighborhood meeting told him the area would be improved no matter to whom he sold.

Residents report that in the last few years, just about every spring and fall, real estate dealers—from outside the area—have attempted so-called block-busting.

One house would be sold to Negroes and the block would be inundated by agents swarming from cars, making telephone calls and spreading circulars. They said that they had cash offers for a house, that other residents were selling out and that the block was becoming all-Negro.

A Thurston Street outburst in September led to the calling in of the Commission on Intergroup Relations by the Tri-Community Council, a leadership group of organizations and individuals for Springfield Gardens, Laurelton and Rosedale.



The New York Times Nov. 22, 1958

Area of the homes (shaded)

The three-year-old city commission, devoted to promoting racial, religious and ethnic understanding, sent in Irving Levine, Queens field consultant. The result has been a pioneer self-help effort.

"The commission is naturally looking to open up a market for Negro housing," Mr. Levine says. "But it is also interested in maintaining neighborhood standards and an integrated community. It doesn't want whites to flee."

Mr. Levine helped to develop block meetings at which white home owners who were being victimized by falsehoods about their neighbors' leaving could find out what actually was happening. For instance, fourteen neighbors led by Mrs. Norma Appel gathered last Wednesday night in the finished basement at 178-07 137th Avenue. Some of their discussion follows:

Neighbor—"The real estate man told Mrs.——he already sold my house. My block is 80 per cent Negro. It all happened in six months. Just one started and hysteria set in."

Mr. Levine—"On Thurston Street three weeks ago, six houses were up for sale. The impression was that everybody would sell. Now 'Not for sale' signs are up. We're concerned with minority groups getting out of ghettoes. But we're also concerned about new ghettoes being created with a consequent destruction of many values and institutions."

Neighbor—"Our Negro neighbors have been very nice * * *. The second house across the street has all kids * * *. They're very noisy * * *. The men are so big * * *. The house across the street is better than when white people were in it * * *. Why did they come into a white neighborhood?"

Mr. Levine—"There are not so many other communities where a Negro can go. They want decent schools, grassy areas, to live in the kind of community not reflective of one race.

Neighbor—"I have three teen-age daughters. I'm afraid to let them get out alone at nights."

Mr. Levine—"Has there been any trouble?"

Neighbor—"No. But when they get a majority, they get belligerent."

Mr. Levine—"Any group held down a long time has certain problems. The thing we are saying is, will we begin freeing them of problems by giving them social rights? The step must be made. Get rid of bigotry. 'As ye sow, so shall ye reap.' We feel with patience and understanding, this can work itself out."

The Rev. David S. Sheldon, Presbyterian co-chairman of the Neighborhood Relations Committee—"I've been encouraged by a good many of the people who have moved into the community—a school teacher, a retired Pullman conductor, a major in the Air Force, a lawyer—high-caliber * * * I remember one noisy party with fifty children—that was all-white, no Negroes at all.".

Mr. Levine—"The signs will keep the real estate men away. We think if a hub develops around which other blocks will take note, something might generate. I hope you will do what you feel is right."

[1958, Nov. 22]

'Out of Conviction'

A SECOND STATEMENT
on the
SOUTH'S RACIAL CRISIS

signed by 312 Ministers
of
Greater Atlanta

Printed by
GEORGIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

THE SECOND STATEMENT

Three hundred and twelve Ministers and Rabbis of the Greater Atlanta area, acting as individual citizens issued a statement on November 22nd, 1958, calling for the preservation of the public school system. Sixteen different denominations are represented among the signers. The text of the statement follows:

On November 3, 1957, a statement dealing with the racial crisis in the South, and signed by eighty Atlanta ministers, was released for publication. The fact that this statement, often referred to as "The Atlanta Manifesto", received widespread publicity through the secular and religious press, radio, and television, not only in the South but across the nation and abroad, was an eloquent commentary upon the nature of the crisis in which we are involved and upon the failure of many of our leaders to confront the problems of our day in a spirit of realism.

Six principles set forth in this statement as essential to the solution of our problem may be summarized as follows:

1. Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.

2. As Americans and as religious leaders, we have an obligation to obey the law.

3. The Public School System must not be destroyed.

4. Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.

5. Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.

6. Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer and in obedience to the will of God.

The months which have elapsed since the signing of that statement have been a period of deepening danger. The events of the recent past have been such as to call for growing concern on the part of all responsible citizens. In the light of these events, we are more convinced than ever of the fundamental truth of these six principles. It is abundantly clear that they cannot be ignored with impunity.

Because of our involvement in this situation, as citizens and religious leaders, it has seemed to many Atlanta clergymen that some further statement on their part is appropriate. Out of that conviction comes this second statement. Once more we speak as individual citizens of Georgia and of the United States, having authority to represent no one other than ourselves. Once more we speak in humility and penitence. At the same time, we speak out of the deep conviction of our souls as to what is right. We believe some facts are now so clear as to throw additional light upon the problems which confront us.

I. It is clearer now than ever before that, at all costs, freedom of speech must be preserved. During the year which has past, it has not become easier to speak the truth concerning our situation. There are still forces which seek to deny freedom of thought and of expression to all who do not insist upon maintaining a rigid pattern of segregation. Economic reprisals, social ostracism, and even physical violence are constant threats to those who do not conform. Such threats strike at the very heart of democracy. As we insist upon the right of honest conviction — whether right or wrong — to be heard, we would pay tribute to the courageous individuals and groups in various walks of life who have insisted that our problem must be faced in a spirit of realism, of sanity, and of good will.

II. It is clearer now than ever before that we must obey the law. Those who insist that the decision of the Supreme Court on segregation in the public schools has no binding force do great injury to our people. The Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution has the effect of law in our country. It is possible for that Court to err, just as it is possible for Congress to enact bad laws. The citizens of our country have the right to work through legal processes to secure the correction of judicial errors or the repeal of undesirable legislation. They do not have the right to defy laws simply because they personally hold them to be unwise or harmful. A policy of obeying only those laws or those rulings of the Court with which we agree leads inevitably to anarchy. It is time for us to face up to the fact that, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, made in the discharge of its constitutional authority, enforced segregation in the public schools is now without support in, and contrary to, national law. At times in her history the Church has opposed civil law in the name of the claims of the higher laws of God. However, we believe that the Constitution of the United States in its provisions for human rights is in accord with Divine Law, and we must, therefore, learn to live with and under the law.

We do not believe in the wisdom of massive integration and are sincerely opposed to the amalgamation of the races. We reaffirm our conviction that the integrity of each race should be maintained on a basis of mutual esteem and free choice, rather than of force. There are some areas in which some integration in schools at this time would be possible without insurmountable difficulty, as has already been demonstrated in certain sections of the South; while there are other areas where such integration would involve needless hardship and grave danger. We have the hope that, if our leaders will offer evidence of good faith toward providing constitutional rights for all citizens, the federal government will be willing to leave the working out of details in local hands. We believe it is possible, under the ruling of the Supreme Court, for States to take reasonable steps to comply with the law of the land and at the same time give due consideration to local situations and avoid an indiscriminate desegregation of the public schools.

III. It is clearer now than ever before that the Public School System must be preserved. Many of our people have been led to believe that through some ficticious legal device we could close our public schools and still provide for public education through tax funds. Recent developments in Arkansas and Virginia serve to make it abundantly clear that any such hope is based solely upon wishful thinking. The choice which confronts us now is either the end of an enforced segregation in public schools or no public schools whatever. We are alarmed to note that many political leaders are apparently willing to offer no better solution than the closing of public schools and the destruction of public education in order to maintain what has been inappropriately described as "our sacred way of life". It is inconceivable that the South should deliberately destroy its dearly bought system of public education. The results of such action in the impoverishment of countless lives, in the loss to our section, even from a purely economic, viewpoint would be a tragedy of the first magnitude. It is not likely that the South would ever recover fully from the consequences of such action. Obviously, the closing of the public schools means a small and favored portion of our youth would be educated in private institutions, while the great majority, White and Negro, would recieve no school training worthy of the name. No democratic society can tolerate that situation, nor do we believe our citizens wish to sacrifice the welfare of our youth.

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In this connection we would voice an emphatic protest against any suggestion that church property be used as a means of circumventing the law of the nation. The churches and synagogues owe a tremendous debt to the State and this we believe they would gladly repay in any legitimate way possible. There are times when the educational equipment of the churches should be offered to supplement the public school buildings in providing space for our growing school population, provided that the separation of Church and State shall always be recognized and maintained in such an agreement. We concur that churches and synagogues have the right, as they have always had, to engage as they may deem wise in educational enterprise in the interest of their constituencies. We believe, however, their facilities should not be offered nor demanded as a means for defying the constituted authority of our national government.

IV. It is clearer now than ever before that hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own can never be justified. All hatred between races and groups within society carries with it the constant threat of violence and bloodshed, as has been evidenced by the bombing of churches, synagogues, and schools even while this statement was being prepared. Defiance of one law leads to disrespect for all law. We would call upon our political leaders scrupulously to avoid the type of inflammatory utterance which has characterized too many public pronouncements in recent months and to exert an influence for sanity, for justice, and for kindness. We believe that multitudes of voters in the South as in all America are far more prepared to respond to and support fair-minded and statesmanlike attitudes and policies in political life than these men have realized. In any event, political power is by no means so important as to justify its attainment by the sacrifice of justice, of kindness, and of truth, and by the unleashing of these emotions which threaten the very life of our people.

V. It is clearer now than ever before that communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained. The time of danger is also the time of opportunity. It may well be that we are passing through that darkest hour which comes just before the dawn. Never has there been greater need than now for men of good will in both races to voice their convictions, to exert their influence, and to maintain open lines of communication. We are heartened by the intelligent concern and struggle of an increasing number of groups who are facing the issue and its implications. We are likewise heartened by the constructive results which are coming from those lines of communication which do exist between the races.

VI. It is clearer now than ever before that our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer, obedience to God, and under His blessing. The situation which confronts us is one which calls for sincere penitence, for earnest prayer, for clear thought, and for courageous action.

Believing sincerely in the principles set forth in this statement, we therefore propose the following practical steps:

1. We appeal to our churches and synagogues to encourage and promote within their fellowship a free and intelligent discussion of the issues we confront. We believe such discussion should and would give careful consideration to the moral, spiritual, and legal aspects of the crisis we face in our beloved Southland.

2. We appeal to our community and state leaders to give their most creative thought to maintaining a sound public school plan. Such plan must be consistant with the law of the land, respect and preserve the rights of all citizens, and assure the preservation of our system of public education.

3. We request the appointment of a Citizens'Commission to preserve the harmony of our community. The public officials of our city have earned the tribute of the nation for their refusal to condone violence and their efforts to realize worthy race relations. We believe that in the future the need will be great for the support of calm, intelligent public opinion. Atlanta possesses business, civic, educational, legal, political, and religious leadership of the quality to afford this support. We therefore request that representatives of this leadership from the races involved be formed into a Citizens' Commission to advise and assist in maintaining harmony and good will among all our citizens.

Every section of our state also possesses the same able leadership. We therefore believe that the appointment of a similar Citizens' Commission by the state administration would serve to preserve harmony among the citizens of Georgia.

We call upon all citizens to unite with us in dedicating ourselves to the solution of our problems humbly, patiently, in a spirit of realism, and with God's help.

Signed by:

Ackerman, Stephen W.
Adams, Hugh
Aiken, Paul
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Alexander, James J.
Allen, Charles
Allen, L. Clyde
Allen, Reuben T., Jr.
Alston, Wallace M.
Anderson, F. S., Jr.
Anderson, Thomas
Arnold Ernest J.
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Broyles, Vernon S.
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Buck, Raymond
Budd, W. Candler
Buice, Lester
Burns, Robert W.
Byrd, Ralph
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Callaway, Chaudoin, 3rd.
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Wright, George R.
Zinser, Henry A.
Zwold, Harold D.

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THE LAW AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Very Good

[1959, Nov. 20]

by

Harris Wofford

First let me correct my billing and, more important, Professor Ward's billing. According to your poster he is to present "the lawyer's viewpoint" on this question, and I am to discuss "passive resistance."

Having just seen the grisly picture of Les Advocats by Forain in the current French art exhibit in O'Shaughnessy Hall, I don't know why I am stung by the implication that Professor Ward is the lawyer here tonight and that I am beyond the pale. I could make a case for civil disobedience based on St. Augustine's description of the "melancholy and lamentable judgments" -- the injustices -- inherent in the law in this sinful City of Man, and, with pacifism as a check on the commission of new injustices, call for peaceful resistance to unjust laws. Perhaps Mr. McKiernan, if his billing as a pacifist and anarchist is correct, will make that case.

It is a good American case, defended and demonstrated by Thoreau and by a whole generation of abolitionists. "Unjust laws exist," said Thoreau. "Shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?" Thoreau asked, as I think we each must ask. His answer was: "If this injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go, let it go: perchance it will wear smooth...but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine." So he advised the abolitionists not "to have God on their side, without waiting for that other one." And he went to prison for refusing to pay taxes to a government that was upholding slavery by imprisoning and returning runaway slaves. He said that "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also prison." But people did not understand and a distant aunt paid his taxes for him and he was put out of prison after only a one-night stand. Still, I think, his apochryphal answer to Emerson made an imprint on the American mind. When Emerson asked him why he was in jail, Thoreau replied, "Why are you outside?"

But I do not think I am a pacifist and I know I am not an anarchist and I did pass the bar. So tonight I want to make a lawyer's case for civil disobedience. We have been reading Justice Holmes in my class, and as always he has renewed my passion for this jealous mistress, the Law, whose loyal lover I claim to be - even as I stand here advocating civil disobedience. By the way, there is a Thoreau text for this, too.

NOTE: Mr. Wofford was Associate Professor of Law at the University of Notre Dame Law School when he delivered this address on November 20, 1959, before Gray's Inn, the student association of the law school. Mr. Wofford is an Episcopalian. He served on Senator Kennedy's staff during the presidential campaign and then was Presidential Advisor in Civil Rights for a period. He is now overseas with the Peace Corps. The address was first reproduced with his permission on August 23, 1960, and is now reprinted on June 30, 1962. Copies may be obtained for 10¢ each from the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, 5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta 3, Ga.

"They are the lovers of law and order who observe the law when the government breaks it."

Now I realize that this involves a paradox -- a central paradox of natural law jurisprudence -- that for many people spells anarchy. One man's natural law is all too often another's poison. For Socrates there was a higher law whispering to him from outside the cave of this world that told him it was the nature of man and the first principle of the teaching profession to ask questions -- to question everything -- and that therefore he should not obey the edict of Athens abridging his freedom of speech. But the Athenians who served him the hemlock were also obeying the highest law they knew, the need to preserve their society from subversion. I think you will agree with me that at least this one act of civil disobedience proved to be effective. For out of the cheerful prison-going and death of Socrates we learn academic freedom and I would say that Socrates also teaches us the first principle of any Republic, the principle established for this Republic by the First Amendment.

I suppose that almost everyone here would agree that civil disobedience would be justified toward any man-made law prohibiting the public worship of God. St. Thomas said that human laws contrary to Divine law ought nowise to be obeyed. The Church has gone to the catacombs before in its exercise of the freedom of religion. And the lives of many martyrs and saints should be enough to convince you of the educational potentialities of such civil disobedience. The question is, Where else in the field of law and on what other occasions is civil disobedience also necessary and proper?

I would cite the second part of the First Amendment, freedom of speech, and the principle of equal protection of the laws in the Fourteenth Amendment as two other areas where any laws in conflict with these commands of the natural law, according to my view of man's nature, ought to be civilly disobeyed.

But as soon as I say this, I have opened a Pandora's box from which many furies may fly, including the present disobedience of the Supreme Court's school decisions by many which citizens in the South. If you doubt that the white resistance to desegregation is based, in part at least, on a firmly-held and often conscientiously-held, though to me wrong-headed, view of natural law, then listen to this colloquoy from the Congressional Record for last September 14th. Senator Eastland asked: "Is not the segregated way of life a better life? Is not that the law of nature?" And Senator Thurmond replied: "Well, that is the way God made the races. I presume it is."

And yet, despite the risks involved in letting loose differing ideas of natural law to contend with each other, I believe that there is a great hope for the law, particularly for the law of a Republic, at the bottom of this Pandora's box. That hope is embodied in a view of law that transcends the old idea which says that law is nothing but the command of the sovereign. In a Republic, or with men who like Mark Twain's Connecticut Yankee have the idea of a Republic in their heads, every command of the law should be seen as a question.

A Socratic philospher of the law, Scott Buchanan, has stated this thesis to show how "law teaches those who make and obey it" -- and I would add, disobey it. "Laws," he says, "are questions asked by God, history, nature, or society to be answered by men individually and collectively. This formulation penetrates the heart of human freedom. It says that no law, not even divine law cancels out human freedom; the answer can be Yes or No or something else. It also tacitly warns of consequences of the answer. But primarily it forces the human being to think about ends, or purposes."

In this view, there is implicit in each law the alternative of obedience, or of civil disobedience with full acceptance of the consequences. Once we no longer see law as a mechanical thing, once we free ourselves from the idea that as good citizens we have no choice but to obey any law passed by the Legislature, no matter how bad, then of each law we must ask ourselves, Is this a law that I should obey? Is it a just law? Is it so unjust that it needs to be resisted from the very inception, and cannot wait the slow process of parliamentary reform?

So you see we are back with Thoreau, but with a difference. He thought in terms of disobedience serving as a counter friction to stop the whole machine of the law. I am presenting civil disobedience as a natural and necessary part of the great Due Process of our Law, that process of persuasion through which we govern ourselves. Civil disobedience, as I see it, is a kind of persuasion, the persuasion of last resort, within the boundaries of the law, sometimes the only kind available.

Of course any kind of disobedience of law may have the effect of persuasion, just as force can at times be a powerful persuader. The disobedience of the prohibition laws was violent, secret, rather cynical and largely uncivil, yet it finally led to the repeal of the 18th Amendment. But this kind of disobedience was truly beyond the legal pale. By teaching disrespect for this one law, it was indeed subversive of the Law. To have been civil disobedience, the resistance to prohibition would have had to be open, in the sight and knowledge of the authorities, and those thus disobeying the law should have not only been prepared to accept the consequences, but should have deliberately invited them. If those who considered the 18th Amendment a violation of their natural right to drink had courted the jails in protest, if they had, as Gandhi urged his countrymen, entered the prisons "as a bridegroom enters the bride's chamber," I think the 21st Amendment would probably have come sooner. Certainly it would have come better. I do not think we would have had the organized crime that came in the wake of the less respectful forms of persuasion that were used.

Civil disobedience is within the legal pale -- within the Canons of Ethics of our profession, I would say -- because it involves the highest possible respect for the law. If we secretly violate the law or try to evade it or violently seek to overthrow it, that would be disloyalty to the idea of law itself. But when we openly disobey a law that we hold to be unjust and ask for the penalty, we are saying that we so respect the law that we belong in jail until it is changed. Thus Socrates refused to listen to his friends' plan for his escape from the verdict of Athens but chose instead to peacefully drink the hemlock, giving the respect he considered due to the state and to the laws in which he had lived and had his being.

Is this anarchy? I hope not, for I agree with Justice Brandeis that our government is "the potent, the omnipresent teacher" that "teaches the whole people." And I do not agree with Thóreau that "The law will never make men free." It is through law that we, like Socrates, find our freedom. But the law will play its full role as teacher only when we look upon it as a question. For it is the voice of our body politic with which we must remain in dialogue.

If the proposition to which we are dedicated is self-government, then we must respond to the law, resist it, change it, and fulfill it, even as it challenges, changes, and educates us. Civil disobedience is one way in which we can exercise the choice that law gives us. It is the choice that makes us free.

Now I have not even come to Gandhi, and all I will say here about him is that he, too, was a lawyer -- trained in London's Inner Temple -- and I think he always saw civil disobedience as a constitutional form of persuasion, as a way to reach and move the minds and hearts of people and thus to mould the law.

Nor have I tried to consider the many uses and abuses of this theory. I recall a Kentucky mayor who called on his people to adopt Gandhi's method of fighting injustice, as the only remaining form of resistance to court-imposed integration. The Mayor added that of course the white people wouldn't want Gandhi to come to their town, however useful his idea of civil disobedience might be for their purposes.

This doesn't disturb me. For the beauty of civil disobedience is that, in part at least, it answers a problem of law that has bothered people from St. Thomas to the present. Aquinas held that laws contrary to human good were not binding in conscience except in order to avoid "scandal or disturbance." Since violent disobedience, in the violent centuries that followed, did indeed often cause scandal and disturbance contrary to the common good, St. Thomas's exception has generally proved to be the rule, at least the rule for lawyers. But civil disobedience by its nature avoids the kind of scandal or disturbance that St. Thomas rightly feared.

In fact, what is wrong with the theory of civil disobedience in this country is not that our jails would fill. For jail-going is not the natural disposition of most men. A little jail-going against some of our laws might be good yeast to leaven the lump of our modern Leviathan. Civil disobedience could be an antidote to the centralization and standardization of our life, to the sense of fatality of the multitude as well as to the tyranny of the majority. We certainly need some kind of Socratic gadfly to stir society from its dogmatic slumbers.

No, the problem, I fear, is rather that by nature we seem more inclined to disobey not unjust laws but just ones. We all engage in civil disobedience in the form of jaywalking or speeding, to name only two popular varieties. But we hesitate to resist an unjust law. We do not take personal responsibility for injustice. Instead of taking Socrates straight, we seem to prefer the comic version. I am referring to Aritophanes' portrayal in "The Clouds," where the student of Socrates says: "But I wish to succeed, just enough for my need, and to slip through the clutches of law." But there again, we are free to choose which Socrates -- which inner light or higher law -- to follow, and it is the choice that makes us free.

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SUNDAY, FEB. 14. 1960

EQUALITY IS GOAL OF RACE CONGRESS

Group Pickets Store Here to Back Moves in South Over Lunch Counters

By BERNARD STENGREN

Translating the law of the land and the rule of morality on integration into practical terms is the goal that the Congress of Racial Equality set for itself when it was founded eighteen years ago.

Most of the time the 12,000-member organization tries to convince store owners and business executives by quiet persuasion. But on occasion it uses picket lines and leaflets to change a practice that it feels is contrary to law or court interpretations.

Thus it put its resources behind the demonstration by college students in Greensboro, N. C., that began spontaneously against the practice of a variety store there of refusing to serve seated Negroes at its lunch counter.

Picketed Uptown Store

The congress is also backing similar demonstrations in other Southern cities, and yesterday mounted a thirty-member picket line in front of the F. W. Woolworth & Co. store at 208 West 125th Street.

And, while it did not take part actively, the congress supported a similar picket line run yesterday by the East Harlem Reform Democrats in front of the S. H. Kress & Co. store at Third Avenue and 106th Street.

It was in local outlets of these chains in Southern cities where sit down strikes by Negroes seeking service at lunch counters led to closing the counters in recent days.

The Kress store at 444 Fifth Avenue, at Thirty-eighth Street, also was picketed briefly yesterday, but congress officials said they had no knowledge of that activity.

Policy is Explained

Marvin Rich, community relations director for the congress and captain of the thirty-member picket line at the Woolworth's store here yesterday, said that similar demonstrations have been held in the past—at local airline offices and airplane ticket offices, as well as in southern and border cities—but only when discussions with officials of the companies practicing alleged discrimination fail to correct the practices.

For this reason, he said, the organization is not so well known as others working in the race relations field.

The congress was formed in Chicago in 1942 by a group headed by James R. Robinson, George Houser and James Farmer.

Mr. Farmer is now program director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Houser is now executive director of the American Committee on Africa and Mr. Robinson is executive secretary of the congress.

Influenced by Gandhi

The men had been reading "War Without Violence," by Krishnalal Shridharani, a disciple of Mohandas K. Gandhi, and were intrigued with the idea of using its basic concept of passive resistance to aid in bringing about real integration.

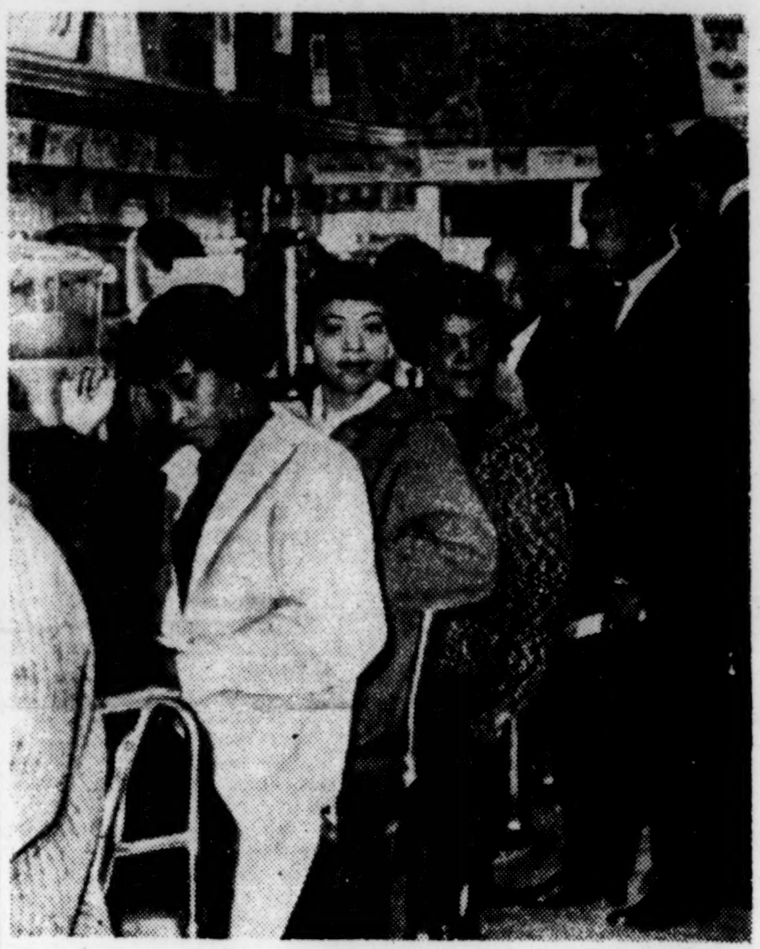
With the support of the N. A. A. C. P. and other groups in the field, the congress was established as a separate entity to experiment with the idea.

Since then it has grown to a 12,000-member group with branches in thirty cities and a budget of about $60,000 a year.

All but a small portion of this money comes from individual contributions, and the rest—in sums of $25 to $100—comes from labor unions and similar organizations.

The National headquarters of the congress is in a two-room fifth-floor office at 38 Park Row.

Among the members of the congress's admission committee are the Rev. A. J. Muste, head of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a group dedicated to passive resistance; Roger N. Baldwin, former executive secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who organized the bus boycott in Birmingham, Ala.



SEEK SERVICE AT LUNCH COUNTER: Young Negroes at a counter in the F. W. Woolworth Company store in Rock Hill, S. C., yesterday. This one, like others, closed.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1960

Negro Sitdowns Stir Fear Of Wider Unrest in South

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times.

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Feb. 14 — Negro student demonstrations against segregated eating facilities have raised grave questions in the South over the future of the region's race relations. A sounding of opinion in the affected areas showed that much more might be involved than the matter of the Negro's right to sit at a lunch counter for a coffee break.

The demonstrations were generally dismissed at first as an-

Continued

Wider Support Planned

The Congress of Racial Equality planned yesterday to widen its support of student protests against lunch-counter discrimination in the South.

Nine members of its action committee met at the group's headquarters, 38 Park Row, and decided to resume picketing next Saturday in front of the F. W. Woolworth & Co. store at 208 West 125th Street.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FEBRUARY 15, 1960

NEGRO SITDOWNS DISQUIET SOUTH

Continued From Page 1

other college fad of the "panty-raid" variety. This opinion lost adherents, however, as the movement spread from North Carolina to Virginia, Florida, South Carolina and Tennessee and involved fifteen cities.

Students of race relations in the area contended that the movement reflected growing dissatisfaction over the slow pace of desegregation in schools and other public facilities.

Moreover, these persons saw a shift of leadership to younger, more militant Negroes. This, they said, is likely to bring increasing use of passive resistance. The technique was conceived by Mohandas K. Gandhi of India and popularized among Southern Negroes by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. He led the bus boycott in Montgomery, Ala. He now heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a Negro minister's group, which seeks to end discrimination.

The spark that touched off the protests was provided by four freshmen at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College in Greensboro. Even Negroes class Greensboro as one of the most progressive cities in the South in terms of race relations.

On Sunday night, Jan. 31, one of the students sat thinking about discrimination.

"Segregation makes me feel that I'm unwanted," McNeil A. Joseph said later in an interview. "I don't want my children exposed to it."

The 17-year-old student from Wilmington, N. C., said that he approached three of his classmates the next morning and found them enthusiastic over a proposal that they demand service at the lunch counter of a downtown variety store.

About 4:45 P. M. they entered the F. W. Woolworth Company store on North Elm Street in the heart of Greensboro. Mr. Joseph said he bought a tube of toothpaste and the others made similar purchases. Then they sat down at the lunch counter.

Rebuked by a Negro

A Negro woman kitchen helper walked up, according to the students, and told them, "You know you're not supposed to be in here." She later called them "ignorant" and a "disgrace" to their race.

The students then asked a white waitress for coffee.

"I'm sorry but we don't serve colored here," they quoted her.

THREATS IN THE AFTERNOON: Negro students move away from white teenagers in Portsmouth, Va. Negro protest against segregated lunch counter seating began fight between groups. Youth in foreground carries hammer.

"I beg your pardon," said Franklin McCain, 18, of Washington, "you just served me at a counter two feet away. Why is it that you serve me at one counter and deny me at another. Why not stop serving me at all the counters."

The four students sat, coffeeless, until the store closed at 5:30 P. M. Then, hearing that they might be prosecuted, they went to the executive committee of the Greensboro N. A. A. C. P. to ask advice.

"This was our first knowledge of the demonstration," said Dr. George C. Simkins, who is president of the organization. He said that he had then written to the New York headquarters of the Congress of Racial Equality, which is known as CORE. He requested assistance for the demonstrators, who numbered in the hundreds during the following days.

Dr. Simkins, a dentist, explained that he had heard of a successful attempt, led by CORE, to desegregate a Baltimore restaurant and had read one of the organization's pamphlets.

CORE's field secretary, Gordon R. Carey, arrived from New York on Feb. 7. He said that he had assisted Negro students in some North Carolina cities after they had initiated the protests.

The Greensboro demonstrations and the others that it triggered were spontaneous, according to Mr. Carey. All of the Negroes questioned agreed on this.

The movement's chief targets were two national variety chains, S. H. Kress & Co. and the F. W. Woolworth Company Other chains were affected. In some cities the students demonstrated at local stores.

The protests generally followed similar patterns. Young men and women and, in one case, high school boys and girls, walked into the stores and requested food service. Met with refusals in all cases, they remained at the lunch counters in silent protest.

The reaction of store managers in those instances was to close down the lunch counters and, when trouble developed or bomb threats were received, the entire store.

Hastily painted signs, posted on the counters, read: "Temporarily Closed," "Closed for Repairs," "Closed in the Interest of Public Safety," "No Trespassing," and "We Reserve The Right to Service the Public as We See Fit."

After a number of establishments had shut down in High Point, N. C., the S. H. Kress & Co. store remained open, its lunch counter desegregated. The secret? No stools.

Asked how long the store had been serving all comers on a stand-up basis, the manager replied:

"I don't know. I just got transferred from Mississippi."

The demonstrations attracted crowds of whites. At first the hecklers were youths with duck-tailed haircuts. Some carried small Confederate battle flags. Later they were joined by older men in faded khakis and overalls.

The Negro youths were challenged to step outside and fight. Some of the remarks to the girls were jesting in nature, such as, "How about a date when we integrate?" Other remarks were not.

Negro Knocked Down

In a few cases the Negroes were elbowed, jostled and shoved. Itching powder was sprinkled on them and they were spattered with eggs.

At Rock Hill, S. C., a Negro youth was knocked from a stool by a white beside whom he sat. A bottle of ammonia was hurled through the door of a drug store there. The fumes brought tears to the eyes of the demonstrators.

The only arrests reported involved forty-three of the demonstrators. They were seized on a sidewalk outside a Woolworth store at a Raleigh shopping center. Charged with trespassing, they posted $50 bonds and were released.

The management of the shopping center contended that the sidewalk was private property.

'Complicated Hospitality'

Some newspapers noted the embarrassing position in which the variety chains found themselves. The News and Observer of Raleigh remarked editorially that in these stores the Negro was a guest, who was cordially invited to the house but definitely not to the table. "And to say the least, this was complicated hospitality."

Rogers Gets Appeal

The Congress of Racial Equality said here yesterday that it had sent a telegram to Attorney General William P. Rogers protesting the use of trespassing laws to stop the sitdowns by Negro students in the South.

The organization is an interracial group that uses nonviolent methods to combat racial discrimination. It urged Mr. Rogers "to take immediate steps to protect the civil liberties and rights of the Negro students who are threatened with arrest and imprisonment under the guise of a trespass complaint."

CONGRESS OF
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY

38 Park Row
New York 38, N Y

[1960, March 30-31]

REPORT

on

NASHVILLE 1960

Its Problems and Possibilities

A Two Evening Meeting

Arranged by
The Nashville Community Relations Conference

March 30-31, 1960
Christ Episcopal Church

PROGRAM COMMITTEE: Dr. John J. Compton, Chairman, Mr. Paul Anderson, Mrs. Robert Eisenstein, Dr. Dwight Freshley, Miss Alma Gault, Mrs. Dewey Grantham, Mrs. Charles S. Johnson, Mrs. Delbert Mann, Mrs. John T. McCall, Rev. Jack Nesmith, Rev. Robert Palmer, Mr. Walter Sharp, Miss Florence Teague, Miss Louise Young, Mrs. Jack Yulman.

Nashville Community Relations Conference

The purpose of this organization is to retain the friendly relations our community has achieved in many fields, and to help resolve, in a lawful manner, unresolved problems of prejudice, discrimination, and group tension, upon a friendly, firm, and lasting basis.

The organization shall study, and participate in activities for additional improvement in good community relations, and—by planning for the future, with lawful agencies in the community—by education and the use of public communication—attempt to forestall and eliminate possible causes of unrest.

The organization is dedicated to equal justice under the law, and a true brotherhood of man.

Officers

GEORGE E. BARRETT	**President**
MRS. HUGH MORGAN	**Vice President**
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REPORT ON NASHVILLE 1960

Its Problems and Possibilities

In response to the need for community-wide evaluation of the human relations scene in Nashville, the Conference arranged two evening meetings the objectives of which were to examine the state of our community relations, to interpret the significance of recent evidences of unrest, and to explore available means of remedy and improvement. More than 500 persons attended one or both meetings.

The first evening's program was addressed to the broad task of reporting on and assessing the roots of the problems we face in human relations. A number of men joined in providing this background: Mr. Wallace Westfeldt of the *Nashville Tennessean* and author of the Conference's published "Report on Nashville"; Mr. Walter Sharp, Chairman of the Department of Fine Arts at Vanderbilt; Prof. Harold Bradley, Chairman of the Department of History at Vanderbilt; Rabbi William B. Silverman of the Temple; Mr. Cecil Sims, Nashville attorney; and the Rev. Kelly Miller Smith of the First Baptist Church.

The following evening was devoted to the deliberation of ways and means of community action: What can we do? To provide for thorough and informed discussion by everyone, small Discussion Groups—staffed by discussion leaders and resource persons—were arranged. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Raymond T. Ferris, the rector of Christ Church, the reports of these groups were presented and summarized for the entire meeting.

The summaries which follow represent, in the judgment of the Program Committee, an accurate digest of the speakers' remarks without purporting to be verbatim transcripts. They do not necessarily reflect the official position of the Nashville Community Relations Conference.

• • • •

MR. WALLACE WESTFELDT opened the first evening's discussion with the question, "Where are we now with human relations in Nashville?" In politics we are doing very well—everyone has the right to vote. In the field of education some Negro and some white children go to school together but there are only about 40 Negro children in white schools and many people feel that we are moving too slowly. The problem here is largely a matter of residential segregation. We have few "gray neighborhoods" but, if you believe in integration, it is much better than it was.

There is no question but that there is discrimination in employment. To remain in the South many educated Negroes have to do menial work. A great deal has to be done in the area of equal employment opportunities. The sit-in demonstrations have raised the question whether all things legal are right, presenting problems of legality that are confusing. The sit-ins have caught Nashville by surprise. Few white people have realized how the Negro feels and that the Negro today is not the same as the Negro of yesterday. Strong tones of anti-semitism come up every time there is a racial problem and the charge is that it is caused by Communists and Jews. The dynamite explosion at the Jewish Community Center and swastika paintings have been attributed to pranksters. But how can we account for the hundreds of anti-Jewish leaflets that were put out on the same day that the Temple was desecrated?

MR. WALTER SHARP presented the members of the panel who were to discuss "The sources and implications of our human relations problems."

DR. HAROLD BRADLEY: Nashville cannot separate itself from the state, the region, and indeed the rest of the world. As a relative newcomer from California, I have observed some clear progress in Nashville, but a dilemma is indicated by the large group present at the meeting tonight. We should not be complacent at small progress. Nashville shows a greater degree of tolerance than her sister cities, but the swastika was painted a few months ago on a Jewish temple, and now we have the sit-ins.

Some of the press has shown little pride in our progress. Also our political representatives are not enthusiastic about the civil rights legislation now being proposed. Why should this be in Nashville?

This is to be explained not only in local terms but in the broader atmosphere contributing to bias and hatred. Our whole political atmosphere for the last 15 years has been poisoned by appeals to prejudice. McCarthyism was not invented by him, he merely took advantage of it. Much of our political thinking has been dependent upon hatred, creating biases against minorities and nations. There has been an attempt to direct scorn and contempt at organizations of "do-gooders" like the ADA, NAACP, CIO. To "do-good" has somehow become bad. For most of us this has been an age of complacency—any innovation, however desirable, is regarded with suspicion.

We live in an area rightly proud of its glorious history; nearly two centuries of it. But too much history inclines us to look back, and the community which looks back finds itself unable to chart its course ahead. The unhappy conclusion seems to be that the rooting out of prejudice does not harmonize with our past. We need to think less of our past and get a new perspective for the future.

RABBI WILLIAM B. SILVERMAN: Between December 1959 and the end of January 1960, 414 desecrations of Jewish property were reported to B'nai B'rith. There is a tendency to dismiss these incidents in the USA as pranks or hoodlumism. But the klan has announced its plans to add millions to its rolls; the nation has been inundated with a bath of nazi literature. George Lincoln Rockwell has boasted that by 1970 there will be a political party strong enough to take over. The youth are organized in Arlington, Va.; thousands have been supplied with swastika arm bands and they are boasting that soon there will be enough gas ovens to destroy all the Jews in America.

After the swastika painting on the Temple in Nashville, I received one letter from the ministerial association and one from a minister. No concern was expressed to me by local authorities; few people seemed to notice it. To them it was a prank, and the father of the boy who was identified, offered to pay to erase the painted swastika from the building. I told him that it would take more than money to erase it from the hearts of the people. What the swastika means to Jews is Dachau and Auschwitz.

Locally, one of the boys who desecrated the Temple later broke into an Episcopal church and destroyed the crucifix. Once hate is successfully directed against Negroes, it will be directed against Jews, Catholics, Protestants, and against Democracy itself.. I believe youths are being propagandized and I am concerned about the public apathy in these matters. Note the suppression of unpleasant truths in our school textbooks. When we are indifferent to one moral issue, we become indifferent to others. Burke reminds us that all that is necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.

MR. CECIL SIMS: I should like to state three facts, three fallacies, and then draw a conclusion. (1) It is an absolutely incontrovertible fact that the Negro race has made the most remarkable progress, both politically and economically, that has ever been made in history and I concede that it was made under the most adverse circumstances. Certain signs of the breakdown of the old order were in evidence before the Supreme Court decision. Competent Negroes are serving on school boards, the police force, and in many professions. The vote of the Negro is sought and he is obviously a force to be reckoned with. (2) Discrimination and segregation are not a Southern monopoly. Some of our worst riots have taken place in the North. (3) The Negro is obviously entitled to all rights and protection that the law provides for any other citizen. Common honesty, common justice should be given to all alike.

The fallacies are these: (1) It is a misreading of human nature to suppose that different cultures and groups can be forced into harmony. It is one thing to give the Negro the vote. It is another thing to compel social relationships. (2) In the United States discrimination is not just a question of skin color. It is no more synonymous with the Negro question than it is with the Jewish question. (3) It is unimaginable that the coming together of different cultures can be accomplished without difficulty. We must expect to deal honestly and frankly with prejudice and hatred.

In conclusion, it follows that legislation that goes beyond voting and equality before the law to seek to enforce social integration, association and acceptance, is wrong. To compel unwilling association is regimentation which amounts to an infringement of human rights. Civil disobedience on the part of the minority group retards development of good relations. This might serve the purpose of pointing up problems, but it destroys the leavening element. Enforced association is more likely to acerbate than to improve race relations.

REV. KELLY MILLER SMITH: The Nashville Christian Leadership Council was organized because of the "shame and the glory" of Nashville, because Nashville, with progress to its credit, still needs to make much more. In January, 1958, a group of Christian leaders got together in the hope that problems and inequities could be worked out through moral persuasion. In March, 1958, the first workshop on non-violence was held. The emphasis was not on Civil disobedience but on moral obedience. The main essential was and is Christian non-violence. This was the method by which the problems of segregated eating and rest room facilities, and employment opportunities, were to be approached.

Early in 1959, it was decided that eating facilities would be the first target. In May, 1959, we called on two store managers and put our case before them. On one side of the street we received a courteous "No". On the other side of the street, we received a curt "No." Sit-ins have served the purpose of making the problem an issue to many people previously ignorant of it. We have made an effort to place the whole matter on the conscience of the people.

We believe that there are enough fair-minded people in Nashville to see to it that the stores would not go bankrupt if their counters were open to all shoppers. Citizens of Nashville must become aware that the image of Hambone does not represent Negroes today. They are not content with the little red school house for their children. They are not content with their treatment at down-town lunch counters. They are more united in this present effort than they have ever been before.

• • • •

The following is a synthesis of the opinions and recommendations reported by the 17 Discussion Groups. No action was taken on these reports. Hence they do not necessarily represent the views of the Conference or of the Meeting as a whole.

1. Information is badly needed. A questionnaire sampling community willingness to eat in integrated restaurants should be considered. A study should be made and distributed clarifying where and to what extent integration exists and does not exist. A list of speakers and a bibliography on human relations topics should be available. It would be useful to have a list of persons to whom letters might be written encouraging integration.

2. Some criticism of newspaper accounts of recent events was expressed. An appeal was made for more complete and accurate coverage. Informational background features, e.g. on the legal aspects of the sit-ins and the history of Nazism, would be useful. Paid advertisements stating the case for integration might be run in the press. TV and radio panels could be arranged.

3. The churches have failed to exert significant leadership for better human relations. Ministerial Association action, forthright preaching, exchange of pulpits, combined meetings of classes and groups from Negro and white churches, church-school education—from nursery on— for racial and religious understanding, were urged.

4. The Public Schools must not avoid their educational responsibilities to aid in the development of understanding among various groups. Through class work, fuller textual coverage, and visual aids, our children need to learn the facts about races and religious groups.

5. Youth organizations—Y's, scouts, and like—would do well to plan programs to educate for better human relations.

6. Special interest groups such as PTA's, professional organizations, Chambers of Commerce and other business associations, and civic clubs can also educate for better human relations and should work to include in their membership all qualified persons in the community.

7. A permanent, thoroughly representative, bi-racial Mayor's Committee should be established to study Nashville's human relations problems and to aid in their resolution.

8. Meetings like the present one should be frequent and regular.

9. Suits should be initiated to determine the rights of Negroes to service in restaurant facilities and to clarify their rights in other areas as well, e.g. in parks, museums, libraries, theatres.

10. The larger community of the unconvinced must somehow be reached. The "power structure" must be affected.

11. Individuals can do a number of things: they can write letters to business and political leaders, vote wisely, be willing to initiate face-to-face discussion so as to confront others with the issues, and encourage informal contacts between individuals and groups of different races and religions.

Give Decency A Chance in the South...

We need to take some chances in behalf of decency.

We need to set up advance positions, and make a try at supporting them.

We need to believe a little more in the decency of the common man.

—AUBREY WILLIAMS

[1960?]

The elimination of all forms of racial segregation in the Southern and border States.

WE WORK TOWARD THAT DAY

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

THIS IS OUR PAST . . .

Prior to 1946, the Southern Conference Educational Fund operated as a part of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was formed in 1938 to seek the way toward economic and social progress for the South. The SCHW turned its energies and its work toward many crucial problems facing the region. Operating as an independent agency since 1946, SCEF has applied itself to only one of these—the elimination of segregation; we believe that herein lies the key to every other problem the South faces.

Always our emphasis has been on **interracial** activity in pursuit of our goal. We firmly believe that segregation destroys the white people in the South as much as it does the Negroes, corrupting them in subtle ways. We have always been sure that there are many Southern white people who will help to conquer this evil if they can find the way. We have sought to find these people and to bring them together.

We have felt that the struggle for equal rights must not be carried on by the Negro people alone. Not only because it is morally wrong that they should have to bear the burden without help, but also because it is only through joint effort of Negro and white in this endeavor that we can lay the basis for a brotherly society in the future.

AND THESE OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Here are a few of the things we have done since 1946:

- **Underwrote a test case challenging Georgia's county-unit voting system (1948).**
- **Distributed 125,000 copies of a graphic study of effects of segregation in education (1947); coordinated an amicus brief in the Sweatt case which broke college segregation (1949); brought together students and educators from over the South for a conference on Discrimination in Higher Education (1950); sponsored an interracial youth conference, assembling teachers and students from 48 southern colleges (1952).**
- **Conducted study of discrimination in medicine and distributed 25,000 copies of pamphlet on hospital discrimination, "The Untouchables" (1951-52).**
- **Launched a series of regional conferences on compliance with Supreme Court school decision (1954-55).**
- **Subsidized voter registration projects in Alabama and Mississippi (1958-59) and South Carolina (1960).**
- **Presented to U.S. Senate a petition with 21,000 signatures gathered by 800 SCEF friends, asking a change in Rule 22 to end filibustering of civil rights legislation (1958-59).**
- **Sponsored a Conference on Voting Restrictions in Washington with reports from eight Deep South states (1958). With 15 other Southern organizations, brought voteless Negroes to Washington to testify before Volunteer Civil Rights Commission of distinguished citizens, after court order halted official Civil Rights Commission hearings in Louisiana (1960).**
- **In cooperation with Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, published brochure telling story of the integration struggle in Birmingham (1959).**
- **Helped organize Walker-Lassiter Defense Fund to establish voting rights in eastern North Carolina (1958-59).**
- **Organized support for civil rights legislation in Kentucky (1958) and opposition to pro-segregation legislation in Louisiana (1959).**
- **Published *Southern Patriot*, a monthly paper covering southern integration news (1942 to present).**

THIS IS OUR PRESENT

Today SCEF is supported by people, white and Negro, in all 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia. Eighty-four prominent citizens from this region serve on its board, and 91 others on its advisory committee.

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AND THESE OUR SUPPORTERS

"By working so untiringly to achieve the ideals of freedom and human dignity for all men SCEF has given new hope for the possibility of transforming the tragic midnight of racial injustice into the glowing daybreak of freedom and equality."
—THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

"The SCEF is one of the valuable assets in our American life, North and South, which helps us to move with a rapidly changing world in an orderly and creative direction."
—CLARENCE PICKETT

"The SCEF angers nobody except those who are not angered by injustice."
—IRVING BRANT

". . . . That the SCEF is comprised of citizens of the South actively engaged in the fight for freedom and equality of all people, strengthens our faith that the achievement of the highest ideals of democracy is on America's threshold."
CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
Member of Congress

"A hideous scar on the American body politic—and one not unnoticed by the uncommitted Nations—is the surviving pattern of segregation and discrimination. For its elimination—and it must be eliminated—there are varied valuable approaches. But one of the most important is that of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. Spot action is needed; but we also need a continuing educational program throughout the area most vividly (though not uniquely) afflicted with this malady, as well as the selected action and cooperative programs maintained by the Fund. It deserves continued support on the part of Americans of all sections."
—THE RT. REV. JAMES A. PIKE

THIS IS OUR FUTURE

Today there is greater need than ever before for SCEF. The 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation brought the South a great opportunity, but not enough white Southerners rose to the challenge. A determined minority fastened new repressions on parts of the region, and in other sections there has been only the farce of token integration.

Now, however, Southern Negroes are moving ahead to claim their rights. Finally more white people are speaking out too, but generally the white South—even its liberals—lags far behind the Negroes. This can only lead ultimately to greater divisions between the races.

Yet in the decency of most white Southerners we maintain our faith. The white South is groping and searching as it has never had to do before. Out of this turmoil, we believe, will come our region's time of greatest achievement.

AND THIS OUR PROGRAM

To hasten the coming of that day, SCEF has expanded its activities.

We are increasing our efforts to reach and bring together the Southern people who are groping for ways to meet the challenge of the times.

In the area of education, we are continuing and expanding our work of providing people with the facts they need in this time of searching. This we do through special publications on specific problems and regularly in our periodical, *The Southern Patriot.*

In the area of action, we continue and expand our efforts to break the silence where it now exists, to strengthen the voice of decency where it now speaks.

Starting with pilot projects in a few states, we plan to organize interracial groups to work for integration in the legislative arena. These groups will work at national, state, and local levels—for positive civil rights legislation in the border states now, against pro-segregation legislation in the Deep South at present. We envision the day when we can work for positive legislation in every state.

We are intensifying our work to help break down voting restrictions and to organize interracial support for the Southern Negro's drive for the vote.

We are continuing, as we have in the past, to help mobilize community support for all moves against segregation — in the schools, hospitals, parks, libraries, restaurants, theaters, on the job, and elsewhere.

AND SCEF NEEDS YOU . . .

If it is to do the gigantic job that must be done, SCEF needs the help of many people.

If you live in the South, it needs your ideas, your suggestions, your time and your energy, your hands and your pen and your heart—whatever and as much as you are in a position to give; and it needs your financial contribution.

If you live in the North, it also needs your ideas and your suggestions, and your time and energy in letting others know about our program and seeking their support; and it needs your financial contribution.

Wherever you live, write to SCEF now. Send a contribution to help carry on this work, and tell us what else you may be able to do. Address all communications to:

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 PERDIDO STREET
NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA

(SCEF is financed by voluntary contributions from individuals and organizations. An annual audit of all accounts is made by Huck & Aucoin, New Orleans.)

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[1961, April 24]

REPORT
on
NASHVILLE 1961
Human Relations Inventory

A Meeting
Arranged by
The Nashville Community Relations
Conference
April 24, 1961
Belmont Methodist Church

The Nashville Community Relations
Conference
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

The Purpose of this organization is to retain the friendly relations our community has achieved in many fields, and to help resolve, in a lawful manner, unresolved problems of prejudice, discrimination, and group tension, upon a friendly, firm, and lasting basis.

The organization shall study, and participate in activities for additional improvement in good community relations, and—by planning for the future, with lawful agencies in the community—by education and the use of public communication—attempt to forestall and eliminate possible causes of unrest.

The organization is dedicated to equal justice under the law, and a true brotherhood of man.

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⑳

INTRODUCTION

Do you know how Nashville, today, would be graded in its progress in the field of community relations? All of us are keenly aware of the distressing instances of violence and the bitter evidence of racial prejudice, but could you present an accurate picture of conditions today to an inquisitive observer from some foreign land? The Nashville Community Relations Conference workshop on April 24, 1961 was an attempt to provide us with just such a stock taking.

Following the invocation by Rabbi Randall Falk of the Temple and welcoming remarks by the Rev. Farris Moore, pastor of Belmont Methodist Church, George Barrett, President of the Conference, introduced the speakers by noting the several recent signs of progress in human relations in the city: the integration of lunch counters, desegregation of Davidson County schools through the 4th grade, the constructive solution following the theatre stand-ins, and the meeting of Negro and white community leaders with Vice-President Lyndon Johnson in Nashville to discuss improvement of employment opportunities for Negroes.

The speakers were Dr. Robert J. Harris, Professor of Political Science at Vanderbilt University, Attorney Charles W. Warfield and Attorney Avon Williams. Following these speakers' assessment, the entire assembly divided into twenty groups to continue to explore the status of human relations in Nashville with the aid of discussion leaders and resource persons. In a closing session Dr. Herman Long, Director of Race Relations of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational-Christian Churches at Fisk University, summarized the reactions and recommendations which had been voiced in the discussion groups.

"THE QUEST FOR EQUALITY"

DR. ROBERT J. HARRIS provided historical perspective for the panel by sketching the development of the philosophy of "liberty and equality" from Roman times. This philosophy, from Cicero to John Locke, shaped the thinking of America's great early statesmen and is firmly a part of the American tradition. The desire for equality is insatiable, but we should bear in mind that the struggle for liberty and equality are continual: we never achieve complete liberty or equality, but we are continually striving to make advances.

OPINION MAKERS AND EQUALITY

MR. CHARLES WARFIELD: Let us look at four opinion makers and some opinion making done through them in the past twelve months.

(1) *Court decisions are opinion makers.* Justice Holmes, dissenting in the *Lochner Case,* stated that "Every opinion tends to become a law." This is true. Likewise the converse is true-every law tends to become an opinion. When the Supreme Court decision (Brown v. Board of Education) to desegregate the schools was rendered, opinions began to change because the force of law entered the arena of ideas. Many people felt encouragement. Public opinion tends to climb a ladder of acceptance of such a decision. The rungs of this ladder are "This is the law, is it? Will it be enforced?" "I see it will be enforced but I don't like it", "You know there may be some merit in the decision." "The decision is right and just." This year's most important court decisions were those relating to New Orleans Parish Schools, casting aside all the legal maneuvers to avoid integration there. These decisions are at the lowest rung of acceptance. Perhaps we can now step up the ladder to "It's the law but I don't like it" and still higher rungs.

(2) *Political acts are opinion makers.* In Nashville, I saw Negroes march to the court house and confer with the Mayor. The Republican and Democratic national platforms endorsed the sit-in demonstrations; the conventions were marked by Negro participation; following the election, President Kennedy appointed a Negro to a high post, and in Davidson County, a Negro attorney, was offered the post of Assistant U. S. Attorney. These acts shape public opinion.

(3) *Churches are opinion makers.* There is a shift in attitude of many churches, church organizations, ministers and laymen, from "The Bible upholds segregation" to a welcome to Negro worshippers. Atlanta Presbytery, for example, has recently affirmed that its churches should receive all those who attend worship in the spirit of Christ, without discriminatory treatment. This is opinion making.

(4) *Individuals are opinion makers.* There is a considerable shift in individual attitudes. Some persons only change from the attitude that "Negroes have no rights" to the attitude that "Negroes still have no rights but I have a guilty conscience." The greatest single change, however, is that fewer people have radical and total feelings against integration. In fact, in conversations, at meetings, conventions, lunch, and courthouse corridors, there are more plain citizens who speak out in somewhat timid but powerful words that "the Negro has rights." As this average citizen speaks, walks, argues, plays bridge, works, strikes, preaches, teaches, sings, prays, *he is the greatest influence today on the other average citizen.*

A LACK OF EQUALITY

MR. AVON WILLIAMS: A few months ago, I heard a distinguished anthropologist refer to the community life of the American Negro as a subculture within, but quite apart from, the main cultural life of the American people. At first I resented this, as a Negro, but at last I came to see its truth. The walls of segregation shield the Negro from both the light and the censure of the community at large; the Negro community develops its own ways. Departures from general standards of morality frequently find acceptance and respectability among certain segments of the Negro community. The motive and drive for self-improvement and achievement are largely squelched by racial barriers which arbitrarily prevent employment of Negroes on self-respecting levels or advancement to higher positions once employed. Substandard education perpetuates false standards of excellence and accreditation in Negro schools. Recreational and cultural life center around segregated churches, a few segregated playgrounds, bars, and street corners, while the main community attempts to develop salutary cultural and civic attitudes and habits in its white children by means of well-fitted YMCA's, YWCA's, boys clubs, scientific fairs, park symphony concerts, sports competition, mock state government and the like.

Effects of Lack of Equality

The effects of the presence of this substandard subculture, both on Negroes and whites, is enormous. Aside from the general contagiousness of social disorders, the symptoms have even more direct and practical effects. Breakdown of the family relationship usually results in increased public expenditures for aid to unmarried mothers and dependent children and greater juvenile delinquency and crime with their attendant human loss and public expense. Unemployment, or low income employment adds to the economic burden of a community and retards its economic growth. Loss of manpower and brainpower through restrictive and inadequate training of any portion of our educable population, constitutes loss of our most valuable community resource in the South's and our Nation's competition for growth and leadership.

Failure to Achieve Equality

The experience of the past few years, moreover, has demonstrated acutely that the efforts of a few dedicated leaders, Negro and white, are not enough to make the progress demanded by the times in ridding a community of this subculture. Two major obstacles stand in the way of fuller participation in this effort: First, the attitudes and habits of fear, indifference, self-deprecation, deference to mythical white superiority, and lack of civic responsibility, which have been engendered among a large portion of Negro people by their continuous subjection to the segregated subculture; and Second, the tendency on the part of the majority of the white population to view the situation as a "Negro problem", wherein the Negroes, as a sort of unwanted poor relation, are seeking to enter schools, parks, and other community facilities and to acquire jobs and live in residential areas which really belong only to whites. What this has meant is that most Negroes fail to take advantage of new openings for them to share full citizenship, while most whites look the other way entirely.

Responsibility to Achieve Equality

Negro leaders and some whites are striving to educate more Negroes to their responsibility, but Negroes cannot solve the *white man's* side of the problem. When Negroes demand the right to accept the responsibilities of and participate in the life of the community, it seems a poor answer for white leaders to say "I'm sorry but the majority of the white people of our community are prejudiced and selfish; they do not want you to enjoy the benefits of citizenship on the same basis as other citizens; if community progress means having you participate in community life upon the same terms and conditions as they do, then they do not want community progress; it's up to you Negroes to convince them that they are wrong!"

The time has come when responsible political, civic, business, church and social leaders in the white community can no longer continue to condone or participate in such attitudes. I sincerely believe that these many white leaders, who have for so long held back, must now come forward and take an open, affirmative stand for truth and for total community progress, whatever the personal consequences may be. They must actively work and help to change the attitudes and habits of their white brethren which are inimical to progress and the betterment of our community.

Ways to Equality

The following is a synthesis of the opinions which were expressed in the twenty discussion groups.

1. What is the climate in Nashville in 1961? Among the whites, segregationists are more on the defensive and there seems to be some greater acceptance of the initiative of Negroes. Among Negroes, while considerable conservatism exists, there is a new sense of pride coupled with renewed concern for improved employment opportunities and housing.
2. Work for integrated facilities is especially needed in all organizations serving school-age children—Scouts, day camps, parks, and park recreation centers, Y's, symphony orchestras, summer park concert series, state fair grounds; and also in state parks, state and county mental institutions, and hotels.
3. Discrimination in employment and in promotion, is perhaps the greatest present obstacle to full citizenship for the Negro.
4. Fear of the other race, fear of social change—especially as it appears to be out of one's control, fear of reprisal for involvement or expression of honest conviction, fear of violence, and fear of any large and organized group movement . . . all these fears hinder our forthright and direct cooperation on race-relations problems. We need frankly to air, examine, and forestall these fears.
5. How can we channel the many, but often scattered, individual opinions into collective and constructive action? We need to work through organizations which already have firm commitments to promote racial equality (e.g. NAACP, churches, Community Relations Conference); community leaders need to be urged to speak out; a permanent, authoritative, and representative bi-racial Human Relations Committee should be established to make periodic reports and recommendations to the community; each individual must accept responsibility for making known his own personal views.
6. We need interracial symbols. Through stories, photographs, better TV coverage, the image of integration can become a positive, approved, and customary one. Negroes and whites must be seen normally together. Certain objectionable words and phrases which continue group tensions should be eliminated from our press and public discussion.
7. More publicity should be utilized to apprise Negroes of the opening up of new opportunities to share in the community life. Perhaps the Conference's newsletter, meetings and reports, could be used.

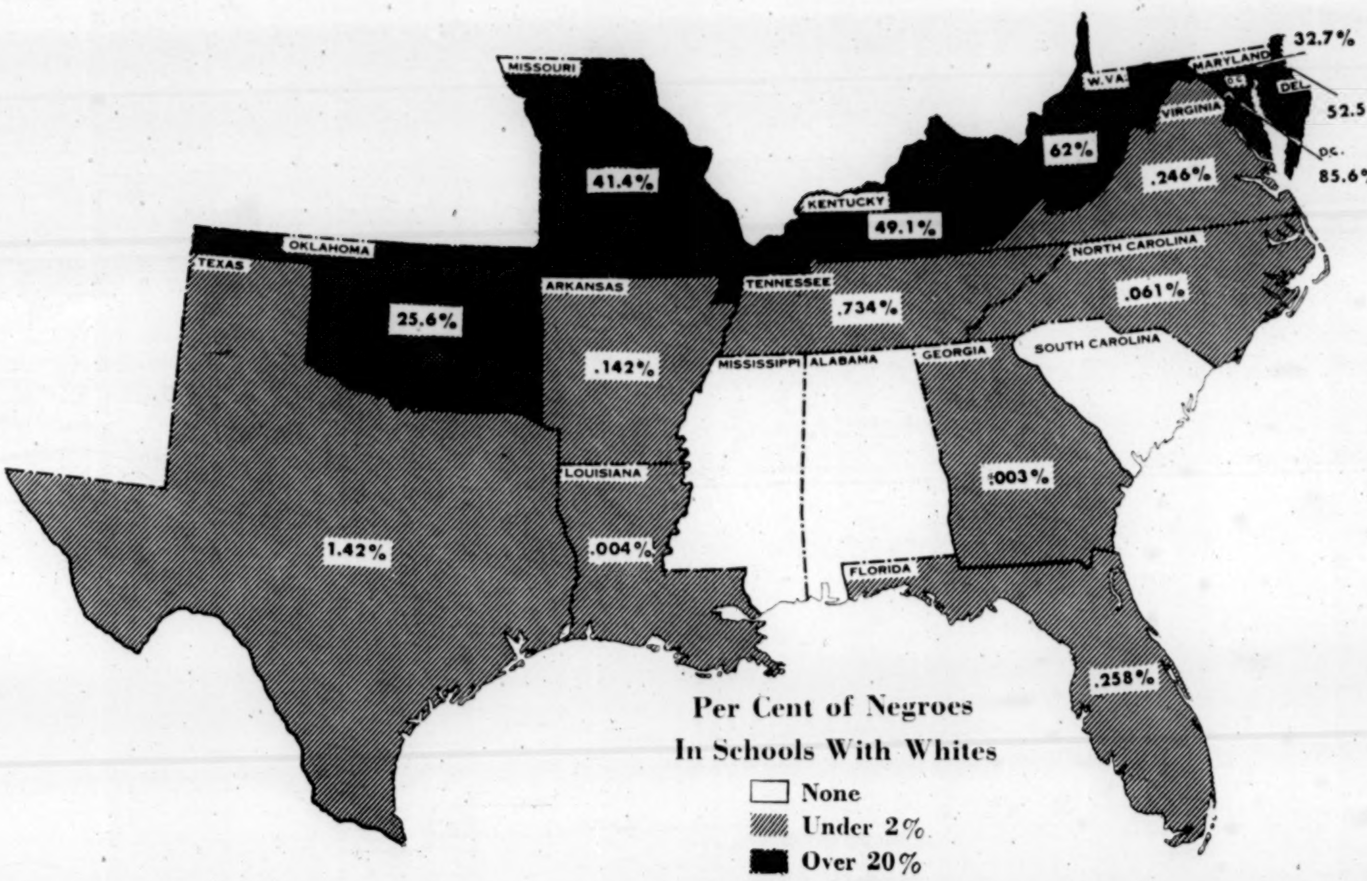
DR. HERMAN LONG: Through the years, the Nashville Community Relations Conference has helped Nashville in its efforts to become a more genuine, just and progressive community. But what has interested me most is to note the change which has taken place within the Conference itself. We have become a more cohesive, honest, mature community within the larger community. We are now much better armed than in the past. We have learned a great deal. And among the significant things we have learned is that community attitudes as a whole do not change and then bring with them new habits and outward forms of life. Rather, things happened and then attitudes changed. This has been true in our own group as well.

* * *

PLANNING COMMITTEE FOR THE WORKSHOP: Miss Louise Young, Chairman; Rev. Alexander Anderson, Paul Anderson, George Barrett, Rev. Will D. Campbell, Henry Cartwright, John J. Compton, Rabbi Randall Falk, Mrs. Blanche Fensterwald, Rev. Clyde Flannery, Dwight L. Freshley, Mrs. Nelson Fuson, Miss Alma Gault, Mrs. Dewey Grantham, Vivian Henderson, Mrs. John Hull, Mrs. Charles S. Johnson, Miss Kay Jones, Henry Koestline, Mrs. Joseph L. May, Mrs. John T. McCall, Mrs. Ray Miller, Mrs. Hugh Morgan, Rev. Jack Nesmith, Rev. Robert Palmer, Miss Sarah Pereira, Mrs. Burton M. Pogell, Mrs. David Price, Jr., Mrs. Milton Randolph, Mrs. C. J. Walker, Dr. C. J. Walker, J. Russell Whitaker, Mrs. S. J. Wright, Mrs. Jack Yulman.

Statistical Summary

of school segregation-desegregation in the Southern and border states


MISSOURI
41.4%
W.VA.
62%
MARYLAND
32.7%
D.C.
DEL.
52.5%
D.C.
85.6%
VIRGINIA
.246%
KENTUCKY
49.1%
OKLAHOMA
25.6%
TEXAS
1.42%
ARKANSAS
.142%
TENNESSEE
.734%
NORTH CAROLINA
.061%
SOUTH CAROLINA
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
.003%
LOUISIANA
.004%
FLORIDA
.258%
Per Cent of Negroes
In Schools With Whites
None
Under 2%
Over 20%

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November, 1961

A Statistical Summary, State by State, of Segregation-Desegregation Activity Affecting Southern Schools from 1954 to Present, Together With Pertinent Data on Enrollment, Teachers, Colleges, Litigation and Legislation

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Definition of Terms

Desegregation—Change from segregated to biracial or multiracial status, either in practice or principle.

Integration—Absence of all racial distinctions.

Biracial School—One attended by more than one race.

Districts With Negroes and Whites—A district having both Negro and white students, whether the district is segregated or desegregated.

"C" and "V"—Following dates of desegregation indicates whether the action was Voluntary or Court-ordered.

Negroes w/Whites—Used in tables for number of Negroes attending schools with whites.

Status Before 1954

When the U.S. Supreme Court first ruled in the school segregation cases on May 17, 1954, 17 Southern and border states, plus the District of Columbia, maintained complete segregation in elementary and secondary schools, except in some communities having only a few Negro children to educate from time to time. Four states outside the region—Arizona, Kansas, New Mexico, and Wyoming—allowed varieties of local segregation contrary to law. Sixteen states had laws prohibiting segregation but not all enforced them. Eleven other Northern and Western states had no laws on the subject. The "School Segregation Cases" were *Oliver Brown et al v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kan., et al Henry Briggs Jr. et al v. R. W. Elliott et al* (Clarendon County, S.C.); *Dorothy E. Davis et al v. County School Board of Prine Edward County, Va., et al; Francis B. Gebhardt et al v. Ethel Louise Belton* (New Castle County, Del.); and *Spottswood Thomas Bolling et al v. Melvin Sharpe et al* (District of Columbia).

Statistical Developments from 1954

	School Districts			Enrollment		In Desegregated Districts		Negroes In Schools with Whites	
	Total	With Negroes and Whites	Deseg.	White	Negro	White	Negro	No.	%**
1954-55	NA	NA	154	8,581,686	2,650,649	NA	NA	NA	—
1955-56	NA	4,791	540	8,817,206	2,722,895	NA	256,020	NA	—
Oct., 1956	9,840	3,711	650	9,059,581	2,785,461	1,779,529	319,184	NA	—
June, 1957	9,691	3,684	684	9,117,975	2,799,278	1,847,846*	325,274	NA	—
Feb., 1958	8,832	3,008	763	9,430,965	2,924,976	1,952,761*	377,286	NA	—
May, 1959	7,874	2,881	734	9,658,361	2,999,157	2,261,513*	447,022	NA	—
May, 1960	7,016	2,850	749	9,894,192	3,020,727	2,551,021*	520,413	181,020	6.0
Nov., 1960	6,664	2,839	777	10,165,246	3,097,534	3,013,019*	681,763	195,625	6.3
May, 1961	6,663	2,813	783	10,173,399	3,088,261	3,106,130*	706,163	213,532	6.9
Nov., 1961	6,373	2,804	897	10,266,673	3,210,724	3,759,894*	927,146	233,509	7.3

*Missouri not included

**Proportion of Negroes in schools with whites to total Negro enrollment.

THE REGION

Elementary and High Schools

6,373 Districts: 2,804 With Negroes and Whites; 897 Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment	10,266,673	3,210,724	13,477,397
Teachers*	386,274	103,970	516,300

*Maryland not included in racial breakdowns.

Colleges and Universities

152 Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	234	51	285
Enrollment	639,467	62,440	701,907

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The region has 6,373 school districts, with 2,804 of them having both Negroes and whites. Of these districts having both races, 793 have Negroes attending schools with whites and another 104 districts have desegregation policies but no biracial schools. The table below shows that 28.9 per cent of the Negroes are in desegregated districts but of these 927,146 Negro students, only 25.2 per cent of them actually attend desegregated schools. The South has 233,509 Negroes in biracial schools, representing 7.3 per cent of the region's 3,210,724 Negroes.

	School Districts					In Desegregated Districts		Negroes In Schools With Whites	
State	Total	With Negroes & Whites	Deseg.	White	Negro	White	Negro	No.	%†††
Alabama	114	114	0	523,303**	276,029**	0	0	0	0
Arkansas	418	228	10	317,475†	106,731†	54,737	13,237	152	.142
Delaware	92	92	92	70,812	16,096	70,812	16,096	8,446	52.5
Dist. of Columbia	1	1	1	23,462	103,806	23,462	103,806	88,881	85.6
Florida	67	67	5	816,070	214,283	330,499*	60,372*	552	.258
Georgia	198	196	1	641,710	303,005	59,319	48,963	9	.003
Kentucky	211	172	134	600,000*	42,000*	445,000*	32,000*	20,636	49.1
Louisiana	67	67	1	450,000*	295,000*	37,123	54,292	12	.004
Maryland	24	23	23	487,500*	145,616*	482,697*	145,616*	47,588	32.7
Mississippi	151	151	0	293,600*	283,900*	0	0	0	0
Missouri	1,692	214*	201*	760,950*	84,550*	—	75,000*	35,000*	41.4
North Carolina	173	173	11	787,405	332,962	130,439	60,044	203	.061
Oklahoma	1,232	240	195	508,750*	41,250*	295,525*	33,817*	10,555	25.6
South Carolina	108	108	0	363,768*	265,076*	0	0	0	0
Tennessee	154	143	13	663,065*	155,500*	214,946	70,594	1,142	.734
Texas	1,485	643	148	1,889,851*	303,060*	1,000,000*	115,000*	4,300*	1.42
Virginia	131	129	19	657,162	216,860	252,758	73,309	533	.246
West Virginia	55	43	43	411,790	25,000*	362,577*	25,000*	15,500*	62.0
TOTALS	6,373	2,804	897	10,266,673	3,210,724	3,759,894††	927,146	233,509	7.3

*Estimated. **1960-61 †1959-60 ††Missouri not included

†††Proportion of Negroes in schools with whites to total Negro enrollment.

TEACHERS

Public school faculties remain segregated in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia, including six states that have desegregated schools. The eight other states and the District of Columbia reported some degree of teacher desegregation, although in four states—Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas and West Virginia—a sizeable number of Negro teachers lost their jobs in the change to biracial schools.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The region has 285 tax-supported institutions of higher learning, with 152 known to be desegregated in practice or principle. Other schools are believed willing to accept members of both races but the racial status is unknown because their enrollments are not kept by race or the schools have not announced a policy. Of the 234 public colleges with all-white or predominantly white enrollments, 137 will accept Negroes. Fifteen of the 51 all-Negro or predominantly Negro public colleges will accept whites. The number of white and Negro students involved in college-level desegregation is unknown since most of the border states no longer report enrollment by race. These figures are available in some of the individual state reports.

FACULTIES

Eight states and the District of Columbia have some degree of faculty desegregation at the college level and nine other states have complete faculty segregation. The states where a public college faculty has desegregated include Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

States having some desegregation in their trade and special schools—ones for the blind, deaf, dumb, orphan, exceptional, retarded or delinquent children—include Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas and West Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

ETHNIC GROUPS

Separate schools or desegregation involving Moors, Indians, "Turks" and other ethnic groups are reported for Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

LITIGATION

The summary lists 226 court cases filed in state and federal courts on school segregation, desegregation and related issues. Every state in the region has had litigation on the school issue. (See "Race Relations Law Reporter" for texts of court decisions.)

LEGISLATION

Legislatures of 15 states have adopted 343 new laws and resolutions to prevent, restrict or control school desegregation. Most of the legislation has been added to the statute books since 1954, although a few laws were enacted in anticipation of the U. S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision. Oklahoma has passed legislation to encourage desegregation. The Missouri and West Virginia legislatures removed racial designations from their school laws, recognizing desegregation as an accomplished fact. In 1959, Maryland ratified the 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, giving approval to the amendment on which the desegregation decisions were based. Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia have adopted tuition grant laws. Legislatures in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia set up pupil placement plans. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia legislators have approved interposition resolutions. Local-option provisions for closing schools are on the law books in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina and Texas. (See "Race Relations Law Reporter" for texts of laws.)

ALABAMA

Elementary and High Schools

114 Districts: 114 With Negroes and

Whites; None Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment*	523,303	276,029	799,332
Teachers*	18,066	8,959	27,025

*1960-61

Colleges and Universities

One Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	7	2	9
Enrollment*	50,188	5,539	55,727

*1959-60

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Segregation is maintained at all levels.

TEACHERS

Segregation is maintained at all levels.

HIGHER EDUCATION

All of the state-supported colleges and universities are uni-racial, although the University of Alabama Board of Trustees announced after the 1956 Autherine Lucy incident that it would consider applications from qualified Negroes. Miss Lucy attended the school by federal court order for several days in 1956 but the school expelled her for accusing the officials of conspiracy in the riots that accompanied the desegregation. The court upheld the expulsion but the school still is under order to admit Negroes. Several Negroes applied at University Center in Montgomery in 1960, but were not accepted. Enrollments for the schools in 1959-60 were:

Predominantly White	White	Negro	Date Deseg.
Alabama	1,955	0	
Auburn Univ.	13,957	0	
Florence State	2,965	0	
Jacksonville State	3,869	0	
Livingston State	1,012	0	
Troy State	3,200	0	
Univ. of Alabama*	23,230	0	1956-C
Predominantly Negro			
Alabama A&M	0	1,885	
Alabama State	0	3,654	
TOTALS	50,188	5,539	

*Includes main campus at Tuscaloosa, medical-dental school at Birmingham and extension centers at Birmingham, Gadsden, Huntsville, Mobile, Montgomery, Dothan and Selma.

FACULTIES

Segregation is maintained. The seven predominantly white schools have 1,880 faculty members and the two predominantly Negro schools have 189.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

All the state-operated trade schools are segregated. A desegregation suit is pending against the all-white trade school in Mobile *(Koen v. Knight)*. The five trade schools for whites have a total enrollment of 3,752 and the other school has 312 Negro students.

LITIGATION

Alabama ex rel Patterson v. NAACP

Montgomery Circuit Court Judge Walter B. Jones issued temporary injunction (still in effect) in June, 1956, restraining organization from operations in state. Jones fined NAACP $100,000 for refusing to produce membership records. Fine set aside by U.S. Supreme Court in 1958, reinstated by Alabama Supreme Court in 1959, again set aside in 1959 by U.S. Supreme Court. On Oct. 23, 1961, the U.S. Supreme Court directed Alabama courts to hear the case on its merits—thus permitting the NAACP a chance to free itself of the temporary injunction—or forfeit jurisdiction to the U.S. District Court in Montgomery. The state was given until Jan. 2, 1962, to comply.

Armstrong et al v. Birmingham Board of Education

Filed in Birmingham U.S. District Court in June, 1960, to enjoin Birmingham Board of Education from "operating a biracial school system." City filed motion for dismissal in July, 1960. No hearing set.

Koen v. Knight

Filed in Mobile District Court in August, 1960, by Ernest Koen and Frank E. Lee, Negroes, against H. Clay Knight, director of state trade school at Mobile, seeking admission to school. Also named as defendants: State Superintendent of Education Frank R. Stewart and members of State Board of Education. The court took under submission the defendant's motion for dismissal; no hearing date has been set on the merits.

Lucy v. Adams

U.S. District Judge H. Hobart Grooms ordered Autherine Lucy admitted to the University of Alabama on Feb. 3, 1956, but Grooms upheld her expulsion after brief attendance for accusing school officials of conspiracy in the riots that drove her from the campus in February. Order opening university to all qualified Negroes remains in effect.

Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Education

The U.S. Supreme Court on Nov. 24, 1958, held *Act 201* of 1955 (amended in 1957) valid "upon its face," affirming finding of three-judge district court May 9, 1958, which denied a Negro request for an order admitting Negroes to Birmingham white schools.

LEGISLATION

1955

SJR 23—Asked Congress to limit appellate jurisdiction of federal courts.

Act 187—Allowed "freedom of choice" in school segregation for Wilcox County.

Act 201—Established pupil assignment criteria. Amended by *Act 367* of 1957.

1956

HJR 10—Requested U.S. Supreme Court modify its decree.

HJR 18—Interposition and nullification.

Act 40—Modified teacher tenure in Macon County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

Act 41—Modified teacher tenure in Marengo County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

Act 43—Required registration of organizations soliciting memberships in Marengo County.

Act 82—Proposed amendment for "freedom of choice" in school segregation. Approved in referendum in August, 1956.

Act 117—Authorized separate schools for children whose parents "voluntarily elect" them.

1957

HJR 13—Interposition. Also protested school and other Supreme Court decisions.

HJR 33—Urged Supreme Court to "reverse . . . tendency" and "restore rule of law."

HJR 122—Urged president to respect states' rights.

SJR 16—Condemned "Black Monday" school decision.

SJR 46—Proposed constitutional amendment to limit federal court terms to definite periods.

SJR 47—Requested convention to implement proposal to *SJR 46*.

Act 239—Modified teacher tenure in Bullock County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

Act 361—Modified teacher tenure in Lowndes County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

Act 367—Amended pupil assignment act (*Act 201* of 1955) to make school officials judicial officers in fact as well as name.

Act 528—Allowed closing schools and provided tuition grants for private schooling. Amended by *Act 210* of 1961.

Act 533—Protected teacher retirement benefits in case of public school closing or conversion to private schools.

1959

Act 39—Provided for secession of individual schools from local and state systems and for their organization into independent districts.

Act 652—Permitted allocation of education funds to private schools where public school facilities not available.

1961

Act 210—Amended 1957 school closing law to permit boards of education to close desegregation-threatened schools "in the public interest," without waiting for violence or threat of it.

Act 249 (Special Session)—Modified teacher tenure in Dallas County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

Act 383—Modified teacher tenure in Sumter County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

Act 443—Modified teacher tenure in Perry County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

ARKANSAS

Elementary and High Schools

418 Districts: 228 With Negroes and Whites;
10 Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment*	317,475	106,731	424,206
Teachers*	12,389	3,262	15,651

*1959-60

Colleges and Universities

All Eight Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	7	1	8
Enrollment*	17,500	1,400	18,900

*Estimated

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Arkansas has 10 desegregated school districts. They have 54,737 whites and 13,237 Negroes enrolled. The state's first desegregation was at Charleston and Fayetteville in 1954, both voluntary. Statistics on desegregated districts follow:

	Enrollment White	Enrollment Negro	Negroes w/Whites	Grades	Biracial Schools	Date Deseg.
Bentonville	1,649	3	3	1-12	2	1955
Charleston	500*	8	8	1-12	2	1954
Dollarway	1,300*	1,300*	4	1-2	1	1960
Fayetteville	4,000*	100*	25*	7-12	2	1954
Ft. Smith	10,600*	1,100*	20	1-5	2	1957
Hot Springs	5,100*	900*	8	High**	1	1956
Hoxie	871	4	4	1-12	2	1955
Little Rock	15,403	6,166	46	7,10-12	7	1957
Pulaski Co.†	13,054	3,616	14	Elem.	1	1959
Van Buren	2,260	40	20	5-12	4	1957
TOTALS	54,737	13,237	152		24	

*Estimates by superintendents
**Two high school vocational classes
†One elementary school leased by Air Force

TEACHERS

Complete segregation is maintained.

HIGHER EDUCATION

All eight state, tax-supported colleges and universities consider applicants without regard to race. About 46 Negroes attend the seven predominantly white schools. The University of Arkansas desegregated voluntarily in January, 1948. The seven other colleges adopted desegregation in principle in the summer of 1955 on the advice of the state attorney general, who said the U.S. Supreme Court decisions would apply to them. Enrollment figures, all estimated, are:

Predominantly White	Total	Negroes	Date Deseg.
Ark. A&M	1,100	0	1955-V
Ark. Polytechnic	1,600	3	1955-V
Ark. State	3,000	15	1955-V
Ark. State Teachers	1,600	0	1955-V
Henderson State Teachers	1,500	4	1955-V
Southern State	1,200	4	1955-V
Univ. of Ark.	7,500	20	1948-V
TOTALS	17,500	46	
Predominantly Negro	**Total**	**White**	
Ark. AM&N	1,400	0	1955-V

FACULTIES

No college has a desegregated faculty. No Negro teachers have lost jobs due to desegregation.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

The state maintains separate schools by race for the blind, the deaf, the retarded and the handicapped, and for the incorrigible or the delinquents. The state also maintains a vocational trade school for whites at the high school level but none for the Negroes.

ETHNIC GROUPS

The 1960 census showed Arkansas had 580 Indians, 237 Japanese, 676 Chinese, 83 Filipino and 206 "Other." As far as known, all children in these groups attend regular public schools with whites. During cotton chopping (spring) and cotton picking (fall) seasons, Arkansas imports Mexican workers, whose children also attend regular white public schools

LITIGATION

Abernathy v. Izard

Filed Oct. 28, 1955, in U.S. District Court, seeking desegregation of Van Buren public schools. Desegregation ordered by the court in January, 1956. School board presented plan Aug. 21, 1956, and began desegregation September, 1957.

Bates v. City of Little Rock

Appeal by Mrs. L. C. Bates from her conviction under the Little Rock "Bennett" ordinance, which required disclosure of NAACP membership list. U.S. Supreme Court overturned conviction Feb. 23, 1960.

Carr v. Young

Filed June 17, 1959, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Contested *Act 10* of 1958. Chancery Court upheld the act and State Supreme Court affirmed on Feb. 8, 1960. Carr, Gephardt and Shelton cases consolidated on appeal to U.S. Supreme Court, which held act invalid Dec. 12, 1960.

Dove v. Parham

Filed Feb. 6, 1959, in U.S. District Court. Sought to end segregation in the Dollarway School District at Pine Bluff. Principal rulings and events:

Aug. 4, 1959—Federal district judge ordered three Negroes admitted to the white high school but upheld validity of the pupil placement law (*Act 461* of 1959).

Sept. 21, 1959—U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed ruling on placement law and ordered the plaintiffs to complete the appeal procedure under the law, instead of being admitted immediately to the white high school.

Feb. 19, 1960—On supplementary complaint by the Negro plaintiffs that they had completed the procedure but still were denied admission to the white school, a federal district judge refused to order them admitted but ordered the school board to file a statement of "affirmative policy" by which it would eliminate segregation.

April 30, 1960—District judge approved the board's statement, which provided that starting in 1960, first grade students would be assigned to schools according to the preference of their parents "insofar as possible" and that transfers at higher grades would be opposed.

Aug. 30, 1960—U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the statement did not constitute an adequate start toward desegregation.

September, 1960—One Negro girl entered the first grade of the white school under the plan.

Oct. 12, 1960—District judge ordered the board to present a new "more adequate, objective and definite" plan.

Nov. 19, 1960—Board filed restatement of original plan, assuring that no student would be denied admission to a school solely on racial grounds, and argued that the Negro's admission was an objective and definite action.

Dec. 20, 1960—District judge said the new plan was not enough, ordered the board to "beef it up."

March 13, 1961—Board filed another—the third—version of its desegregation plan. It said first graders would be admitted to schools of their choice subject to meeting the criteria of the assignment law and making at least average scores on pre-school tests.

May 12, 1961—District Judge authorized board to proceed with plan and after the board assigned only two Negro pupils to the white school, the judge on Aug. 25 ordered two more admitted.

Duncan v. Kirby

Vernon H. Duncan, a civilian arrested by an Army officer at Little Rock Central High School on Oct. 3, 1957, was fined $50 in Municipal Court. In March, 1958, State Supreme Court granted Duncan's motion to dismiss the case.

Ex Parte Rector

Filed Aug. 17, 1957, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Sought to determine the validity of four 1957 segregation laws, *Acts 83, 84, 85* and *86*. No hearing was ever held.

Fitzhugh v. Ford

Filed Sept. 16, 1958, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Contested validity of *Act 5*, of 1958 which provided for state tuition payments to the schools attended by pupils displaced by schools closed under *Act 4* of 1958. Upheld Oct. 1, 1958, by Chancery Court, and on May 4, 1959, by State Supreme Court, but ruled invalid June 18, 1959, by U.S. District Court, in *Norwood v. Tucker* (then *Aaron v. Cooper*).

Garrett v. Faubus

Filed Sept. 12, 1958, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Contested validity of the school-closing law, *Act 4* of 1958. Act upheld Oct. 1, 1958, by Chancery Court, and April 27, 1959, by State Supreme Court, but ruled invalid in June, 1959, by Federal District Court in *Norwood v. Tucker* (then *Aaron v. Tucker*).

Gephardt v. Tucker

Filed June 19, 1959, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Contested *Act 10* of 1958. Chancery Court upheld act and State Supreme Court affirmed on Feb. 8, 1960. U.S. Supreme Court held act invalid Dec. 12, 1960, in Shelton, Gephardt and Carr cases consolidated on appeal.

Glover v. McKinley

Filed May 22, 1959, in Pulaski County Circuit Court, Little Rock. Libel suit by 39 white teachers asked $3.9 million against former school board president and his campaign manager. Pending.

Hoxie School District v. Brewer

Filed Oct. 14, 1955, in U.S. District Court, seeking to enjoin interference with school board's desegregation plan and asked for declaration of the board's duty under the 1954-55 Supreme Court decisions. On Jan. 9, 1956, District Court enjoined interference, held all state segregation laws invalid and ruled that board had duty to desegregate or be liable to lawsuit. Justice Department intervened on side of school board (first desegregation suit the department entered). On Oct. 25, 1956, U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed District Court.

Jackson v. Kuhn

Filed Oct. 2, 1957, in U.S. District Court. Sought removal of federal troops from Little Rock Central High School. Dismissed Oct. 15, 1957, by the court. U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld District Court on April 28, 1958.

King v. Little Rock School District

Filed Nov. 13, 1958, in Pulaski County Chancery Court. Sought to keep school board from buying up contract of former Supt. Virgil T. Blossom at face value. Dismissed April, 1959, after Blossom declined the board's offer and accepted lesser amount.

Matthews v. Lanius

Filed June 20, 1952, in U.S. District Court by Negro plaintiffs who sought equal facilities in Bearden public schools and also requested, as matter of form, desegregation of schools. U.S. Supreme Court ruling of 1954 brought the desegregation request into play. District Judge John E. Miller on Oct. 4, 1955, ordered Bearden school board to start changing to non-discriminatory school system within a year. School board and Negro plaintiffs worked out plan of equalization that satisfied both sides. Board presented desegregation plan March 19, 1957, but Judge Miller issued no order and held case in abeyance. There have been no more proceedings.

NAACP v. Bennett

Filed Dec. 4, 1958, in U.S. District Court. Contested validity of *Acts 12, 13, 14* and *16* of 1958. Court ruled Feb. 17, 1959, that state courts should rule first. U.S. Supreme Court on June 22, 1959, ordered District Court to reconsider. After hearing Sept. 12, 1959, District Court again stayed proceedings pending action by state courts. Plaintiffs refiled February 1960, in Pulaski County Chancery Court. On May 13, 1961, Chancellor Murray O. Reed voided *Acts 12, 14* and *16* but upheld *Act 13*.

NAACP v. Faubus

Filed Oct. 26, 1957, in U.S. District Court. Contested validity of *Act 85* of 1957, which required certain organizations to register with the State Sovereignty Commission. Federal court stayed proceedings until law had been tested in state courts. State Supreme Court ruled *Act 85* invalid in September, 1959, in the case *Smith v. Faubus*.

Norwood v. Tucker

Filed Feb. 8, 1956, in U.S. District Court, Little Rock, as *Aaron v. Cooper*. Attacked Little Rock school plan of gradual desegregation as inadequate. Main rulings and events:

Aug. 28, 1956—District Court upheld plan.

April 29, 1957—U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld plan.

Aug. 30, 1957—District Court overruled Chancery Court injunction against desegregation plan and ordered board to proceed.

Sept. 3, 1957—Admission of Negroes to Central High blocked by Arkansas National Guard.

Sept. 20, 1957—Federal court enjoined Gov. Faubus and others against interfering with court-ordered desegregation; injunction upheld April 28, 1958, by Eighth Circuit Court and by U.S. Supreme Court in October, 1958.

Sept. 25, 1957—Negro students entered Central High under protection of federal paratroopers.

June 20, 1958—District Court delayed plan 2½ years to January, 1961; Eighth Circuit Court reversed delay; and appeals court upheld on Sept. 12, 1958, by U.S. Supreme Court, which ordered board to proceed with desegregation plan.

Sept. 12, 1958—Gov. Faubus closed Little Rock high schools and ordered referendum Sept. 27 on whether to close high schools or desegregate every school in district immediately. Vote was 19,470 to 7,561 for closing.

Sept. 29, 1958—School board enjoined by appeals court from leasing public school property to Little Rock Private School Corp.

Nov. 4, 1958—Dale Alford, school board member who opposed any desegregation, defeated Brooks Hays for Congress. Nov. 12, other five board members resigned en masse. Dec. 6, new six-man board elected and Ed I. McKinley Jr., became president (making style of case *Aaron v. McKinley*). May 25, 1959, McKinley and two others recalled from board, three new members appointed and Everett Tucker Jr. became president (making style of case *Aaron v. Tucker*).

June 18, 1959—*Acts 4* and 5 of 1958 held unconstitutional by District Court; affirmed Dec. 14, 1959, by U.S. Supreme Court.

Aug. 12, 1959—Little Rock high schools reopened with Negroes assigned to both Central and Hall High Schools.

August, 1959—Negro plaintiffs in *Aaron v. Tucker* filed supplemental complaint that school board was using placement law to limit desegregation.

Sept. 20, 1960—District Court upheld board's use of placement law (*Act 461* of 1959), declared this terminated case and ruled that Negro plaintiffs in future would have to file individually. (In appealing this ruling, attorney for plaintiffs changed style of case to *Norwood v. Tucker*).

March 2, 1961—Eighth Circuit Court reversed District Court, ruled that board was using assignment law illegally and must begin applying it objectively to all students, and ordered board to speed up desegregation plan.

June 13, 1961—After board assigned 48 Negro pupils to white schools for 1961-62, plaintiffs asked that assignments be done over and district judge refused. Sept. 9, 1961—Plaintiffs protested 1961-62 assignments but district judge overruled protests.

Parker v. Blossom

Filed Mar. 7, 1958, in Pulaski County Circuit Court, Little Rock. Sought reinstatement of Sammie Dean Parker, white student expelled from Central High School because of incidents with Negro students. Dismissed March 11, 1958, when she was reinstated.

Shelton v. Tucker

Filed April 21, 1959, in U.S. District Court. Contested validity of *Act 10* of 1958 and *Act 115* of 1959. In June, 1959, District Court upheld *Act 10* but held *Act 115* invalid. *Act 10* held invalid Dec. 12, 1960, by U.S. Supreme Court.

Smith v. Faubus and State Sovereignty Commission

Filed Aug. 16, 1957, in U.S. District Court, then refiled Nov. 8, 1957, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Attacked validity of 1957 legislation establishing State Sovereignty Commission. State Supreme Court in Sept. 14, 1959, crippled *Act 83* of 1957, which established the commmission, by ruling that six of its 12 members could not legally serve because they were members of the legislature; this left the commission without a quorum and thus powerless to act. At same time the State Supreme Court invalidated *Act 85* of 1957, which required certain organizations to register with the commission, on the ground that the state had no authority to control lobbying, which is regulated by federal law.

State v. NAACP

Case No. 108,363 filed Aug. 26, 1957, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Contended NAACP was foreign corporation, which had failed to register with state and owed $350, and sought to examine NAACP records. Default judgment for penalty and interest of $437.50 entered and paid by NAACP, November, 1957, but NAACP stood firm on claim that its records were privileged. State Supreme Court affirmed ruling Dec. 23, 1958, and U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear appeal, June 15, 1959. On Aug. 18, 1961, the $437.50 was transferred to State Revenue Department and from there to Secretary of State, who then issued notice that the NAACP was in good standing.

State v. NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund

Case No. 44,679 filed Aug. 26, 1957, in Pulaski County Circuit Court, Little Rock. Sought $5,000 penalty for alleged failure to file with state as foreign corporation. No ruling has been made.

State v. NAACP

Case No. 44,851 filed Oct. 10, 1957, in Pulaski County Circuit Court, Little Rock. Sought $5,000 penalty for alleged failure to register as foreign corporation. No ruling has been made.

State v. NAACP

Case No. 45,182 filed Dec. 23, 1957, in Pulaski County Circuit Court, Little Rock. Sought injunction to prevent alleged illegal practice of law. Circuit Judge Guy Amsler held on May 30, 1961, that he did not have the authority to issue the requested injunction and dismissed the lawsuit.

State v. NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund

Case No. 45,183 filed Dec. 23, 1957, in Pulaski County Circuit Court, Little Rock. Sought injunction to prevent alleged illegal practice of law. No ruling has been made.

Stephens v. Laster

Filed Dec. 24, 1958, in Pulaski Circuit Court, Little Rock. Contested Laster's victory over Stephens in school election Dec. 6, 1958, for position on Little Rock school board. Laster was recalled from board in special election and suit became moot.

Taylor v. University of Arkansas

Filed Oct. 16, 1958, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Sought to cure any legal defect in purchase of a school site from university by Little Rock Private School Corp. Court ruled that any defect had been cured by *Act 223* of 1959.

Thomason v. Cooper

Filed Aug. 28, 1957, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Sought injunction to prevent Little Rock school board from proceeding with its desegregation plan. Chancery Court granted injunction Aug. 29, 1957. U.S. District Court overruled injunction Aug. 30, 1957. U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld District Court, April 28, 1958.

Wilbern v. Little Rock School Board

Filed Aug. 14, 1957, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Sought transfer of white students from desegregated schools. Hearing never held.

Williams v. City of North Little Rock

Appeal by Mrs. Birdie Williams from her conviction under the North Little Rock "Bennett" ordinance, which required disclosure of NAACP membership list. U.S. Supreme Court overturned conviction Feb. 23, 1960.

Wise v. Gasaway

Filed Sept. 19, 1955, in U.S. District Court by Negro teachers who protested their pay was lower than white teachers' in Gould (Lincoln County) School District. Dismissed December, 1957, at request of plaintiffs, who said pay had been equalized.

LEGISLATION

1956

Initiated Act 2—Enacted pupil placement law by initiative petition and referendum. Approved 214,712 to 121,129 in general election Nov. 6, 1956.

Constitutional Amendment 47—Required legislature to adopt interposition. Enacted by initiative petition and referendum. Approved 185,374 to 146,064 in general election Nov. 6, 1956.

Resolution of Interposition—Declared state policy. Enacted by initiative petition and referendum. Approved 199,511 to 127,360 in general election Nov. 6, 1956.

1957

Act 83—Created State Sovereignty Commission with duty to protect Arkansas and other states from encroachment by federal government and to provide advice and legal assistance to school districts on matters relating to commingling of the races. Had power to examine books, records, investigate, hold hearings and to subpoena persons and things. Law rendered ineffective Sept. 14, 1959, by State Supreme Court ruling, in *Smith v. Faubus*, that six of the 12 commission members could not legally serve because they were members of the legislature, thus leaving commission without a quorum to act.

Act 84—Modified compulsory school attendance law to provide that no child would be required to attend a desegregated school.

Act 85—Required racial lobbyists and promoters to register with the Sovereignty Commission. Rendered ineffective by State Supreme Court, Sept. 14, 1959, in *Smith v. Faubus*, by ruling that law could not apply to lobbyists.

Act 86—Authorized schools boards to hire legal counsel to defend board or any board member in desegregation suits.

1958

Act 4—Permitted governor to close schools. Declared invalid June 18, 1959, by U.S. District Court, in *Norwood v. Tucker* (formerly *Aaron v. Tucker*).

Act 5—Provided that state aid be withheld from schools closed under *Act 4* and be paid to schools attended by students transferring from the closed school. Declared unconstitutional June 18, 1959, by U.S. District Court in *Norwood v. Tucker* (formerly *Aaron v. Tucker*).

Act 6—Permitted student transfers from desegregated school to any segregated school.

Act 7—Permitted segregated classes within desegregated school.

Act 8—Appropriated $100,000 for governor's expense in school crisis.

Act 9—Authorized recall of school board members on petition of 15 per cent of qualified electors (*Act 19* of 1959 made it 25 per cent.) Repealed by *Act 61* of 1961.

Act 10—Required teachers to list, as condition of employment, memberships in and contributions to organizations in last five years. Upheld June, 1959, by U.S. District Court but held unconstitutional Dec. 12, 1960, by U.S. Supreme Court in consolidated appeal of *Shelton v. Tucker, Gephardt v. Tucker* and *Carr v. Young*.

Act 11—Made law prohibiting practice of law by corporations apply to benevolent and charitable organizations.

Act 12—Required any organization deemed to be "interfering with operation of public schools" to file membership lists and other records with county judge. Voided May 13, 1961, in *NAACP v. Bennett*.

Act 13—Authorized state attorney general when he suspects organization is evading state taxes to get court order to search office and copy records of organization suspected of evading state taxes.

Act 14—Defined barratry, set penalties for conviction. Voided May 13, 1961, in *NAACP v. Bennett*.

Act 15—Appropriated $19,200 to state attorney general for expenses of school desegregation suits.

Act 16—Made it unlawful to promise or to give anything of value as an inducement to commence a lawsuit. Voided May 13, 1961, in *NAACP v. Bennett*.

Act 17—Made it a misdemeanor to enter public school property or public place of business and create disturbance.

1959

SJR 5—Proposed *Constitutional Amendment 52* on tuition grants, local option on school closing, other matters. Rejected at general election Nov. 8, 1960, by 247,804 to 83,900.

Act 19—Required 25 per cent (instead of 15 per cent) of electors to petition for school board recall election. Repealed by *Act 61* of 1961.

Act 46—Provided for tuition grants to students themselves if schools closed.

Act 55—Protected retirement benefits of teachers switching to private schools.

Act 115—Made it unlawful for any NAACP member to be employed by state, county, municipality or school district. Declared unconstitutional June, 1959, by U.S. District Court in *Shelton v. Tucker*.

Act 151—Provided tuition grants to students who decline to attended desegregated school.

Act 181—Authorized school boards to meet in jail if any member jailed for defying desegregation court order.

Act 208—Allowed schools closed during desegregation to use average daily attendance of previous year in applying for state aid.

Act 223—Cleared title to land for T. J. Raney High School (private).

Act 224—Allowed sale or lease of public recreation facilities to avoid desegregation.

Act 225—Permitted county judges to require certain records and information from any organization deemed to be interfering in school operations.

Act 226—Made creating disturbance in public place a misdemeanor.

Act 236—Provided tuition grants to white students whose "welfare would be served by attending segregated instead of desegregated school."

Act 337—Appropriated $65,000 to Pulaski County (rural) School District and $3,000 to Hazen School District for expense of taking in displaced Little Rock high school students during 1958-59.

Act 358—Appropriated $100,000 to State Board of Education for use by needy school districts in desegregation litigation.

Act 461—Pupil assignment law. Included all assignment criteria of *Initiated Act 2* of 1956 except one (the location of pupil's residence in relation to schools) and omitted the injunction in *Act 2* that race may not be considered.

Act 466—Provided that money withheld under *Act 5* of 1958 and unused would be returned to school district from which withheld.

1961

HCR 14—Requested Congress to propose a constitutional amendment providing that Supreme Court decisions be invalidated on application within three years of decision by one-fourth of state legislatures until decision subsequently approved by three-fourths of legislatures.

SJR 1—Proposed amendment to state constitution to be voted on at general election November, 1962—would provide that no child be denied free public school education as granted under constitution because of refusal to attend school with student of different race if school board were satisfied that attendance would be inimical to child's welfare.

Act 45—Increased penalties for bombing or dynamiting public or private property.

Act 61—Repealed *Act 9* of 1958 and *Act 19* of 1959, which provided for school board recall elections.

Act 265—Required State Board of Education to reimburse local school districts for 50 per cent or more of cost of desegregation, appropriated $100,000 for that purpose and outlined procedure for checking claims.

DELAWARE

Elementary and High Schools

92 Districts: 92 With Negroes and Whites;
92 Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment	70,812	16,096	86,908
Teachers*	3,170	705	3,875

*Estimated

Colleges and Universities

Both Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	1	1	2
Enrollment	3,200*	480	3,680

*Estimated

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

All 92 school districts operate under a State Board of Education policy of desegregation, although only 30 districts actually have Negroes attending classes with whites. A federal court ordered the state's grade-a-year plan ended and complete desegregation started in all grades and all schools with the 1961-62 year. Arden and Claymont were the first districts to desegregate voluntarily, admitting Negroes in 1953. The districts with biracial schools are:

	Enrollment White	Enrollment Negro	Negroes w/Whites	Biracial Schools	Date Deseg.
State Board Units					
Arden #3	88	1	1	1	1953
Gunning Bedford, Jr. #53	844	95	95	2	1954
H. C. Conrad #131	1,698	33	33	2	1954
Alfred I. duPont #7	4,681	2	2	1	1954
Marshallton #77	2,146	33	33	3	1960
Newport #21	1,361	14	14	1	1960
Odessa #61	114	3	3	1	1959
Rose Hill-Minq. #47	2,848	287	287	5	1954
Clayton #119	328	5	5	1	1959
Felton #54	691	1	1	1	1959
Hartly #96	211	5	5	1	1960
Bridgeville #90	695	8	8	1	1959
Milton #8	697	2	2	1	1961
Sussex Co. Voc-Tech. #100	333	8	8	1	1961
Stanton #38	2,132	1	1	1	1961
Wm.W.M. Henry #133	1	715	715	1	1961
Ellendale #125	102	24	24	1	1961
Greenwood # 91	516	31	31	1	1961
Special Districts					
Claymont	2,424	53	53	3	1953
Alexis I. duPont	1,384	49	49	3	1955
New Castle	4,110	203	203	6	1954
Newark	6,848	237	237	8	1954
Wilmington	6,886	6,246	6,246	21	1954
Dover	3,165	574	75	5	1954
Milford	2,200	420	17	3	1959
Caesar Rodney	3,674	342	120	2	1958
Smyrna	1,407	316	140	2	1959
Lewes	1,086	128	7	1	1960
Rehoboth	439	1	1	1	1959
Seaford	2,297	513	30	3	1960
TOTALS	55,406	10,350	8,446	84	

TEACHERS

There has been some teacher desegregation in Wilmington and Newark, but the extent has not been disclosed.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The University of Delaware, only formerly all-white, tax-supported school in the state, announced in 1948 that it would accept Negroes for courses not offered at Delaware State College. The university admitted Negroes under court order in 1950. The enrollments at the state's two public colleges, both desegregated, are:

	White	Negro	Date Deseg.
Delaware State	20	460	1954-V
Univ. of Delaware*	3,184	16	1948-V
TOTALS	3,204	476	

*Estimated

FACULTIES

The University of Delaware has 336 faculty members, but does not keep race statistics. It has been accused of not having a single Negro faculty member. Delaware State College has 51 faculty members, some of whom are white. But no racial statistics are available.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Delaware does not maintain any special schools, as such, for the blind, deaf, dumb, etc. Instead, schools themselves operate such units in rooms inside the regular school buildings. The majority of this type school is located in New Castle County. Such classes are open, as are others under federal court order, to members of all races.

ETHNIC GROUPS

Although the state's public schools operate under a federal court's desegregation order, the state constitution still calls for separate schools for Indians, Moors, Negroes and whites. Delaware's only school for Moors, Cheswold, lost almost two-thirds of its student body to neighboring white schools in the fall, 1961. Four Moors entered Kenton No. 9 School in September, 1961, for the first time. The transfer of six Nanticoke Indians to the Millsboro No. 23 School left the Nanticoke Indian School with 15 students on opening day of the 1961 term.

LITIGATION

Belton v. Gebhart

Bulah v. Gebhart

Filed in the Court of Chancery on July 13, 1951, to desegregate public schools in Claymont and Hockessin. On April 1, 1952, Chancellor Seitz ordered the Negro plaintiffs admitted to the schools. The Delaware Supreme Court affirmed the decision on Aug. 28, 1952. On appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, the cases were joined with the other school segregation suits pending before the court. The Delaware cases were decided with the other cases on May 17, 1954.

Buchanan v. Evans et al

Negro pupils sought admission in seven white school districts in Kent and Sussex counties in a suit filed in U.S. District Court in Wilmington in May, 1956. The U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia on Aug. 29, 1960, ordered the state board to end its grade-a-year plan and to desegregate all schools, beginning with the 1961-62 school year. The Supreme Court in January, 1961, refused to review the circuit court order.

Dennis et al v. Baker et al

Sought admission of Negro pupils to elementary grades in the Dover district, which in 1954 admitted Negro pupils to high school academic courses. Filed in U.S. District Court in Wilmington in August, 1957. The court has not ruled in the case, perhaps because *Buchanan v. Evans et al* was viewed as a class action.

LEGISLATION

None

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Elementary and High Schools

Constitutes a single desegregated school district

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment	23,462	103,806	127,268
Teachers*	1,563	3,514	5,077

*Includes D.C. Teachers College faculty.

Colleges and Universities

Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
D.C. Teachers College** Enrollment	298	916	1,214

**District's only strictly public college.

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Complete desegregation was inaugurated in 1954, after the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Bolling v. Sharpe*. The District still has 20 schools with an all-Negro enrollment of 14,925, and five all-white schools with 2,100 students. Enrollment by schools follows:

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

	White	Negro
Adams	73	276
Alton	0	841
Amidon	182	420
Bancroft	207	592
Barnard	24	952
Beers	196	529
Benning	6	581
Birney	0	998
Blair	3	206
Blow	0	384
Bowen	22	615
Brent	75	152
Brightwood	227	458
Brookland	58	296
Bruce	4	640
Bryan	74	970
Buchanan	51	1,012
Bundy	0	455
Bunker Hill	67	802
Burroughs	28	862
Burrville	0	612
Carver	4	533
Cleveland	1	694
Congress Hts.	526	14
Cook, J. F.	4	805
Cooke, H. D.	240	741
Crummell	1	549
Davis	6	1,040
Draper	594	302
Drew	0	1,155
Eaton	320	10
Eckington	0	244
Edmonds	38	327
Emery	11	780
Fillmore	123	7
Gage	1	524
Garfield	0	1,086
Garfield Annex	5	153
Garrison	3	935
Giddings	30	522
Goding	18	998
Grant	74	76
Grimke	0	1,046
Hardy	222	0
Harrison	7	853
Hayes	0	202
Hearst	231	6
Handley	593	237
Hyde	110	22
Jackson	76	13
Janney	510	7
Keene	122	715
Kenilworth	16	1,183
Ketcham	573	22
Key	150	0
Kimball	194	796
Kingsman	10	992
Lafayette	734	0
Langdon	144	643
Langston	1	311
LaSalle	78	910
Lenox	45	480
Lenox Annex	13	279
Logan	8	895
Lovejoy	13	814
Ludlow	10	195
Madison	7	225
Mann	265	0
Maury	12	739
Merritt	3	696
Military Road	9	32
Mires	4	992
Monroe	10	855
Montgomery	0	667
Morgan	5	731
Morgan Annex	10	201
Morse	0	261
Moten	6	1,042
Mott	1	1,059
Murch	729	0
Nalle	0	903
Noyes	18	686
Orr	262	5
Oyster	241	12
Park View	2	1,048
Patterson	1,061	23
Payne	33	1,123
Peabody	112	350
Perry	6	424
Petworth	6	708
Pierce	7	287
Plummer	30	1,194
Powell	16	675
Powell Annex	4	244
Randle	291	15
Raymond	21	740
Richardson	0	1,215
River Terrace	5	604
Rudolph	56	805
Seaton	103	267
Shadd	0	904
Shepherd	414	35
Simmons	2	698
Simon	762	226
Slater	0	312
Slowe	9	270
Smothers	2	559
Stanton	190	833
Stevens	22	337
Stoddert	198	5
Sumner	35	254
Syphax	4	710
Takoma	251	183
Taylor	2	243
Thomas	0	740
Thomson	114	502
Truesdell	49	639
Turner	5	843
Tyler	137	689
Van Ness	31	957
Walker-Jones	5	884
Webb, R. K.	9	932
West	29	562
Wheatley	17	807
Whittier	60	909
Wilson	3	927
Woodridge	92	463
Young	1	1,497

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Banneker	14	1,226
Browne	4	1,253
Deal	1,238	3
Douglass	2	1,106
Eliot	16	1,104
Francis	61	716
Garnet-Patterson	2	902
Gordon	806	220
Hart	1,090	144
Hine	123	1,008
Jefferson	178	391
Kramer	823	314
Langley	13	1,125
Macfarland	34	1,632
Miller	0	1,449
Paul	507	896
Randall	17	687
Shaw	2	1,351
Sousa	64	1,292
Stuart	79	798
Taft	113	1,428
Terrell	2	987
Woodson	3	1,491

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Anacostia	693	323
Ballou	593	354
Cardozo	1	1,075
Coolidge	656	562
Dunbar	0	816
Eastern	3	1,701
McKinley	21	1,421
Roosevelt	27	969
Springarn	2	1,486
Western	666	190
Wilson	1,345	1

VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS

Bell	75	300
Burdick	143	283
Chamberlain	333	256
Phelps	0	635
Washington	1	582

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Americanization	578	0
Capitol Page	36	1
Sharpe Health	60	163
Veterans High Center	8	465
Boys' Jr.-Sr. High	3	19
Visiting Instruction	93	164

TEACHERS

All faculties in the District school system are desegregated. No racial distinctions are made in either hiring or assigning teachers to schools. This includes Teachers College faculty.

HIGHER EDUCATION

D.C. Teachers College is the only strictly public college in the District; 1961-62 enrollment: 298 whites, 916 Negroes. The school resulted from the merger of the district's two uni-racial colleges in 1954.

LITIGATION

Bolling v. Sharpe

Filed in 1950 to desegregate Washington, D.C., schools and included in the U.S. Supreme Court's school segregation decision in 1954. The case was settled in 1954 under the Fifth Amendment.

Sabine v. Sharpe

Sought an injunction against the school desegregation plan. Federal District Court for the District of Columbia awarded the defendant school board a summary judgment in 1954.

LEGISLATION

None.

FLORIDA

Elementary and High Schools

67 Districts: 67 With Negroes and Whites; Five Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment	816,070	214,283	1,030,353
Teachers	31,422	8,302	39,724

Colleges and Universities

Five Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	17	12	29
Enrollment	51,797	6,833	58,630

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Dade County (Miami) voluntarily admitted Negroes to white schools in 1959 in advance of a court order to proceed with a desegregation plan. The first Negro pupils were assigned to Orchard Villa but the previously all-white school became all-Negro in 1960 when the last white withdrew. Broward County (Fort Lauderdale) began desegregation in September, 1961, a few days after a suit was filed. Palm Beach County desegregated at the high school level under a consent decree in a long-pending federal suit. Hillsborough County (Tampa), where a school suit has been pending for over two years, assigned one Negro to a school for handicapped children. Volusia County (Daytona Beach) had a desegregation suit pending in federal court but admitted Negroes to one formerly all-white school in September, 1961. Escambia County (Pensacola) has received federal court approval of a plan to desegregate in September, 1962. Enrollments at the desegregated districts are:

	Enrollment		Negroes	Biracial	Date
County	White	Negro	w/Whites	Schools	Deseg.
Broward	58,020*	8,822*	32	3	1961-V
Dade	143,283*	31,432*	513	9	1959-V
Hillsborough ..	71,049*	10,921*	1	1	1961-V
Palm Beach ...	37,039*	6,029*	4	3	1961-C
Volusia	21,108*	3,168*	2	1	1961-V
TOTALS ..	330,499*	60,372*	552	17	

*Estimated

HIGHER EDUCATION

Graduate and professional schools desegregated in 1958-59 under federal court order. Two Negroes enrolled at the University of Florida but were dropped in 1960 for failure to meet academic standards. At the beginning of the 1960-61 session a third Negro was accepted in the university law school. The University of South Florida at Tampa accepted four Negroes at the opening of the 1961-62 term. The 25 junior colleges are operated under the various county school boards where they are located and are subject to the state pupil assignment law. While most have separate campuses about 100 Negroes have been attending classes with white students in Dade County, upon occasion. Two Negroes have been assigned to the St. Petersburg Junior College and two to the Palm Beach County Junior College. College enrollments, based on Nov. 1 attendance figures:

Predominantly White Senior Colleges	White	Negro	Date Deseg.
Fla. State Univ.	9,659	0	
Univ. of Fla.	13,633	1	1959-C
Univ. of S. Fla.	2,980	4	1961-V
TOTALS	26,272	5	
Predominantly Negro Senior Colleges			
Fla. A&M Univ.	0	2,780	
Junior Colleges			
Bay County			
Gulf Coast	661	0	
Rosenwald	0	73	
Brevard County			
Brevard	1,581	0	
Carver	0	128	
Broward County* (2)	1,388	(total)	
Dade County* (2)	3,524	(total)	1961-V
Escambia County			
Pensacola	3,116	0	
Washington	0	195	
Jackson County			
Chipola	915	0	
Jackson	0	40	
Madison County			
North Florida	472	0	
Sewanee River	0	220	
Manatee County	1,272	0	
Marion County			
Central Fla.	811	0	
Hampton	0	318	
Palm Beach County			
Palm Beach	2,142	2	NA
Roosevelt	0	216	
Pinellas County			
St. Petersburg	4,131	2	1961-V
Gibbs	0	604	
Putnam County			
St. Johns River	561	0	
Collier-Blocker	0	61	
St. Lucie County			
Indian River	1,090	0	
Lincoln	0	119	
Volusia County			
Daytona Beach	3,852	0	
Volusia County	0	2,079	
TOTALS	25,516	4,057	
STATE TOTALS	51,788	6,842	

*No racial breakdown available for two separate campuses.

FACULTIES

No college faculties are known to be desegregated.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Two state industrial schools for boys and two for girls are segregated. The two schools for boys have duplicated facilities separated by a street. The girls institutions have two duplicated facilities in the same towns. The Florida school for Deaf and Blind at St. Augustine has no duplicated facilities but keeps the races separate.

ETHNIC GROUPS

All Indians go to regular white schools except for those attending two federally operated schools on federal reservations at Dania and Brighton.

LITIGATION

Augustus et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Escambia County

U.S. District Court for North Florida on March 17, 1961, ordered Escambia County to produce within 90 days a plan for desegregation in September, 1961. The school board voted to prepare a plan of gradual desegregation in the Pensacola and county schools, which will take effect in September, 1962.

Braxton et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Duval County

Class suit filed in 1960 in U.S. District Court, seeking complete desegregation at all school levels. White citizens group of Jacksonville petitioned to intervene as defendants, claiming their rights would be damaged if Negroes were admitted to schools attended by their children. Depositions have been taken, but hearing not yet held.

Florida v. Special School Tax District No. 1 of Dade County

Florida Supreme Court validated school bonds in 1955 case with racial aspect.

Gibson et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Dade County

U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1959 ruled pupil assignment was not good faith compliance, ordered Dade County to proceed with desegregation. County school board already had ordered Negroes admitted to Orchard Villa and since has assigned Negroes to other schools. With U.S. District Court approval the board has notified all parents of their rights under the assignment law.

Gibson et al v. Florida Legislative Investigating Committee

Florida Supreme Court upheld committee power to subpoena NAACP membership lists in 1960. Rev. Theodore Gibson sentenced to jail for contempt for failure to comply with order. U.S. Supreme Court in September, 1961, accepted the case for review.

Hall et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Broward County.

Suit filed in August, 1961, in U.S. District Court to desegregate school system. School board shortly voted to assign Negro children to three white schools.

Hawkins v. Board of Control

Five Negroes sought admission to the University of Florida in a suit filed in 1949 in a state court. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1956 that Hawkins should be admitted forthwith but the Florida Supreme Court refused to accept the mandate. In 1957, by a consent decree, the Board of Control agreed to accept all qualified students regardless of race while plaintiff Virgil O. Hawkins agreed not to contest further the board's finding that he was ineligible because of a low score on admission tests. Three Negro students have been admitted to the University of Florida, the first in 1958, and five Negroes have attended summer sessions. Only one Negro now attends the school.

Holland et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Palm Beach County

Filed in 1955 to compel acceptance of one Negro boy in a white school. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered the board to proceed with desegregation. Compliance delayed by Holland's appeals to local and state school boards and a dispute over school district lines. Under a consent decree in September, 1961, Palm Beach desegregated the high schools.

Manatee County Board of Public Instruction v. State

Florida Supreme Court validated school bonds in 1957 case with racial aspect.

Mannings et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Hillsborough County

Plaintiffs' suit in 1959 for complete desegregation of Hillsborough County (Tampa) schools dismissed in U.S. District Court. Now in process of appeal.

State v. Lake County Board of Public Instruction

Circuit Judge Futch refused to validate $5.6 million county bond issue for seven Negro schools, holding desegregation was ignored. Florida Supreme Court reversed the ruling, which State School Supt. Bailey said would jeopardize entire state school building program.

Tillman et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Volusia County

Suit filed in U.S. District Court in 1960 asking complete desegregation at all levels. School authorities filed petition in Circuit Court (state) for declaratory decree that petitioners were not eligible to sue, having no rights endangered. The petition also sought to eliminate several white parents among plaintiffs. Motion and arguments heard but final decision pending. The school board has desegregated one school.

LEGISLATION

1957

HCR 61—Commended special committee studying ways to preserve schools.

HCR 174—Interposition.

SCR 17—Condemned U.S. Supreme Court's "usurpation of powers."

Ch. 29746—Dealt with enrollment and transportation of pupils, setting out criteria that could be used to maintain segregation.

Ch. 31380—Pupil assignment law. (Amended in 1959 to incorporate wording taken from similar Alabama law approved "on its face" by U.S. Supreme Court.)

Ch. 31389—Granted governor emergency powers to put down violence.

Ch. 31390—Granted governor additional powers to compel sheriffs to act in disorders at schools desegregated by court order.

Ch. 31391—Permitted teacher dismissals on basis of educational, sociological and psychological criteria.

Ch. 31498—Created legislative committee to investigate organizations advocating violence.

1959

Ch. 228—Required separate schools for white and Negro children as part of state plan for public education.

Ch. 230—Provided automatic closing and suspension of schools in event national guard or federal troops used on state property.

Ch. 623—Established private school corporation law.

Ch. 822—Provided maximum 20 years imprisonment for malicious injury to buildings and structures by gunpowder.

Ch. 876—Made it unlawful to wear hoods or conceal face in public.

Ch. 955—Included requirement that white and Negro inmates at Florida School for Boys be in "separate buildings, not nearer than one-fourth mile to each other."

GEORGIA

Elementary and High Schools

198 Districts: 196 With Negroes and Whites;
One Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment	641,710	303,005	944,715
Teachers	24,297	10,705	35,002

Colleges and Universities

Two Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	17	3	20
Enrollment	34,721	3,054	37,775

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Segregation is maintained at all grade levels in all schools except in the Atlanta system. Nine Negro children first entered the 11th and 12th grades of four former all-white high schools of Atlanta on Aug. 30, 1961, by federal court order (*Calhoun v. Latimer*). The Atlanta system has an enrollment of 108,282, including 59,319 whites and 48,963 Negroes.

TEACHERS

Complete segregation is maintained.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Georgia has two desegregated, three all-Negro and 15 all-white public colleges. Two Negroes entered the University of Georgia in January, 1961, under a U.S. District Court order in *Holmes v. Danner*. In 1958, U.S. District Court prohibited consideration on the basis of race for admission to Georgia State College of Business Administration, although the plaintiffs in the case (*Hunt v. Arnold*) were not ordered admitted. Georgia Tech voluntarily accepted three Negro students in the fall of 1961. Enrollments are:

Predominantly White	White	Negro	Date Deseg.
Abraham Baldwin Ag.	702	0	
Armstrong	985	0	
Augusta	992	0	
Columbus	721	0	
Georgia Southern	1,764	0	
Georgia Southwestern	645	0	
Georgia State College of			
Business Administration	3,447	0	
Evening School	1,462	0	
Georgia Tech	5,847	3	1961-V
Medical College of Ga.	377	0	
Medical Illust. & Tech.	15	0	
School of Nursing	77	0	
Middle Georgia	637	0	
North Georgia	927	0	
South Georgia	692	0	
Southern Tech. Inst.	895	0	
University of Georgia	9,553	2	1961-C
Continuing Education Center ...	2,134	0	
Valdosta State	916	0	
West Georgia	1,089	0	
Women's College of Georgia	839	0	
TOTALS..................	34,716	5	
Predominantly Negro			
Albany State	0	916	
Columbus Center	0	88	
Ft. Valley State	0	985	
Savannah State	0	1,065	
TOTALS	0	3,054	
STATE TOTALS	34,716	3,059	

FACULTIES

In higher education, all white college and university units have white teachers and Negro units have Negro teachers.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Complete segregation is maintained in the state's special schools for blind, deaf, mute, mentally retarded and delinquent children.

LITIGATION

Calhoun v. Latimer

Filed Jan. 11, 1958, in U.S. District Court. U.S. District Court ordered desegregation of Atlanta schools May 1, 1961. Court order declaring segregation unconstitutional in Atlanta school system entered July 9, 1958. Final approval of defendants' proposed plan of desegregation given Jan. 20, 1960, with effective date of plan set for May 1, 1961.

Holmes v. Danner

Initial complaint filed August, 1960. U.S. District Court ordered desegregation of University of Georgia Jan. 6, 1961.

Hunt v. Arnold

Filed in U.S. District Court on Sept. 28, 1956. U.S. District Court issued an order against further discrimination on basis of race for admission at Georgia State College of Business Administration in 1958, although plaintiffs in this particular case were not ordered admitted.

NAACP v. Pye

Sought to appeal contempt citation against organization. Pending.

Ward v. University System Board of Regents

Filed June 23, 1952, in U.S. District Court. Admission to University of Georgia denied by U.S. District Court in 1957 on grounds that plaintiff did not pursue all administrative remedies.

Williams v. NAACP

Fulton Superior Court in 1957 cited NAACP for contempt for denying access to records. Georgia Court of Appeals in 1957 ruled against NAACP bill of exceptions.

LEGISLATION

1953

Act 156—Proposed state amendment authorizing tuition grants. Adopted in 1954 general election.

1955

Act 82—Forbade state or local funds for schools expecting to desegregate. Repealed in 1961.

HR 23-54A—Urged constitutional amendment giving states sole power over schools.

HR 31-84A—Urged constitutional amendment denying federal authority over schools.

1956

SR 32—Defined duties and authority of Georgia Education Commission. Georgia Education Commission replaced by Georgia Commission on Constitutional Government in 1959.

HR 37—Urged other states to oppose federal aid.

HR 185—Interposition.

Act 11—Provided tuition grants and allowed closing of schools. Repealed in 1961.

Act 12—Forbade trespassing on closed school property.

Act 13—Permitted lease of school property for private schools.

Act 14—Authorized School Building Authority to sublease facilities for private schools.

Act 15—Extended retirement benefits to teachers in non-public schools.

Act 16—Required fire inspection of private schools.

Act 197—Forfeited retirement benefits of officers failing to enforce school segregation. Not specifically repealed by 1961 legislature but considered made invalid.

Act 383—Defined duties of state law officers regarding school segregation laws. Not specifically repealed by 1961 legislature but considered made invalid.

1957

HR 8-7A—Permitted Georgia Education Commission to hold hearings, subpoena witnesses, etc. Commission deactivated 1959.

HR 11-7D—Authorized Georgia Education Commission to air pro-segregation views. Commission deactivated 1959.

HR 174-554D—Asked impeachment of six U.S. justices.

HR 179—Commended Atlanta Teachers Association for rejecting desegregation demand.

Act 7—Protected retirement benefits of teachers transferring to private schools. Not specifically repealed by 1961 legislature but considered made invalid.

Act 60—Gave governor extraordinary powers to suppress violence.

Act 139—Authorized governor to suspend compulsory school attendance laws. Modified in 1958.

1958

HR 305—Censured President's use of troops at Little Rock.

Act 280—Empowered governor to suspend compulsory school attendance law.

1959

Act 2—Created Governor's Commission on Constitutional Government.

Act 3—Allowed state income tax credits for private schools under certain conditions.

Act 7—Permitted governor to close single school in a system ordered to desegregate. Repealed in 1961.

Act 9—Allowed special legal counsel for state expenses in school cases.

Act 10—Set age limit of 21 years for initial enrollment for undergraduate studies at state colleges and universities, and 25 years for graduate work. Legislature repealed in 1961 but Gov. Ernest Vandiver vetoed the repeal.

Act 212—Banned ad valorem taxes for desegregated schools. Repealed in 1961.

Act 382—Assured pay of teachers if public schools closed.

1960

HR 360—Created school study (Sibley) commission to test public sentiment on desegregation and report back to legislature.

Act 504—Prohibited levying taxes for desegregated schools and authorized taxes for payment of debts contracted prior to change. Repealed in 1961.

Act 652—Allowed county voter registrars to destroy records of rejected applicants.

Act 910—Stiffened penalties for barratry.

1961

HR 69-174—Proposed a constitutional amendment to preserve freedom from compulsory association at all levels of public education. To be submitted to referendum.

Act 13—Set up local option procedures for closing and reopening public schools in desegregation crises.

SB 48—Provided grants of state and local funds for children from 6 to 19 years of age who choose private rather than public schools.

SB 49—Revised procedures on appeals from local boards on pupil placement.

—A Senate resolution to establish an Educational Rights Commission.

KENTUCKY

Elementary and High Schools

211 Districts: 172 With Negroes and Whites;
134 Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment*	600,000	42,000	642,000
Teachers*	23,500	1,400	24,900

*Estimated

Colleges and Universities

All Eight Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	7	1	8
Enrollment	30,148*	641*	30,789*

*1960-61

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Several districts voluntarily desegregated schools for the 1955-56 term. Six Negro children who entered Wayne County's Griffin School on July 18, 1955, are believed to be the first of their race to attend a desegregated public school in Kentucky. The peaceful desegregation of all grades in the Louisville public schools in September, 1956, won national and international recognition. A survey indicated that of 211 districts, 134 were desegregated. Of these, 110 had desegregated classes in 393 schools; 24 other districts had desegregation policies or plans but no biracial schools. A total of 20,636 Negroes were reported attending classes with 171,543 whites. The Negro pupils enrolled in the biracial schools were approximately 49 per cent of the statewide Negro enrollment. The desegregated districts have an estimated 445,000 whites and 32,000 Negroes. Following is a list of 134 desegregated school districts, with the biracial schools' enrollments from a June, 1960, survey, except as indicated otherwise:

County Districts (74)	Biracial School Enrollment White	Negro	Schools Involved	Date Deseg.
Adair	1,595	135	4	1956-7
Barren	0	0	0	Policy
Bell	667	11	3	1956-7
Boone	2,174	9	4	1955-6
Bourbon	0	0	0	Policy
Boyle	0	0	0	Policy
Bracken	1,134	5	3	1956-7
Breathitt	1,180	5	2	1956-7
Breckenridge	1,553	152	4	1956-7
Bullitt	2,971	32	7	1956-7
Butler	759	3	1	1959-60
Calloway	0	0	0	Policy
Carter	408	2	1	1955-6
Christian	0	0	0	Policy
Clark	2,643	33	7	1956-7
Winchester ...... (merged since survey)	520	96	3	1956-7
Clay**	100	4	1	1961-2
Clinton	480	6	2	1955-6
Crittenden	459	5	1	1955-6
Cumberland	234	12	1	1959-60
Daviess	4,085	72	11	1956-7
Edmondson	0	0	0	Policy
Fayette	10,768	326	14	1955-6
Fleming	1,405	93	4	1956-7
Floyd	1,209	8	3	1955-6
Franklin	775	25	1	1956-7
Gallatin	332	9	1	1957-8
Grant	1,011	5	3	1959-60
Graves	0	0	0	Policy
Green	437	11	1	1956-7
Hancock	968	21	4	1956-7
Hardin	2,341	66	7	1956-7
Harlan	0	0	0	Policy
Harrison	1,333	11	6	1956-7
Hart	770	53	2	1957-8
Henderson	1,018	9	1	1956-7
Henry	1,540	76	6	1957-8
Hopkins**	800	17	5	1957-8
Jefferson*	33,133	1,019	34	1956-7
Johnson	0	0	0	Policy
Kenton	1,751	4	2	1956-7
Knott	540	11	2	1955-6
Knox	360	3	1	1959-60
Larue	1,109	40	3	1956-7
Laurel	0	0	0	Policy
Lawrence	1,209	4	2	1955-6
Lee	NA	NA	NA	1961-2
Lewis	12	3	1	1959-60
Logan	625	68	4	1956-7
Madison	674	25	1	1956-7
Marion	282	16	1	1955-6
Mason	653	51	5	1956-7
McCracken	0	0	0	Policy
McLean	785	19	3	1956-7
Meade	445	16	1	1956-7
Mercer	1,208	35	5	1956-7
Nelson	1,116	30	5	1956-7
Oldham	700	1	1	1956-7
Owen	1,324	95	5	1958-9
Owsley	0	0	0	Policy
Pendleton	228	2	1	1955-6
Perry	1,071	64	4	1955-6
Pike	1,078	15	3	1956-7
Powell	244	8	1	1956-7
Pulaski	411	8	1	1956-7
Robertson	490	5	2	1956-7
Russell	584	16	1	1955-6
Scott	1,851	212	5	1956-7
Spencer	198	4	1	1955-6
Taylor**	560	1	1	1961-2
Union	1,092	75	2	1957-8
Wayne	1,733	49	4	1955-6
Webster	1,944	?	8	1959-60
Wolfe	0	0	0	Policy
Woodford	242	22	1	1956-7
TOTALS....	103,321††	3,233†	224††	

Independent Districts (60)	White	Negro	Schools Involved	Date Deseg.
Ashland	2,028	127	5	1955-6
Augusta	288	5	2	1956-7
Barbourville	550	13	2	1955-6
Bardstown**	765	115	2	1958-9
Berea	181	16	1	1956-7
Burgin	69	4	1	1956-7
Carlisle	125	17	1	1955-6
Carrollton*	975	26	2	1961-2
Catlettsburg	0	0	0	Policy
Caverna	786	94	3	1957-8
Central City	0	0	0	Policy
Cloverport	0	0	0	Policy
Covington	3,258	56	5	1956-7
Cynthiana	272	12	1	1956-7
Danville	464	3	1	1956-7
East Bernstadt	0	0	0	Policy
Elizabethtown	2,125	255	6	1956-7
Eminence	109	17	1	1956-7
Erlanger	1,035	73	2	1955-6
Falmouth	482	16	2	1955-6
Frankfort	291	37	1	1956-7
Fulton	181	18	1	1958-9
Georgetown	864	150	2	1956-7
Glasgow	0	0	0	Policy
Greenup	189	17	1	1955-6
Greenville	0	0	0	Policy
Harlan	0	0	0	Policy
Harrodsburg	259	24	1	1956-7
Hazard	1,279	119	4	1956-7
Henderson	2,089	113	5	1957-8
Hopkinsville	768	2	2	1958-9
Irvine	657	7	2	1956-7
Jackson	459	10	2	1955-6
Lebanon	0	0	0	Policy
Leitchfield	686	18	2	1956-7
Lexington	3,441	63	5	1955-6
Liberty	415	1	1	1958-9
London	1,017	42	2	1955-6
Louisville*	26,190	15,206	61	1956-7
Mayfield	479	8	1	1956-7
Maysville	329	36	1	1956-7
Midway	318	74	2	1956-7
Monticello	770	55	2	1955-6
Murray	514	1	1	1956-7
Newport	2,283	146	4	1955-6
Owensboro	2,113	11	4	1955-6
Paducah	3,783	129	9	1956-7
Paris	0	0	0	Policy
Pikeville	560	15	1	1956-7
Pineville	627	36	2	1956-7
Providence	0	0	0	Policy
Richmond	243	37	1	1955-6
Russellville	375	27	1	1956-7
Shelbyville	1,161	39	3	1956-7
Somerset	564	30	1	1956-7
Stanford	0	0	0	Policy
Walton-Verona	530	21	3	1956-7
West Point	224	28	1	1956-7

Williamsburg	811	32	2	1955-6
Williamstown	241	2	1	1956-7
TOTALS	68,222	17,403	169	
STATE TOTALS	171,543††	20,636†	393††	

*1961-62
**1961-62 Estimated
†Webster and Lee not included
††Lee not included

TEACHERS

The number of Negro teachers serving in schools with white and Negro enrollments increased from two in 1956 to an estimated 303 in 1961. Best available figures in the early fall of 1961 indicated that 16 districts operated schools with both Negroes and whites serving on the faculties. About 64 Negro teachers were serving in some 31 schools with biracial faculties in these districts. The Kentucky Teachers Association, a Negro group, merged in 1957 with the previously all-white Kentucky Education Association.

HIGHER LEARNING

All eight tax-supported colleges and universities are desegregated in practice. Only the University of Kentucky and Paducah Junior College desegregated under court order. The university first admitted Negroes to the graduate schools in June, 1949. The school's undergraduate divisions were opened to Negroes voluntarily in 1954. Paducah Junior College accepted Negroes under court order in June, 1953. The table below includes 1960-61 total enrollment for the colleges, with racial breakdowns estimated by school officials:

Predominantly White	White	Negro	Date Deseg.
Eastern Ky. State	3,440	12	1956-V
Morehead State	2,443	15	1956-V
Murray State	2,952	75	1955-V
Paducah Junior	541	24	1953-C
Univ. of Ky.	9,983	150	1949-C
Univ. of Louisville	6,750	250	1950-1-V
Western Ky. State	3,491	22	1956-V
TOTALS	29,600	548	
Predominantly Negro			
Ky. State	50*	591	1954-V
STATE TOTALS	29,650	1,139	

*Many, but not all, white students at Kentucky State attend the evening school operated jointly by the school and the University of Kentucky.

FACULTIES

Observers predicted that faculty desegregation would continue to proceed slowly. The University of Louisville had a Negro professor serving as head of the sociology department.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

In September, 1961, the state accepted five Negro children at the previously all-white Kentucky Children's Home at Lyndon. In the past, the state had provided care for dependent Negro children in foster homes.

LEGISLATION

Dishman v. Archer

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1956. Court ordered Scott County schools desegregated.

Garnett et al v. Oakley

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1956. Court ordered Union County schools desegregated, rejecting plan of gradual desegregation.

Gordon et al v. Collins et al

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1956. Court ordered Webster County schools desegregated.

Grimes et al v. Smith

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1957. Court ordered Owen County schools desegregated.

Grubbs v. Chandler

Failed to get mandamus to enforce school segregation laws.

Mitchell et al v. Pollock

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1956. Court ordered desegregation of Hopkins County schools, overruling plan of gradual desegregation.

Ray v. Matheson

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1950. Court ordered desegregation of Paducah Junior College.

White et al v. Singleton et al

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1960. Court ordered all Knox County schools desegregated.

Wilburn v. Holland

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1956. Court ordered McCracken County schools desegregated.

Willis v. Walker

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1955. Court ordered Adair County schools desegregated.

Wilson v. Matheson

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1949. Resulted in declaratory judgment that qualified Negroes had right to attend Paducah Junior College.

LEGISLATION

None.

LOUISIANA

Elementary and High Schools

67 Districts: 67 With Negroes and Whites;

One Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment*	450,000	295,000	745,000
Teachers*	18,590	10,030	28,620

*Estimated

Colleges and Universities

Five Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	10	3	13
Enrollment	37,760	8,592	46,352

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Louisiana has one desegregated school district, Orleans Parish (New Orleans), which desegregated its schools by federal court order Nov. 14, 1960. The district has 91,415 students: 37,123 white and 54,292 Negro. Twelve Negroes attend the first and second grades in six biracial schools. East Baton Rouge and St. Helena parishes have federal court orders to desegregate but no dates have been set.

TEACHERS

Teaching staffs remain completely segregated.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Five of the state's 10 predominantly white colleges have desegregated under federal court order and have enrollments that include 724 Negroes. The three Negro universities and college remain segregated. Louisiana State University admitted Negroes first, in 1950. The college enrollments are:

Predominantly White	White	Negro	Date Deseg.
LSU, Baton Rouge	11,071	60	1950-C
LSU, Chambers	515	0	
LSU, New Orleans	3,110	258	1958-C
La. Polytechnic	3,932	0	
McNeese State	2,946	144	1954-C
Nicholls State	1,210	0	
Northeast La. State	2,992	0	
Northwestern State	3,224	0	
Southeastern La.	2,577	25	1954-C
Univ. of Southwestern La.	5,459	237	1954-C
TOTALS	37,036	724	
Predominantly Negro			
Grambling	0	2,758	
Southern Univ., New Orleans..	0	1,013	
Southern Univ., Scotlandville..	0	4,821	
TOTALS	0	8,592	
STATE TOTALS	37,036	9,316	

FACULTIES

Teaching staffs remain segregated.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Six state-supported trade schools—at Crowley, Natchitoches, Opelousas, Greensburg, Lake Charles and Shreveport—have been ordered by U.S. District Court to desegregate "with all deliberate speed." The decisions were upheld by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The U.S. Supreme Court declined to review. No dates for desegregation have been set.

LITIGATION

Allen et al v. State Board of Education

Shreveport trade school, state-supported, ordered to desegregate "with all deliberate speed" by U.S. District Court in 1960. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld decision in February, 1961. U.S. Supreme Court declined to review. No date set for desegregation.

Angel et al v. State Board of Education

Five state trade schools ordered to desegregate "with all deliberate speed" by U.S. District Court in 1960. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld decision in February, 1961. U.S. Supreme Court declined to review. Schools are at Crowley, Natchitoches, Opelousas, Greensburg, and Lake Charles. No date set for desegregation.

*Bailey v. State Board of Education**

Louisiana law requiring certificates of good moral character for admission to University of Southwestern Louisiana (formerly SLI) declared invalid by U.S. District Court in 1956.

Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board
U.S. v. Louisiana
Williams v. Davis

Desegregation of New Orleans public schools begun in November, 1960, after three-judge U.S. District Court declared as unconstitutional *Act 555* of 1954; *319* of 1956; *256* of 1958; and *333, 495, 496,* and *542* of 1960, and after three-judge U.S. District Court restrained or enjoined the state from use of all segregation acts of the 1960 first extraordinary session.

Combre et al v. McNeese State College

McNeese ordered to admit Negroes in September, 1954, by U.S. District Court.

Constantine et al v. Southwestern Louisiana Institute

SLI, now the University of Southwestern Louisiana, was ordered to admit Negroes in September, 1954, by U.S. District Court.

Davis v. East Baton Rouge Parish School Board

U.S. District Court in 1960 ordered schools to desegregate "with all deliberate speed" in St. Helena Parish. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld ruling in February, 1961. U.S. Supreme Court declined to review. No date has been set.

Dorsey v. Louisiana State Athletic Commission

U.S. Supreme Court, in 1959 upheld U.S. District Court decision that declared invalid the sports segregation law (*Act 579* of 1956) prohibiting whites and Negroes from competing with one another in athletic contests.

Hall v. St. Helena Parish School Board

U.S. District Court in 1960 ordered schools to desegregate "with all deliberate speed" and the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld ruling in February, 1961. The U.S. Supreme Court declined to review. No date for desegregation has been set.

Henley v. LSU Board of Supervisors

U.S. District Court ordered Louisiana State University in New Orleans, a branch of LSU of Baton Rouge, to admit Negroes in September, 1958, when it opened.

*Lark v. State Board of Education**

Louisiana law requiring certificates of good moral character for admission to Southeastern Louisiana College declared invalid by U.S. District Court in 1956.

Louisiana ex rel LeBlanc v. Lewis

Nineteenth Judicial District Court of Louisiana in April, 1956, enjoined NAACP operations in the state. The decision was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in April, 1961.

*Ludley v. LSU Board of Supervisors**

Louisiana law requiring certificates of good moral character for admission to LSU declared invalid by U.S. District Court in 1956.

Singlemann v. Davis

A friendly suit filed in December, 1960, to test validity of Act 2 of Second Special Session of Louisiana Legislature of 1960, an act which created a new school board for Orleans Parish. Three judge federal court nullified the act even as the Legislature passed a new act in third special session doing the same thing.

Tureaud v. LSU Board of Supervisors

U.S. District Court in 1952 ordered desegregation of Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, at the undergraduate level but the Negro admitted stayed only eight weeks.

U. S. v. St. Bernard Parish School Board

Filed in U. S. District Court at New Orleans in the fall, 1961, by the U. S. attorney general to enjoin the board from conducting a segregated school in the parish for students from adjacent Orleans Parish, who boycotted desegregated facilities. The suit became moot when the students transferred to a private school in Orleans Parish.

Wagner v. Redmond

Emile F. Wagner Jr., a member of the Orleans Parish school board, asked the parish civil district court in the fall, 1960, for a writ of mandamus ordering the superintendent, James F. Redmond, to furnish names and addresses of students enrolled in the two desegregated schools. On Dec. 2, 1960, the court issued the writ. On appeal, the State Fourth Circuit Court of Appeal affirmed on March 13, 1961.

Williams et al v. Northwestern Louisiana College at Natchitoches

Sought desegregation of state-supported Northwestern College but died in court when Negroes failed to press the case.

Wilson v. LSU Board of Supervisors

Louisiana State University ordered to admit its first Negro (to the law school) in September, 1950, by U.S. District Court.

*(The Bailey, Lark and Ludley cases all involved court rulings of invalidity of *Acts 15* and *249* of the 1956 Legislature, which required certificates of good character from educators for students to attend state colleges but at the same time ordered removal of teachers doing anything to promote desegregation.)

LEGISLATION

1954

Act 555—Required separate schools under state police powers. U.S. District Court of three judges declared unconstitutional in 1960, *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis.*

Act 556—Gave broad powers to local superintendents in pupil assignments.

Act 753—Constitutional amendment required segregation.

1956

HCR 10—Interposition. Subsequently, legislature in first special session of 1960 passed act of Interposition, ruled unconstitutional by U.S. District Court in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* on Nov. 30, 1960.

Act 15—Required that pupils entering public-supported colleges and universities be certified as to good moral character by principal and superintendent, who would be removed if aiding desegregation. Ruled unconstitutional by U.S. District Court, *Ludley v. Louisiana State University Board of Supervisors,* 1956.

Act 28—Lifted compulsory attendance in desegregated districts. This act amended by *Act 27,* first special session of 1960, and ruled unconstitutional in 1960 by three-judge U.S. District Court in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, Williams v. Davis,* and *U.S. v. State of Louisiana.*

Act 248—Provided dismissal of pro-integration school bus operators.

Act 249—Provided dismissal of teachers advocating integration.

Act 250—Provided dismissal of any school employe advocating integration.

Act 319—Classified schools as white or Negro in Orleans Parish. Three-judge U.S. District Court in 1960 declared unconstitutional in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis.*

Act 579—Banned interracial sports, social activities. U.S. District Court in 1959 ruled unconstitutional in *Dorsey v. Louisiana State Athletic Commission.*

Act 613—Withdrew state consent to sue state or local school officials.

1958

Act 187—Ensured teacher salaries for time lost as a result of desegregation.

Act 256—Authorized closing of desegregated schools. U.S. District Court of three-judges in 1960 declared unconstitutional in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis.*

Act 257—Authorized private schools under educational cooperatives.

Act 258—Authorized tuition grants for private education.

Act 259—Provided system of pupil placement. Amended by *Act 492* of 1960.

Act 557—Proposed amendment for state control of public, private schools. Incorporated into *Art. 12* of Louisiana Constitution.

1960

Act 333—Prohibited granting of school funds to desegregated schools. U.S. District Court of three judges in 1960 declared unconstitutional in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis.*

Act 492—Revised pupil placement. Louisiana *Act 259* of 1958 revised and refined to coincide with Alabama law ruled constitutional.

Act 495—Authorized school closing by governor and sale of school property to private interests. U.S. District Court of three judges ruled unconstitutional in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis.*

Act 496—Permitted racial classification of schools. U.S. District Court of three judges ruled unconstitutional in 1960 in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis.*

Act 542—Authorized governor to close schools in event of disorder. U.S. District Court of three judges ruled unconstitutional in 1960 in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis.*

Act 579—Provided for closing trade schools in the event of disorder.

Act 580—Classified trade schools as to race.

Act 581—Prohibited free textbooks, supplies or funds to any desegregated trade school.

Act 582—Provided for the closing of any trade school in the interest of the people and selling them to private interests.

1960
(First Extraordinary Session)

The following acts and concurrent resolutions of the 1960 First Extraordinary Session were declared unconstitutional by a three-judge U.S. District Court at New Orleans on Nov. 30, 1960, in the combined *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, Williams v. Davis,* and *U.S. v. State of Louisiana.*

HCR 10—Provided creation of an eight member Legislative committee to run the Orleans Parish public schools.

HCR 17—Changed powers of committee created by *HCR 10* so as to limit committee to investigative duties.

HCR 19—Appointed sergeants at arms to enforce in New Orleans the provisions of the interposition act and other acts and resolutions of the first special session.

HCR 23—Removed from office the four members of the Orleans Parish school board who complied Nov. 14 with desegregation order of federal court.

Act 2—Interposed the powers of the state, declaring the state alone had jurisdiction in public schools.

Act 10—Provided governor could close schools where disorder occurred or was threatened.

Act 11—Provided governor could close desegregated schools.

Act 12—Provided governor could close schools permanently.

Act 13—Prohibited state aid to any desegregated school.

Act 14—Provided schools could be operated under state police powers.

Act 16—Provided additional powers for state police officers.

Act 17—Permitted legislature to assume power of Orleans Parish school board.

Act 18—Removed powers and duties of the Orleans Parish school board.

Act 19—Named three member board of trustees to handle funds of any school board abolished.

Act 20—Permitted accrediting of all schools except those not operated in accordance with state laws.

Act 21—Prohibited State Board of Education approval or accreditation of desegregated schools.

Act 22—Prohibited school boards from carrying on any functions after being ordered to desegregate.

Act 23—Provided that any desegregated school would be closed as unfit.

Act 24—Revoked teaching certificates of public school teachers who instructed in desegregated classrooms.

Act 25—Required pupils be denied promotion and graduation if they attended desegregated classrooms.

Act 26—Repealed law under which Orleans Parish school board was elected.

Act 27—Forbade transfers of pupils from one school to another after the 21st day of the 1960-61 school term.

Several acts and resolutions of the 1960 First Extraordinary Session were not included in the litigation, which knocked out the above acts and resolutions. Among the acts passed and unaffected by the litigation were:

Act 28—Repealed the compulsory state school attendance law.

Act 29—Provided for revocation of teacher certificates of teachers in desegregated schools.

Act 30—Provided for closing desegregated trade schools.

1960
(Second Extraordinary Session)

SCR 1—Commended parents who took their children out of desegregated schools. (Same resolution passed by House as *HCR 1*.)

HCR 2—Warned banks and businesses not to do business with the Orleans Parish school board.

HCR 3—Accused U.S. District Judge J. Skelly Wright of bias and prejudice in the handling of school desegregation cases.

HCR 6—Requested Judge Wright to remove himself from desegregation cases.

HCR 10—Condemned the U.S. contempt citation against State Education Supt. Shelby M. Jackson.

Act 2—Provided for the creation of a new school board for Orleans Parish; subsequently repealed by another such bill voided by U.S. District Court.

Act 3—Provided for a system of education expense grants for children attending non-profit, non-secretarian, non-public schools.

Act 4—Required officers of educational cooperatives to furnish bonds when handling or controlling funds.

Act 5—Provided that the attorney general shall be the counsel for school boards within the state and for other subdivisions of government.

Act 6—Made it a misdemeanor to obstruct court orders or judicial process.

Act 7—Provided that property of school boards may be disposed of in cases where public schools have been closed. Redefined by *Act 11* of second 1961 session.

1960
(Third Extraordinary Session)

Act 3—Provided penalties for persons usurping public office and directed at school officials who hold office despite actions of legislature to remove them.

Act 4—Created appointed school board to replace the Orleans Parish elected board of five members. State enjoined by U.S. District Court from use of act. U.S. Supreme Court upheld the action. Still in litigation in state courts on question of elected board's power to expend tax funds.

SCR 7—Addressed Dr. James F. Redmond out of office as superintendent of Orleans Parish public schools. State enjoined by U.S. District Court from carrying out Dr. Redmond's removal. U.S. Supreme Court declined to review.

HCR 8—Praised Lt. Gov. C. C. Aycock, House Speaker J. Thomas Jewell, and State Education Supt. Shelby M. Jackson for their actions in refusing to make money available to desegregated Orleans Parish schools. Condemned the U.S. District Court at New Orleans for citing the three officials for contempt.

HCR 9—Declared intent of the legislature to pay operating cost of Orleans schools.

HCR 15—Authorized pay for employes of Orleans public schools except those at desegregated William Frantz and McDonogh No. 19 schools.

HCR 21—Asked the Louisiana School Boards Association not to recognize the memberships in the association of the four Orleans school board members who complied with federal desegregation order Nov. 14. The four Orleans members were dropped from the association roles.

1961

(First Extraordinary Session)

Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 4—Commended the Louisiana School Boards Association for refusing to recognize the association memberships of Orleans Parish school board members who complied with federal desegregation order.

1961

(Second Extraordinary Session)

HCR 22—Condemned contempt proceedings against state officials by U.S. government.

HCR 28—Created committee for investigation of the operation of parish school boards.

Act 2—Provided that Louisiana school boards may call elections to determine whether voters would rather close public schools than have them desegregated.

Act 3—Made it a bribery offense to offer anything to parents of school children to get them to attend schools in violation of state laws. Three-judge federal court on May 4, 1961, held the law unconstitutional. U.S. Supreme Court upheld ruling in October, 1961.

Act 4—Permitted educational cooperatives to enter into contracts of employment with teachers and restricted cooperatives to paying school personnel what they were paid under public school program.

Act 5—Prohibited persons from encouraging child to attend desegregated schools and provided that fines imposed on violators of the act be paid to informers who pinpoint the violation. Three-judge federal court on May 4, 1961, held the law unconstitutional. U.S. Supreme Court upheld the decision in October, 1961.

Act 7—Added four members to the seven member East Baton Rouge Parish school board.

Act 9—Transferred $2.5 million from the welfare department to the grant-in-aid school fund.

Act 10—Provided $200,000 a month from sales tax be placed in the grant-in-aid school fund.

Act 11—Provided for the sale or lease of school properties no longer needed by public school system. A redefinition of *Act* 7 of the Second Extraordinary Session of 1960.

MARYLAND

Elementary and High Schools

24 Districts: 23 With Negroes and Whites;
23 Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment*	487,500	145,616	633,116
Teachers	NA	NA	26,056

*Sept. 30, 1961, total; racial breakdown estimated from 1960-61 percentages.

Colleges and Universities

All 20 Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Public Institutions ..	16	4	20
Enrollment*	25,189	3,612	28,801

*Preliminary figures for 1961-62.

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Maryland has 23 desegregated school districts but eight are desegregated in policy only. Of the 15 districts with biracial schools, 10 have all grades open to Negro transfers and five are carrying out stair-step programs. Baltimore city schools were the first to desegregate, voluntarily, in the fall of 1954, followed by eight counties in the 1955-56 school year and six counties since that time. Court suits were a factor in three counties. An estimated 482,697 white and 145,616 Negro pupils are enrolled in the 23 desegregated districts. The districts with total enrollment, percent Negro, Negroes in schools with whites, number of biracial schools, desegregated grades, and the date desegregated are:

District	Enrollment* Total	Enrollment* % Negro	Negroes w/Whites	Brcl. Schls.	Grades	Date Deseg.
Allegany	16,242	1.9	295	15	all	1955
Anne Arundel.	44,629	15.9	1,156	37	1-9	1956**
BaltimoreCity	173,210	51.5	39,206†	88†	all	1954
Baltimore Co..	91,295	4.7	1,744	68	all	1955
Calvert	4,577	51.4	0	0	all	—
Caroline	4,563	23.6	0	0	all	—
Carroll	10,930	4.6	51	5	all	1955
Cecil	9,777	5.9	153	12	all	1955
Charles	7,754	44.7	21	1	1-8	1956
Dorchester ...	6,168	36.1	0	0	7-12	—
Frederick	14,661	9.1	954	21	all	1956
Harford	17,406	11.6	287	16	1-10	1956
Howard	8,313	14.4	42	8	1-10	1956
Kent	3,393	27.4	0	0	all	—
Montgomery ..	86,177	4.3	3,034	75	all	1955
Prince Geo's ..	74,951	12.5	432	36	all	1955
Queen Anne's.	3,872	29.6	0	0	all	—
St. Mary's	5,921	25.6	8	2	all	1958
Somerset	4,376	43.5	0	0	all	—
Talbot	4,239	32.5	25	3	1-8	1956
Washington ..	19,512	2.0	180	18	all	1955
Wicomico	10,720	27.4	0	0	all	—
Worcester	5,627	40.0	0	0	all	—
TOTALS...	628,313		47,588	405		

*Total Enrollment, including kindergarten, as of September 30, 1961; Negro percentages are those recorded in 1960-61 school year.
†1960-61.

**Anne Arundel admitted a few Negroes to white classes during 1955-56 school year before start of formal desegregation in fall of 1956.

TEACHERS

No teachers have been displaced or discharged because of desegregation. For the 1961-62 school year, Negroes were on desegregated faculties in the following school districts: Allegany, 8; Anne Arundel, 7; Frederick, 9; Montgomery, 141; Washington, 3; Baltimore County, 31; and Baltimore city, about 1,000—totaling about 1,200.

HIGHER EDUCATION

All 20 public two-year and four-year colleges and universities (16 predominantly white; four predominantly Negro)) are desegregated in practice or in principle. About 4,000 Negroes attend biracial institutions. The University of Maryland opened its law school to Negroes by court order in 1936, its other graduate schools in 1950-51, and its undergraduate courses in 1954. Morgan State College accepted white students off and on from its start (1867) and its trustees reiterated a desegregation policy in 1954. Maryland State College was open in principle to both races from 1886 onward but the first white student enrolled in 1956-57. The State Board of Education declared all five state teachers colleges (three white; two Negro) desegregated in 1955. The majority of the 12 junior colleges have been established since 1955 and the year of their desegregation is the year of their founding. In the table below "C" indicates desegregation by court order, and "V," voluntary action.

Predominantly White Senior Colleges	Total Enrollment	Negroes	Date Deseg.
State Teachers, Frostburg	1,274	3	1955-V
State Teachers, Salisbury	538	0†	1955-V
State Teachers, Towson	1,720	30*	1955-V
Univ. of Md.	15,394	400 plus*	1936-C
Junior Colleges			
Allegany Comm.	102	5	1961-V
Anne Arundel Comm.	264	4-6*	1961-V
Baltimore Jr.	1,200	200*	1954-V
Catonsville Comm.	281	3	1957-V
Charles County Jr.	228	11	1958-V
Essex Comm.	320	1	1957-V
Frederick Comm.	208	4	1957-V
Hagerstown Jr.	515	0†	1946-V
Harford Jr.	351	4	1957-V
Montgomery Jr.	2,022	12–15*	1955-V
Prince George's Comm.	514	25–30*	1958-V
St. Mary's Seminary	258	0	1955-V
TOTAL	25,189	702–712-plus	

Predominantly Negro Senior Colleges	Total Enrollment	Whites	Date Deseg.
Coppin State Teachers	357	2	1955-V
Maryland State	545	17	1886-V
Morgan State	2,350	NA**	1867-V
State Teachers, Bowie	360	0	1955-V
TOTALS	3,612	19 plus	

*Official estimates in lieu of visual count. Records are not kept on racial basis at most institutions. The University of Maryland reports more than 300 Negro graduate students and more than 100 undergraduates.
**Morgan is known to have some white students but the number is not released.
†Some Negroes in previous years; none this year.

FACULTIES

Negroes serve on the predominantly white staffs at the University of Maryland and at the following two-year colleges: Baltimore, Essex, Harford and Montgomery. All four predominantly Negro colleges have some white staff members.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

The four state training schools for delinquent youths (two for boys and two for girls) were desegregated in 1961 following a state court ruling that continued segregation would be unconstitutional. The Maryland School for the Blind desegregated voluntarily in 1954, as did the Maryland School for the Deaf. The Rosewood Training School for mentally retarded children admitted Negroes voluntarily (a court suit to stop desegregation failed) in 1954. The Esther Loring Richards Children's Center for emotionally disturbed children opened in 1958 as a desegregated institution, as did the Jacob E. Finesinger Unit, also for disturbed children, in 1961. Racial statistics are not available.

LITIGATION

Burr v. Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore

Filed in the Superior Court of Baltimore in September, 1954, to halt desegregation of city schools. Demurrer of defendants sustained in October, 1954, in finding that school commissioners "exercised their discretion legally and in accordance with a final and enforceable holding and decision of the Supreme Court."

Ex parte Howard

Baltimore County Board of Education in October, 1955, filed petition in county Juvenile Court advising that Howards were keeping their two daughters out of desegregated school. Howards sought jury trial, which juvenile courts in Maryland do not provide. Case turned over to state's attorney's office, which presented a criminal information to county grand jury. Grand jury in March, 1956, declined to indict.

Groves v. Board of Education of St. Mary's County

Filed in U.S. District Court in April, 1958, to obtain desegregation of grades above those opened to Negro transfers under county plan. While approving the general plans, District Court ruled in August, 1958, that exception should be made for one child in absence of administrative problems. Ruling affirmed by U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in November, 1958.

Hart v. Board of Education of St. Mary's County

Filed in U.S. District Court in June, 1958, to permit Negro boy enrolled at desegregated school to ride the white school bus. Declared moot in August, 1958, when county school officials provided the desired transportation.

Heintz v. Howard County Board of Education

Filed in Circuit Court for Howard County in August, 1956, along with identical petitions in Carroll, Anne Arundel and Talbot county courts, to have school desegregation declared unconstitutional. All were dismissed in September, 1956, on ground that lower courts could not overrule the Supreme Court.

Mitchell v. Connellee

Filed in January, 1955, in U.S. District Court to desegregate school on military base operated by Cecil County Board of Education. Declared moot in December, 1955, following the opening of new school off the base on a desegregated basis.

Moore v. Board of Education of Harford County
(Civil Action No. 8615)

Filed in U.S. District Court in November, 1955, to desegregate Harford County schools. Suit dropped in March, 1956, following adoption of desegregation resolution by County Board of Education.

Moore v. Board of Education of Harford County
(Civil Action No. 9105)

Filed in U.S. District Court in August, 1956, on behalf of pupils whose transfer requests had been denied under county desegregation plan. After several hearings, a new plan to desegregate all schools by 1963 was approved by a District Court judgment in June, 1957.

Pettit v. Board of Education of Harford County

Filed in U.S. District Court in February, 1960, to obtain Negro transfer to white high school. Court ruled in May, 1960, that Negro boy, despite county screening process, had prior right under separate-but-equal doctrine to be admitted to academic course offered white students.

Robinson v. St. Mary's County Board of Education

Filed in U.S. District Court in March, 1956, to desegregate schools of St. Mary's County. Petition dismissed in July, 1956, on ground that administrative remedies had not been exhausted.

Slade v. Board of Education of Harford County

Filed in U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in July, 1957, to obtain speedier desegregation than the schedule approved in the Moore case above. Appellate judges upheld District Court judgment in February, 1958. The Supreme Court declined to review in June, 1958.

West v. Prince George's County Board of Education

First filed in U.S. District Court in January, 1956, to collect damages for alleged discrimination in salaries of white and Negro teachers. Dismissed on technicality in March, 1956; refiled and heard in September, 1958. Court ruled in latter month that suit came too late under applicable Maryland statutes and that "there is no evidence of any present discrimination against Negro teachers" in county.

LEGISLATION

The Maryland General Assembly in 1959 ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution under which the School Segregation decisions of 1954 were made.

MISSISSIPPI

Elementary and High Schools

151 Districts: 151 With Negroes and Whites;
None Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment*	293,600	283,900	577,500
Teachers	11,527	7,801	19,328

*Estimated

Colleges and Universities

None Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Institutions	19	6	25
Enrollment*	27,700	3,809	31,509

*1960-61

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Segregation is maintained at all grade levels.

TEACHERS

Completely segregated.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Complete segregation is maintained at the 19 all-white and six all-Negro public institutions of higher learning. Negroes have attempted unsuccessfully to register at Mississippi Southern College and at the University of Mississippi. Enrollments at the 25 colleges are:

White Sr. Colleges	**White**	**Negro**
Delta State	919	0
Miss. Southern	5,266	0
Miss. State Coll. for Women	1,617	0
Miss. State Univ.	5,266	0
Univ. of Miss.*	5,702	0
*Includes Medical College, Jackson.		
Negro Sr. Colleges		
Alcorn A&M	0	863
Jackson State	0	1,591
Miss. Voc.	0	861
TOTALS	19,076	2,982

White Jr. Colleges	**White**	**Negro**
Copiah-Lincoln	450	0
East Central	532	0
East Miss.	230	0
Hinds	957	0
Holmes	476	0
Itawamba	708	0
Jones	1,385	0
Meridian	536	0
Northeast	554	0
Northwest	714	0
Pearl River	589	0
Perkinston	729	0
Southwest	421	0
Miss. Delta	343	0
Negro Jr. Colleges		
Harrison	0	96
Coahoma	0	355
Utica	0	376
TOTALS	8,624	827

FACULTIES

Complete segregation is maintained.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Complete segregation is maintained.

ETHNIC GROUPS

The state has no separate schools for Indians or other such groups, but the federal government has a school for Indians in Neshoba County.

LITIGATION

James H. Meredith v. Charles D. Fair
Filed in U.S. District Court on May 31, 1961, to desegregate the University of Mississippi; under advisement by District Judge S. C. Mize.

LEGISLATION

1954

HCR 54—Created Mississippi Legal Education Advisory Commission.

HCR 9—Extended activities of MLEAC.

Ch. 5—Appropriated $50,000 for MLEAC operations.

Ch. 30—Proposed amendment to state constitution of 1890 to permit abolishing public schools. Ratified in 1954 special election.

Ch. 260—Established pupil assignment.

1955

HCR 8—Expanded school closing amendment.

HCR 10—Enlarged MLEAC activities.

HCR 15—Asked Congress to limit courts' jurisdiction.

SCR 6—Banned speeches at state institutions by advocates of anti-state action.

Ch. 43—Banned white and Negro attendance at same school.

Ch. 241—Voided interracial marriages.

Ch. 253—Prohibited barratry.

1956

HCR 12—Created committee to draft interposition resolution.

SCR 128—Sought federal constitutional amendment granting state control of schools.

SCR 144—Commended Judge T. P. Brady for pro-segregation efforts.

Ch. 254—Interposition.

Ch. 255—Named state bar requirements.

Ch. 256—Banned public disturbances.

Ch. 261—Banned telephone threats.

Ch. 265—Required school personnel to list memberships.

Ch. 288—Repealed compulsory attendance.

Ch. 289—Required pre-school-age census.

Ch. 365—Created State Sovereignty Commission.

1958

Ch. 311—Authorized governor to close public schools and colleges.

1960

SCR 115—Commended William J. Simmons, editor of the Citizens Council newspaper and officer of the state and national council.

SCR 143—Proposed constitutional amendment to remove mandatory provision that legislature provide for free public schools. Ratified in 1960 general election.

HB 1019—Increase biennial appropriation for State Sovereignty Commission from $150,000 to $350,000.

SB 1923—Authorized local school trustees to close public schools.

MISSOURI

Elementary and High Schools

1,692 Districts: Est. 214 With Negroes and Whites;
Est. 201 Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment*	760,950	84,550	845,500
Teachers†	30,475	2,542	33,017

*Estimated, with racial breakdown based on last known percentage of Negroes enrolled (9.4) in 1954.
†Official with racial breakdowns based on 1954 percentage.

Colleges and Universities

All 14 Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	13	1	14
Enrollment	41,879	1,997	43,876

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Of the estimated 214 school districts having both whites and Negroes within their boundaries, 201 with an estimated 75,000 Negro pupils are believed to be desegregated. An estimated 35,000 Negroes attend schools with whites. Those districts definitely known to have ended segregation, starting first in 1954 in Kansas City, are listed below. The listing is by counties for convenience in locating the school districts though the counties themselves do not constitute school districts. Nor have high school and elementary districts been distinguished.

- **Adair County**
  - Kirksville
- **Audrain County**
  - Vandalia
  - Mexico
- **Bates County**
  - Butler
- **Boone County**
  - Centralia
  - Columbia
  - Ashland
  - Sturgeon
- **Buchanan County**
  - St. Joseph
- **Butler County**
  - Neelyville
  - Poplar Bluff
- **Callaway County**
  - Fulton
- **Cape Girardeau County**
  - Cape Girardeau
  - Jackson
- **Carroll County**
  - Carrollton
  - Norborne
- **Cass County**
  - Harrisonville
  - Pleasant Hill
- **Chariton County**
  - Mendon
  - Keytesville
- **Clay County**
  - Excelsior Springs
  - Liberty
- **Clinton County**
  - Lathrop
  - Plattsburgh
  - Cameron
- **Cole County**
  - Jefferson City
- **Cooper County**
  - Pilot Grove
  - Boonville
- **Dade County**
  - Greenfield
- **Daviess County**
  - Gallatin
- **Dunklin County**
  - Kennett
  - Malden
- **Franklin County**
  - New Haven
  - Washington
  - Union
  - Pacific
- **Greene County**
  - Springfield
- **Grundy County**
  - Trenton
- **Henry County**
  - Clinton
  - Windsor
- **Howard County**
  - Fayette
- **Howell County**
  - West Plains
- **Iron County**
  - Ironton
- **Jackson County**
  - Independence
  - Kansas City
- **Jasper County**
  - Carthage
- **Jefferson County**
  - De Soto
  - Festus
- **Johnson County**
  - Holden
  - Knob Noster
  - Warrensburg
- **Knox County**
  - Edina
- **LaClede County**
  - Lebanon
- **Lafayette County**
  - Higginsville
  - Lexington
  - Mayview
- **Lawrence County**
  - Mt. Vernon
- **Lewis County**
  - Canton
  - LaGrange
  - Lemo
- **Lincoln County**
  - Troy
- **Linn County**
  - Brookfield
  - LaClede
  - Marceline
- **Livingston County**
  - Chillicothe
- **Macon County**
  - Bevier
  - Macon
- **Madison County**
  - Fredericktown
- **Marion County**
  - Palmyra
  - Hannibal
- **Mississippi County**
  - Charleston
- **Moniteau County**
  - California
  - Jamestown
  - Tipton
- **Monroe County**
  - Paris
  - Madison
- **Montgomery County**
  - Montgomery City
  - Wellsville
  - Jonesburg
- **Morgan County**
  - Versailles
- **New Madrid County**
  - Gideon
- **Newton County**
  - Neosho
- **Nodaway County**
  - Pickering
- **Perry County**
  - Altenburg
- **Pettis County**
  - Sedalia
- **Phelps County**
  - Rolla
- **Pike County**
  - Clarksville
  - Louisiana
  - Bowling Green
- **Randolph County**
  - Moberly
- **Ralls County**
  - New London
- **Ray County**
  - Hardin
- **St. Charles County**
  - St. Charles
  - Wentzville
- **St. Francois County**
  - Bonne Terre
  - Farmington
- **St. Genevieve County**
  - St. Genevieve
  - St. Mary's
- **St. Louis County**
  - Berkeley
  - Brentwood
  - Clayton
  - Ferguson
  - Kirkwood
  - Ladue
  - Maplewood-Richmond Heigh
  - Maryland Heights
  - Normandy
  - Ritenour
  - Riverview Gardens
  - Wellston
  - Pattonville
  - Parkway
  - Webster Groves
  - Eureka
- **Saline County**
  - Marshall
  - Slater
  - Malta Bend
- **Scott County**
  - Benton
  - Sikeston
  - Morley
- **Shelby County**
  - Clarence
  - Shelbina
  - Hunnewell
- **Stoddard County**
  - Bell City
- **Warren County**
  - Warrenton
- **Washington County**
  - Potosi
- **City of St. Louis**

TEACHERS

In September, 1961, the Missouri Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights estimated that 125 to 150 Negro teachers in Missouri had lost their employment as teachers as a result of initial desegregation. Most of the loss was in smaller or rural communities. The major urban systems, St. Louis and Kansas City, are employing more Negro teachers than in 1954, and have hired some Negro teachers dismissed in other localities.

HIGHER EDUCATION

A state court opened the University of Missouri to Negroes in 1950. Except for the university, all 14 tax-supported colleges and universities desegregated voluntarily. Listed below are the enrollments for the schools and the date desegregated.

Predominantly White State Schools	Total	Negroes	Deseg.
Central Mo. State	5,322	Some	1954-V
Northeast Mo. State	5,097	38	1953-V
Northwest Mo. State	2,554	1	1954-V
Southeast Mo. State	2,818	Some	1954-V
Southwest Mo. State	3,642	6-7	1954-V
U. of Mo.	16,433	Over 100	1950-C
TOTAL	35,866		

District Schools	Total	Negroes	Date Deseg.
Joplin Junior	672	Some	1954-V
Jr. College of K.C.	1,645	About 245	1954-V
TOTAL	2,317		

City Schools	Total	Negroes	Date Deseg.
Harris Teachers	2,503	About 550	1954-V
Jr. College of Flat River	519	1	1958-V
Moberly Junior	173	6	1955-V
St. Joseph Junior	588	Unknown	About 1954-V
Trenton Junior	113	0	1954-V
TOTAL	3,696		
Predominantly Negro State Schools			
Lincoln Univ.	1,997	About 1,000	1954-V
STATE TOTAL	13,876		

FACULTIES

Several of the desegregated colleges have biracial faculties. In 1960, the state schools had 2,630 teachers on the faculty. White, 2,466 (est.) and Negro 164 (est.)

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Trade schools, adult education programs and special schools in Missouri are officially desegregated in most instances. In St. Louis the apprenticeship programs operated under auspices of organized labor in public school facilities have given rise to complaints of discrimination against Negroes, although some Negroes are enrolled.

LITIGATION

Arnold et al v. Kirkwood School District R-7

Suit for injunction brought on behalf of 39 Negro children alleging they were deprived of equal educational opportunities. Filed in U.S. District Court at St. Louis on Dec. 13, 1950. Dismissed by District Judge George H. Moore Dec. 12, 1952, on the grounds that the plaintiffs had not established that their rights had been denied them because of race or color. Case held by U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals until after 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision and returned to lower court for complying decree.

Brooks et al v. The School District of the City of Moberly, Mo., et al.

Group of Negro teachers brought action in U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Missouri (St. Louis), Nov. 21, 1955, charging that failure to renew their teaching contracts resulted from racial discrimination. Court found for defendants on June 27, 1958. On Appeal, U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals (St. Louis) affirmed lower court June 17, 1959, and found plaintiffs had failed to prove school board's action resulted from racial discrimination.

Russell v. Board of Education of School District of Maplewood-Richmond Heights.

Negro physician, Dr. Harold G. Russell, resident of suburban St. Louis, brought action for writ of mandamus in St. Louis County Circuit Court No. 7 at Clayton on Oct. 7, 1959, seeking admission of two Russell children to all-white public school near his home. On Feb. 24, 1961, Judge John J. Kelly Jr. granted petitioner 30 days to file amended petition, and on March 24, 1961, amended petition was filed.

LEGISLATION

The Missouri General Assembly in 1957 repealed pre-1954 laws requiring school segregation, which already had been declared unenforceable by the state attorney general.

NORTH CAROLINA

Elementary and High Schools

173 Districts: 173 With Negroes and Whites;
11 Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment	787,405	332,962	1,120,367
Teachers	30,480	11,719	42,199

Colleges and Universities

Five Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	11	6	17
Enrollment	32,075	7,981	40,056

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The first public school desegregation in North Carolina took place in September, 1957, after Charlotte (now Charlotte-Mecklenburg), Greensboro and Winston-Salem, by prior agreement, simultaneously announced voluntary desegregation plans. The 11 districts with desegregation now are:

District	Enrollment White	Enrollment Negro	Negroes w/Whites	Biracial Schools	Date Deseg.
Asheville	7,136	2,876	5	1	1961-V
Charlotte-Mecklenburg	45,988	17,717	27	5	1957-V
Chapel Hill	2,768	1,076	34	5	1960-V
Craven County	5,378	2,652	35	3	1959-V
Durham City	7,922	7,150	15	4	1959-V
Greensboro	16,796	6,619	17	1	1957-V
High Point	8,998	2,914	9	3	1959-V
Raleigh	11,060	4,819	10	3	1960-V
Wayne County	7,672	4,222	25	1	1958-V
Winston-Salem	13,058	9,976	15	1	1957-V
Yancey County	3,663	23	10	2	1960-C
TOTALS	130,439	60,044	203	29	

TEACHERS

Faculties remain segregated.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Five desegregated public colleges have 120 Negroes enrolled with whites. All three branches of the Consolidated University of North Carolina have been desegregated in policy since five Negro students enrolled in the university law school under a 1951 court order in *McKissick v. Carmichael.* These three, the University at Chapel Hill, North Carolina State College at Raleigh and the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, are still the principal state colleges that are desegregated. Desegregation came in the fall of 1961, however, to two community junior colleges in Charlotte and Asheville. West Carolina College has had one Negro student in its summer school and A&T College has had white students at summer sessions.

	White	Negro	Deseg.
Predominantly White Senior Colleges			
Appalachian State Teachers	2,897	0	
East Carolina	5,263	0	
N.C. State	7,081	36	1953-V
Pembroke**	570	0	
Univ. of N.C.	9,033	49	1951-C
Woman's College	3,110	29*	1958-V
West Carolina	1,824	0	NA
Predominantly White Junior Colleges			
Asheville-Biltmore	440	2	1961-V
Charlotte	877	4	1961-V
College of the Albemarle	114	0	
Wilmington	671*	0	
Williston Branch	0	75*	
TOTALS	31,880	195	
Predominantly Negro Senior Colleges			
A&T College	0	2,553	NA
Elizabeth City State Teachers	0	823	
Fayetteville State Teachers	0	943	
N.C. College	0	2,359	
Winston-Salem State Teachers	0	1,078	
Predominantly Negro Junior Colleges			
Mecklenburg (formerly Carver)	0	225	
TOTALS	0	7,981	
STATE TOTALS	31,880	8,176	

*Estimated

**Pembroke was a segregated Indian College and still is attended by some Indians, but is now predominantly white.

FACULTIES

All college faculties remain segregated, though several Negro colleges have traditionally employed some part-time white instructors.

ETHNIC GROUPS

At Dunn, in Harnett County, 18 Indians are attending the high school with white students. They entered quietly in the fall of 1961 after being denied admission a year earlier and staging sit-ins. The state maintains several Indian schools in eastern North Carolina counties.

LITIGATION

Carson v. Warlick

Carson v. Board of Education of McDowell County

Joyner v. McDowell County Board of Education

Of the three related cases, *Carson v. Warlick* was the deciding action. The series of cases began with *Carson v. Board of Education of McDowell County,* filed before the 1954 segregation cases were decided. Plaintiffs sought equal facilities and the right to attend school without regard to race. After the segregation cases were decided, the Western District Federal Court dismissed the suit on the ground that relief sought was then available. On appeal, the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed and ordered the district court to reconsider the case in the light of North Carolina's School Placement Law. Action was subsequently brought in North Carolina State Court, *Joyner v. McDowell County Board of Education.* This action involved some of the same plaintiffs as did the original case. The North Carolina Supreme Court held in 1956 that the action was improperly brought because more than one person was party to it and the North Carolina Placement Law dealt only with an individual student's assignment. Thereafter, the plaintiff's returned to Western District Federal Court, filed a supplemental complaint and sought a declaratory judgment on the right to attend school without regard to race. District Court Judge Wilson Warlick refused to grant the relief sought on the ground that state administrative remedies had not been exhausted. Then, in *Carson v. Warlick,* the plaintiffs went to U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals for writ of mandamus to require the district court to vacate the proceedings and to permit the plaintiffs to file supplemental proceedings "as though the Pupil Enrollment Act had never been enacted." The Fourth Circuit, on Nov. 14, 1956, refused the writ and held that exhaustion by the plaintiffs of administrative remedies provided by the state was a necessary prerequisite to securing federal court action on their cases. The court held that the act was not unconstitutional on its face.

Constantian v. Anson County

North Carolina Supreme Court on June 6, 1956, held that school bonds approved prior to 1954 and ostensibly for the purpose of maintaining segregated schools could be used for public schools nevertheless. The court held North Carolina's school segregation laws to have been invalidated by the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision, but held the segregation

provisions severable and ruled that the provisions for state-supported public schools were still valid.

Covington v. Edwards

U.S. Middle District Court, Rockingham Division, held Sept. 12, 1958, that class action, brought in 1955 against Montgomery County school officials should be dismissed for failure to allege the exhaustion of administrative remedies. Plaintiffs had contended that passage of time since 1954 had made exhaustion of administrative remedy unnecessary in view of lack of desegregation plan by Montgomery Board of Education. Court held integration not required by 1954 School Segregation Cases.

Frasier v. Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina

Negro youths sought and obtained from a three-judge court, sitting in U.S. Middle District Court, Sept. 16, 1955, a ruling that the School Segregation Cases rule was applicable to colleges as well as primary schools.

Griffith v. Robinson et al

Without public schools for Negroes for two years, Yancey County was ordered by federal court in 1960 to admit Negroes to high school and restudy Negro assignments to segregated elementary schools. Negroes entered two white high schools in fall 1960, becoming the first in North Carolina to attend public school under a court order.

Holt v. Raleigh Board of Education

Claimed compliance with Pupil Assignment Law and asked federal injunction against segregated ruling. District court held administrative remedies not exhausted, Circuit Court upheld and U.S. Supreme Court declined review.

Jeffers v. Whitley

Plaintiff claims administrative remedies exhausted after unsuccessful efforts to transfer to white Caswell County school in 1956. Case inactive in U.S. Middle District Court.

McCoy v. Greensboro City Board of Education

Filed Feb. 10, 1959, in U.S. Middle District Court, seeking admission to white schools. Admission obtained by voluntary board action, however, and then motion amended by remaining plaintiffs who contended board's action in turning former white school into all-Negro school was part of systematic pattern of segregation. Court held Jan. 14, 1960, that it could not interfere with operation of schools.

McKissick v. Carmichael

U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered the University of North Carolina Law School opened to Negroes. The court stressed the prestige, reputation and high standing of the school as the determining factors in showing the disparity between it and the law school established at the North Carolina College in Durham.

McKissick v. Durham City Board of Education

Filed May 12, 1958, as petition for admission to white schools. Seeks to have Pupil Placement Law declared unconstitutional as administered by Durham Board of Education. Case inactive because of two other cases filed later.

Morrow v. Mecklenburg County Board of Education

Filed Feb. 10, 1959, in Western District Federal Court, after 1958 and 1959 refusals by board to transfer Negro students to white schools. Judge Wilson M. Warlick ruled in June, 1961, that admission had not been denied because of race. System merged in 1960 with Charlotte, which had desegregated voluntarily earlier. Case dismissed on Aug. 31, 1961, when Judge Warlick ruled that an appeal had not been perfected in time and inadequate reason for delay had been offered.

NAACP v. Eure, Secretary of State

North Carolina Supreme Court held Jan. 11, 1957, that NAACP must register under General Statute Chapter 120, *Article 10*.

Vickers v. Chapel Hill City Board of Education

Filed Feb. 2, 1960, in Middle District Court, after denial of transfer in 1958 and 1959. Judge Edwin M. Stanley ruled Aug. 4, 1961, that the student was entitled to attend a school that was no longer closer to his home than a Negro school because, had he been assigned without regard to race, he normally would have moved from a nearby white school to which he first sought admission to the now more distant junior high school.

Wheeler v. Durham City Board of Education
Spaulding v. Durham City Board of Education

Wheeler, filed April 29, 1960, and Spaulding, filed Sept. 12, 1960, and consolidated for argument. Involved denial of transfer requests of 133 students in fall of 1959 and 1960. Judge Edwin M. Stanley, in Middle District Court, held that students were entitled to have the board stop using a "white" attendance map and a "Negro" attendance map in making initial assignments. On restudy before school opened in fall of 1961, board admitted six of the plaintiffs. Further reports were to be made to the court on disposition of other applications. Case still active.

LEGISLATION

1955

Ch. 366—Established pupil placement law.

Ch. 664—Repealed teachers' continuing contract law.

Ch. 1372—Revised general education law to eliminate reference to race and to transfer school bus titles to counties.

1956

Bill No. 1—Proposed constitutional amendment for tuition grants, local option school closing. Approved in state referendum Sept. 8, 1956.

Bill No. 2—Implemented constitutional amendment, permitting tuition grants.

Bill No. 4—Implemented constitutional amendment, providing for local option to suspend schools.

OKLAHOMA

Elementary and High Schools

1,232 Districts: 240 With Negroes and Whites;
195 Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment*	508,750	41,250	550,000
Teachers*	21,185	1,115	22,300

*Estimated

Colleges and Universities

All 24 Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	23	1	24
Enrollment	48,828*	675	49,503

*Includes estimated and unofficial figures.

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Oklahoma has 195 desegregated school districts but eight are desegregated in policy only. Two of the latter (Cleo Springs and Weaver) have accepted Negroes in white schools in the past but have none now. The first Oklahoma district to desegregate was Poteau, which did so voluntarily June 7, 1955. Although the state records provide no racial breakdown an estimated 295,525 whites and 33,817 Negroes are believed enrolled in the desegregated districts. However, a state survey showed 10,555 Negroes attending 492 schools with whites. Listed below by counties are the numbers of biracial schools and Negroes involved, as determined by the survey, and the known desegregated districts according to SERS files:

County Desegregated Districts	Negroes In Schools With Whites	Biracial Schools
Atoka Atoka, Stringtown	99	4
Beckham Elk City	155	9
Blaine Fay, Geary, Greenfield, Watonga	131	13
Bryan Achille, Bokchito, Colbert	137	4
Caddo Anadarko, Apache, Binger, Cement, Fort Cobb, Gracemont, Oney, Hinton	276	24
Canadian El Reno (policy), Dependent-70	2	1
Carter √ Ardmore, Berwyn, Dickson (policy), Graham, Springer	150	3
Cherokee Tahlequah, Norwood	61	8
Choctaw Hugo (policy)	0	0
Cleveland Moore, Norman, Stella	21	4
Coal Coalgate, Olney	37	4
Comanche Lawton	200	7
Cotton Temple	34	3
Craig Vinita, Whiteoak	147	7
Creek Bristow, Depew, Drumright, Gypsy, Milfay, Newby, Slick, Olive, Oilton, Sapulpa	565	16
Custer Clinton, Weatherford	87	6
Garfield Drummond, Enid	209	14
Garvin Katy, Pauls Valley, Pernell, Roady, Satterwhite, Wynnewood	185	12
Grady Chickasha, Rush Springs	62	1
Greer City View, Mangum	80	3
Harmon Arnett, Gould, Hollis, Louis Hill, Ron Rock	134	10
Haskell Kinta	25	2
Hughes Dustin, Fairview, Holdenville, Wetumka	206	11
Jackson Altus, Duke, Southside (policy)	102	12
Jefferson Ryan, Waurika	17	5
Johnston Fillmore, Milburn, Tishomingo	102	9
Kay Newkirk, Ponca City	89	5
Kingfisher Dover, Kingfisher, Lacy	184	9
Kiowa Gotebo (policy), Hobart, Roosevelt, Snyder	103	13
Latimer Wilburton	25	3
LeFlore Panama, Poteau, Spiro	192	13
Lincoln Carney, Chandler, Davenport, Prague, Stroud, Wellston, White	355	22
Logan Coyle, Crescent, Guthrie	169	7
Love Marietta	108	5
McClain Blanchard, Purcell, Rosedale	49	5
McIntosh Checotah, Hanna, Pierce, Stidham, Tiger Mountain	96	6
Major Cleo Springs (policy)	0	0
Marshall Madill	72	3
Mayes Chouteau, Strang	9	3
Murray Davis, Sulphur, Woodland	73	8
Muskogee Boynton, Fort Gibson, Muskogee, Wainwright, Webbers Falls	159	11
Noble Perry	50	5
Nowata Alluwe, Lenapah, Nowata	132	10
Okfuskee Bearden, Paden, Weleetka	66	5
Oklahoma Arcadia, Jones, Luther, Oklahoma City	1,398	14
Okmulgee Dewar (policy), Eram, Henryetta, Liberty, Morris, Nuyaka, Preston, Schulter	181	11
Osage Fairfax, Hominy, Pawhuska	196	7
Pawnee Cleveland, Pawnee, Ralston	71	8
Payne Cushing, Norfolk, Perkins, Stillwater	101	7
Pittsburg Alderson, Canadian, Hartshorne, McAlester	93	8
Pontotoc Ada, Byng	81	6
Pottawatomie Earlsboro, Harjo, Macomb, McLoud, Shawnee	204	11
Pushmataha Antlers, Tuskahoma	58	5
Rogers Chelsea, Claremore	25	2
Seminole Cromwell, Excelsior, Konawa, New Lima, New Model, Pleasant Grove, Prairie Valley, Sasakwa, Seminole, Wewoka	820	20
Sequoyah Gans, Muldrow, Roland, Sallisaw, Vian	346	15
Stephens Duncan	55	2
Tillman Weaver (policy)	0	0
Tulsa Broken Arrow, Jenks, Tulsa, Union	1,502	32
Wagoner Coweta, Hidden Valley, Porter	112	4
Washington Bartlesville, Dewey	132	6
Washita Sentinel	25	9
TOTALS	10,555	492

TEACHERS

About 10 or 12 Negro teachers are said to be on desegregated faculties in four districts: Fay, Ponca City, Arcadia and Tulsa (Burroughs Elementary). An estimated 394 Negro teachers have lost their jobs because of desegregation.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The 18 state-owned junior and senior colleges and universities are officially desegregated, by order of the State Board of Regents for Higher Education on June 6, 1955. However, three have no Negro students. Langston, a Negro university, has one white student. The six municipal junior colleges also are desegregated in policy but two have no Negro students. Oklahoma admitted its first Negro (G. W. McLaurin) to the University of Oklahoma graduate division in accordance with a U.S. District Court order on Oct. 6, 1948. U.S. Supreme Court had held Ada Lois Sipuel was entitled to a legal education by the state under the "equal protection" clause of the 14th amendment. A June 9, 1949, legislative act permitted Negroes to attend white colleges for courses not given at Negro institutions, provided the Negro student remained segregated within the college. A three-judge U.S. District Court held Nov. 22, 1949, that the segregation within the OU graduate division did not deprive McLaurin of his rights under the 14th Amendment. This decision was reversed June 5, 1950, by the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled segregated facilities within the institution deprived McLaurin of equal protection. The State Board of Regents for Higher Education then adopted a policy of admitting Negroes to any course in a white college not offered by Langston University. On June 6, 1955, the board opened state-owned colleges and universities to qualified undergraduates of all races. College enrollments are:

Predominantly White	White	Negro	Date Deseg.
Senior Colleges			
Central State College	4,223*	250**	1955-V
East Central State College	1,899*	5**	1955-V
Northeastern State College	3,074*	40**	1955-V
Northwestern State College	1,320*	0	1955-V
Oklahoma College for Women	661	6	1955-V
Oklahoma State University	12,769***	some**	1955-V
Panhandle A&M College	1,024	0	1955-V
Southeastern State College	1,854*	15*	1955-V
Southwestern State College	2,458*	20*	1955-V
University of Oklahoma	12,525***	No. Unknown	1948-C
State Junior Colleges			
Cameron State Agricultural Col.	1,565***	No. Unknown**	1955-V
Connors State Agricultural Col.	456**	1**	1955-V
Eastern Oklahoma A&M College	842*	17**	1955-V
Murray State Agricultural College	385*	15 or 20*	1955-V
Northeastern Okla. A&M Col.	1,267***	0	1955-V
Northern Oklahoma Junior Col.	589***	No. Unknown**	1955-V
Oklahoma Military College	491***	No. Unknown**	1955-V
Municipal Junior Colleges			
Altus Junior College	288	18	1959-V
El Reno Junior College	117***	0**	1956-V
Muskogee Junior College	157	25	1956-V
Poteau Junior College	148*	22**	1955-V
Sayre Junior College	224***	0	1954-V
Seminole Junior College	53	2	1957-V
Predominantly Negro			
Langston University	1	674	1955-V

*Estimated

**1960-61

***Total Enrollment

FACULTIES

The University of Oklahoma has one Negro on its faculty (School of Nursing), plus two or three who are graduate assistants.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Sulphur School for the Blind accepts Negroes. However, most are in the Deaf, Blind and Orphan School for Negroes at Taft. There has been legislative agitation for consolidating the white and Negro "DB&O" institutions and, also, the state training schools but nothing has been done. Special education classes in Oklahoma City have both Negro and white pupils.

ETHNIC GROUPS

This has never been an issue in Oklahoma. Indians and other non-whites attend white schools. There are about nine Indian boarding schools operated by the federal government. Indians, many of whom are from out of the state, attend them as a matter of choice because room and board are free.

LITIGATION

Appeal by Curtis L. Smith from order of county superintendent of schools, Oklahoma County, denying request for transfer from Arcadia school to Jones school

Filed June 19, 1957, in Oklahoma County district court. (Three similar appeals also filed). Order denying transfer reversed by district court June 27, 1957.

Appeal by Independent School District 1-5, Arcadia, from order of transfer issued by Oklahoma County superintendent of schools

Filed June 19, 1959, in Oklahoma County district court, alleging school superintendent allowed white children to transfer out of district for "health" whereas real reason was the fact school was desegregated and had more Negro than white pupils. Court on June 29, 1959, sustained superintendent's demurrer, thus denying request that he be enjoined from allowing transfers.

Appeal by Lunett Wilbanks from order of Oklahoma County superintendent of schools denying transfer from Arcadia school to Choctaw school

Filed June 19, 1958, in Oklahoma County district court. (Eleven similar appeals also filed.) Order denying transfer affirmed in district court June 26, 1958.

Bailey v. Hodge et al

Filed March 15, 1957, in U.S. District Court (western) to restrain defendants from discriminating against plaintiff by denying her admission to Oklahoma School for the Deaf, Sulphur. Journal entry judgment filed July 31, 1957, that any Negro of proper age be admitted to school beginning Sept. 2, 1957, or any subsequent semester.

Brown v. Long

Intervenor petition by George Dalcour filed Aug. 25, 1958, in U.S. District Court (eastern) to gain transfer of son, Edward, from all-Negro Grayson school to biracial Morris High School. Court denied petition Oct. 10, 1958, ruling plaintiff failed to follow legal procedure by not appealing Morris board's refusal to transfer.

Brown et al v. Long et al

Filed March 14, 1957, in U.S. District Court (eastern) to desegregate Morris High School. Court on Sept. 21, 1957, ordered Morris District to admit Negroes to high school.

Burrough et al v. Elmer Jenkins, Superintendent of Red Bird Dependent School District et al

Filed Sept. 26, 1955, in U.S. District Court (eastern) alleging racial discrimination by defendant in refusing to cancel transfers of 14 Negro children from Porter and Coweta to all-Negro Red Bird school. Court ruled Dec. 16, 1955, that it was a question of local fiscal policies, not of racial discrimination, and sustained defendants' motion to dismiss.

Butler et al v. Grant Independent School Distict et al

Filed June 14, 1956, in Choctaw County district court to gain admission of 35 Negroes to Grant High School; suit alleged school board fraud in transferring Negroes to Hugo's Booker T. Washington when transfers not requested. Court records show no hearing nor other disposition.

Carr et al v. Cole et al

Filed Jan. 10, 1957, in U.S. District Court (western), seeking admission of Negroes to public schools of Earlsboro District. Court granted permanent injunction Jan. 17, 1957, to prevent discrimination against plaintiffs on account of race or color.

Dowell v. The Board of Education

Filed in U.S. District Court for Western Oklahoma Oct. 9, 1961, asking that Oklahoma's pupil transfer law be declared unconstitutional and that defendants be enjoined from transferring students to schools in Oklahoma City on a basis of race and color. Three-judge court assigned Oct. 11, 1961. Pre-trail conference held Nov. 17, 1961, and plaintiffs granted time to amend complaint.

Mildred King George v. Joint School District No. 5, Kingfisher County (Lacy)

Filed June 28, 1956, Kingfisher County district court claiming breach of Negro's teacher contract. State supreme court on Nov. 14, 1957, affirmed lower court action sustaining demurrer by defendant.

Ulysses S. Grant et al v. Paul R. Taylor et al

Filed Sept. 24, 1954, in U.S. District Court (western) to force admission of three Negro students to El Reno Junior College. Declared moot same court Aug. 22, 1955, on grounds El Reno school board had complied with U.S. Supreme Court order by admitting Negroes to junior college.

Hole et al v. Wilson et al

Filed Aug. 15, 1955, in Cleveland County district court to enjoin Stella school board from moving furniture and equipment from white school into Negro school building. Court granted temporary injunction Aug. 26, 1955, with stipulation school opening be allowed. Dismissed Sept. 6, 1955, by plaintiff's attorney without prejudice.

Jefferson et al v. McCart et al

Filed Aug. 25, 1958, U.S. District Court (eastern) to desegregate Liberty School. Okmulgee County Court on Oct. 10, 1958, ordered Negroes admitted to the school.

McHenry and Matlock v. Wagoner County Board of Commissioners

Filed June, 1954, in Wagoner County district court, protesting use of $431,000 bond issue approved Feb. 9, 1954, for separate school buildings and sites. Oklahoma Supreme Court ruled February, 1955, that U.S. Supreme Court order limited only use of school property, not its construction.

Simms et al v. Hudson et al

Filed March 14, 1957, in U.S. District Court (eastern) to desegregate Preston High School. Court on Sept. 21, 1957, ordered Preston District to admit Negroes to high school. Granted additional time to arrange elementary desegregation, which began in August, 1958.

Riddle et al v. Wagoner County Board of Commissioners et al

Filed Oct. 7, 1955, in Wagoner County district court to enjoin county from delivering $431,000 in bonds and proceeding with construction of new Negro school at Wagoner and remodeling others at Coweta, Porter and Okay. Defendant's motion for new trial overruled June 16, 1956, and notice to appeal given by Max Finley, county attorney. Oklahoma Supreme Court records show no appeal filed.

Troullier v. Oklahoma College for Women

Filed Oct. 8, 1954, in U.S. District Court (eastern) to require OCW to admit Negro as student in September, 1955, and to strike the Oklahoma law limiting attendance to "white female citizens" so Negroes would not be barred in the future. Court dismissed case July 29, 1955, holding legal controversy no longer existed because OCW had enrolled plaintiff.

LEGISLATION

1955

HJR 504—Proposed constitutional ("Better Schools") amendment to substitute four-mill levy for all schools for previous three-mill operating and one-mill building taxes levied countywide for separate minority schools. Adopted at special election April 5, 1955.

Title 70, Ch. A—Retained definition of "separate school district" in school code but provided for support of both white and Negro schools and for pupil transfers by race.

Title 70, Ch. A6—Authorized schools on military reservations to conform with federal requirements.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Elementary and High Schools

108 Districts: 108 With Negroes and Whites;
None Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment*	363,768	265,076	628,844
Teachers*	13,093	8,004	21,097

*Estimated

Colleges and Universities

None Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Institutions	5	1	6
Enrollment	15,662	2,050	17,712

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

No schools within the South Carolina public school system have desegregated. Two schools operated by the federal government for the children of military personnel or of civil employes of the United States are desegregated. The elementary school at the Marine Corps Recruit Depot at Parris Island has an enrollment of 285, including 15 Negro students. The Laurel Bay Elementary School, which serves the Marine Corps Air Station, also in Beaufort County, likewise is desegregated. The enrollment of 853 includes 819 whites, 26 Negroes, four American Indians, three Malayans and one Mongolian.

TEACHERS

Teaching staffs at all public schools remain segregated. The federally operated Laurel Bay Elementary noted above has a biracial faculty—24 white teachers, two Negroes and one American Indian.

HIGHER EDUCATION

All state-supported institutions of higher learning are segregated. Enrollment figures for the 1961-62 year follow:

White Colleges	White	Negro
The Citadel	1,966	0
Clemson College	4,104	0
Medical College of S.C.	600	0
Univ. of S.C.	6,902	0
Winthrop College	2,090	0
Negro Colleges		
S.C. State	0	2,050
STATE TOTALS	15,662	2,050

FACULTIES

Faculties at all state-supported institutions are segregated.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Special schools in South Carolina are segregated.

ETHNIC GROUPS

With the beginning of the 1961-62 school term, Sumter County school officials closed the last separate school operated for "Turk" children of the Dalzell Community. These dark-complexioned youngsters are part of an ethnic enclave said to comprise descendants of Turks and others of Mediterranean extraction who settled here after service with Gen. Thomas Sumter in the American Revolution. The Turks have been listed as "whites" in marriage ceremonies, military service and otherwise, but have been provided separate schools until recently. Turks have been admitted to the Hillcrest High School for whites since 1951, and now are scattered throughout the white schools of the district and county without distinction. Last year, the Turk Elementary School at Dalzell had about 70 students in grades one through eight. This year 50 to 55 of those students are at Shaw Heights Elementary and 15 to 20 are at Shaw Junior High. An estimated 15 to 20 are at Hillcrest High School and about 20 others are in the Sumter city schools, in another district. (See "Litigation" for legal aspects.)

LITIGATION

Briggs v. Elliott

Harry Briggs Jr. and 45 other Negro elementary and high school students filed suit in U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina in December, 1950, to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code that required segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. A three-judge district court convened in 1951 denied the requested relief. The court found that the Negro schools were inferior to the white school and ordered the defendants to begin immediately to equalize the facilities. The court sustained the validity of the contested provisions and denied the plaintiffs admission to the white schools during the equalization program. Subsequent developments were:

Jan. 28, 1952—The U.S. Supreme Court vacated the lower court decision and remanded it to obtain the District Court's views on a report filed by the defendants on the progress in the equalization program.

March, 1952—The District Court considered the reports on the Clarendon County equalization program and found them "to be true and correct." The court praised the school board for having "proceeded promptly in good faith to comply with the court's decree." The court denied an injunction abolishing segregation.

May 17, 1954—The U.S. Supreme Court decided the case along with other segregation cases from Delaware, Kansas, Virginia and the District of Columbia. The court ruled in *Brown v. Topeka* that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" and that the Negroes were "deprived of equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment."

May 31, 1955—The Supreme Court issued an implementing decision in the cases, ordering compliance with its earlier decision "with all deliberate speed." The justices remanded the cases to the respective lower courts.

July 15, 1955—A three-judge U.S. District Court of the Eastern District, South Carolina, set aside its previous decision and declared null and void all South Carolina laws requiring segregation in public schools. In accordance with the "all deliberate speed" decision of the Supreme Court, the court restrained the defendants from refusing admission to school on account of race. In its decision, the district court said the Supreme Court "has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools. . . . What it has decided, and all that it has decided, is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains. . . . The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination. . . ." The court retained jurisdiction.

Brunson et al v. Board of Trustees of School District No. 1 of Clarendon County

Filed in Eastern District, U.S. Court, in April, 1960, by Negro petitioners seeking desegregation of white schools. (Issues essentially the same as original *Briggs v. Elliott* suit but with different set of plaintiffs). Motions to dismiss filed by defendants. Case not yet heard in court.

Bryan et al v. Austin et al

Filed in Eastern District, U.S. Court, September, 1956, by Negro teachers of Elloree, in Orangeburg County, who had refused to execute questionnaires concerning NAACP membership and had not been rehired thereafter. Plaintiffs were directed by three-judge federal court in January, 1957, to proceed through state courts before seeking federal court relief. Case became moot in June, 1957, after South Carolina legislature repealed *Act 741* of 1956, which had required statement of NAACP membership.

Byrd et al v. Gary et al

Filed in Eastern District, U.S. Court, in April, 1960, by Negro high school students of Mayo High School at Darlington, charging the Negro school principal with depriving them of their civil rights. The federal suit was filed after a similar suit in State Court was dismissed on grounds that administrative remedies had not been exhausted. The dismissal was appealed to the State Supreme Court, which in November affirmed the lower court action. The federal court case still is pending.

Hood et al v. Board of Trustees of Sumter County School District No. 2 et al

Filed in Eastern District, U.S. Court, August, 1953, by ethnic group of Sumter County known as "Turks," seeking injunction against the denial of their children's admission to certain white schools. Case moved back and forth between district and circuit courts until February, 1961, when school authorities announced decision to admit complainants to white schools, effective with beginning of next school year.

Johnson et al v. Marion County Board of Education

Filed in Eastern District, U.S. Court, in September, 1960, by parents of Negro students in Marion County who contend they were denied the transfer privileges granted white students of the same school area. Suit did not seek desegregation as such but asked that Negroes be accorded same privileges to attend other (Negro) schools as were granted white students to attend other white schools. Hearing not yet held.

LEGISLATION

1951

S-371—Concurrent Resolution created a committee "to study and report on the advisable course to be pursued by the State in respect to its educational facilities in the event that the Federal Courts nullify the provisions of the State Constitution requiring the establishment of separate schools for the children of the white and colored races."

1952

Act 902—Joint Resolution proposed the repeal of the constitutional requirement that the General Assembly provide a public school system.

1954

Act 653—Ratified constitutional amendment repealing requirement for public school system.

1955

Act 52—Allowed "visiting teachers" to use persuasion in promoting school attendance upon repeal of compulsory attendance law.

Act 55—Strengthened authority of school officials on assignments.

Act 56—Repealed school board authorization to set school term length.

Act 57—Repealed compulsory attendance law.

Act 58—Established regulations for transfers of pupils within and between counties.

Act 59—Authorized sale or lease of public school public buildings.

Act 234 (Part II, Sec. 2)—Denied public funds to any school involved in transfer of student pursuant to court order.

Act 295—Repealed law on continuing contracts for teachers.

1956

Act 662—Established revised procedural rules for appeals from local school board decisions on local controversies or pupil placement.

Act 676—Vested boards of school trustees with general rule-making power and the right to designate board members to hold hearings.

Act 677—Vested county boards of education with general rule-making power and the right to designate board members to hold hearings.

Act 712—Provided basis for law enforcement officers to transfer students, upon request of school authorities, to prevent civil commotion and disturbance of the peace.

Act 741—Barred the employment, by school districts and other public agencies, of members of the NAACP. Repealed by *Act 233* of 1957. Also contested in *Bryan v. Austin.*

Act 813—Specified in state appropriations act that appropriations for education be "for racially segregated schools only."

Act 914—Joint Resolution condemned and protested usurpation and encroachment on the reserved powers of the states by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Act 920—Created a committee to investigate NAACP activities at State College (for Negroes) at Orangeburg.

Act 927—Continued indefinitely and enlarged scope of special Committee created in 1951 to study advisable course to be followed in event of adverse federal court decisions concerning racial separation in public schools.

1957

Act 25—Prohibited barratry.

Act 172—Required the licensing of persons soliciting Abbeville County residents for membership in dues-collecting organizations.

Act 223—Required applicants for school and other public jobs to list membership in associations and organizations. Repealed *Act 741* of 1956.

Act 233—Required the licensing of persons soliciting Florence County residents for membership in dues-collecting organizations. Exception allowed by *Act 433.*

Act 349—Conferred additional powers upon the governor for maintenance of public peace and suppression of violence.

Act 406—Required the licensing of persons soliciting McCormick County residents for membership in dues-collecting organizations.

Act 433—Waived provisions of *Act 233* (above) with respect to organizations under Railway Labor Act.

Act 442—Required the licensing of persons soliciting Kershaw County residents for membership in dues-collecting organizations.

1958

Act 893—Authorized attorney general to investigate records of foreign and domestic nonprofit corporations operating within the state.

1959

Act 216—Made it a felony to bomb any church, school, private residence or other building or to communicate threats or false information relating thereto.

1960

Act 802—Grouped into one section of State Appropriations Act requirements that appropriations for schools and state parks be "on a racially segregated basis only."

HB 2214, bearing *Ratification Number 1142*—Repealed Sec. 91 of Part 1 of General Appropriations Act cited above *(Act 802)* relating to appropriations on "racially segregated basis only." The repealing act was vetoed by Gov. E. F. Hollings at opening of 1961 session, but has not been acted on by the General Assembly.

1961

H-1004—Concurrent Resolution sought amendment to the U.S. Constitution for invalidating Supreme Court decisions that transfer state powers to the federal government.

TENNESSEE

Elementary and High Schools

154 Districts; 143 With Negroes and Whites;
13 Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment*	663,065	155,500	818,565
Teachers*	24,811	5,589	30,400

*Estimated

Colleges and Universities

All Seven Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	6	1	7
Enrollment	32,607	3,901	36,508

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Tennessee has 13 desegregated school districts, including two desegregated in policy only. The desegregated districts have 214,946 white students and 70,594 Negroes enrolled. A total of 1,142 Negroes are attending classes with whites in 48 schools. In 1955, the Oak Ridge system, then under federal control, became the state's first public school system to desegregate. Clinton High School in Anderson County, by a 1956 court order, was the first state-supported high school in the state to begin biracial classes. Two systems, Elizabethton and Washington County, began operating under a grade-a-year desegregation plan in 1961 but no Negroes applied for admission to all-white classes. Three additional systems are under court orders to desegregate and suits have been filed against two other systems. Those under orders to end segregation are Wilson County and the 16th Special School District, which operates schools at Watertown, instructed to desegregate all classes on Jan. 2, 1962; Humphreys County, which is under orders to desegregate the first five grades in January, 1962, and all other grades in September, 1962; and the Chattanooga system, which is awaiting outcome of an appeal on rejection of its plan to desegregate "selected" schools. The 10th Special School District, which under court order desegregated McClain Elementary School at Lebanon this fall, has been instructed to desegregate all classes on Jan. 2, 1962, along with Wilson County and Watertown schools. A suit is pending against the Obion County system, which has offered a desegregation program to begin in 1962 but final court action has not been taken. In addition, the Ninth Special School District at Franklin voluntarily approved a grade-a-year desegregation plan beginning with the first grade in the fall of 1962, the Bristol school board announced a grade-a-year plan to begin with the first grade in September, 1962, and the Dickson County Board of Education has announced it will desegregate the first three grades at the beginning of the 1962-63 school year. Action by both the Franklin and Dickson County school boards came after conferences with Negro leaders. The desegregated districts with enrollment, Negroes in school with whites, number of biracial schools, desegregated grades, and date desegregated are:

District	Enrollment* White	Enrollment* Negro	Negroes w/Whites	Brcl. Schls.	Grds.	Date Deseg.
Anderson Co. ...	7,788	64	20	1	9-12	1956-C
Davidson Co. ...	46,912	2,353	110	15	1-5	1961-C
Elizabethton** ..	1,625	141	0	0	0	1961-V
Johnson City ...	5,633	649	12	2	1	1961-V
Kingsport	5,988	466	7	2	1	1961-V
Knox Co.	32,574	312	1	1	1-2	1960-V
Knoxville	16,424	4,924	51	9	1-2	1960-C
Lebanon	1,973	328	3	1	3-4	1961-C
Memphis	56,795	46,467	13	4	1	1961-V
Nashville	16,960	13,317	810	9	1-5	1957-C
Oak Ridge*** ..	6,633	272	100	2	1-12	1955-V
Rutherford Co. .	7,303	1,211	15	2	1-12	1959-C
Washington Co.**	8,338	90	0	0	1	1961-V
TOTALS	214,946	70,594	1,142	48		

*Estimates based on first month's attendance of 1961-62.

**System operates under grade-a-year desegregation policy, but has no Negroes attending classes with whites.

***Oak Ridge number of Negroes in school with whites estimated because no records are kept by race.

TEACHERS

One Negro is teaching at desegregated Oak Ridge High School. All other teaching staffs are segregated. According to reports from desegregated systems, no Negro teacher has lost his teaching position as a result of desegregation.

HIGHER EDUCATION

All seven of Tennessee's state-supported colleges and universities have desegregated; however, two of the colleges have no Negro students and a third, a predominantly Negro institution, has no American non-Negro students. Total enrollment at all seven colleges and universities was listed at 36,508 students for the fall term, 1961. In the four colleges and universities having both white and non-Negro students, enrollment totals 26,248, including 243 Negroes. The University of Tennessee was the state's first institution of higher learning to desegregate, admitting Negroes to graduate, professional and special levels under federal court order in 1952. The university's undergraduate classes were not desegregated until January, 1961, under a policy adopted by the U-T Board of Trustees in November, 1960, after a group of Negroes threatened a court suit. Negroes previously had been admitted to undergraduate courses at the university's evening class division at Nashville. The six other colleges and universities are governed by the State Board of Education, which in 1955 proposed a gradual desegregation plan in connection with a suit seeking admission of Negroes to Memphis State University. Although the plan later was rejected by the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, Negro graduate students were first admitted to two of the colleges under the plan in 1956. After the appeals court turned down the gradual plan, the State Board of Education in 1957 adopted a policy that removed race as a factor in admissions to the six institutions. Enrollments at the colleges and universities:

Predominantly White	White	Negro	Date Deseg.
Austin Peay State	1,754	15*	1956
East Tenn. State	4,842	41	1956
Memphis State Univ.	6,186	80	1959
Middle Tenn. State**	3,242	0	1957
Tenn. Polytechnic Inst.**	3,117	0	1957
University of Tennessee			
Knoxville Campus	10,397	97	1952-C
Memphis branch	1,511	1	
Martin branch	1,226	4	
Nashville branch	89	5	
TOTALS	32,364	243	

*Estimated; no records kept by race.

**Desegregated in policy but has no Negro students.

Predominantly Negro	Negro	Non-Negro
Tenn. A&I Univ.	3,898	3*

*Non-Negro students from Iran and Iraq.

FACULTIES

Tennessee A&I University at Nashville has at least five part-time white instructors in engineering courses. State officials said no Negro teacher has lost his job as a result of desegregation.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

No desegregation has occurred at the state's four special schools. Some state-supported vocational programs, including training for practical nurses, are conducted on a biracial basis. Tennessee has one Negro student in a predominantly white high school vocational class at Knoxville under a plan approved by U.S. District Court.

ETHNIC GROUPS

Tennessee has no desegregation programs involving students other than Negroes. State education officials said some non-whites have been admitted for several years in the colleges and universities.

LITIGATION

Charles W. Baker et al v. Joe C. Carr, Secretary of State, State of Tennessee et al

The case, filed in 1959 in U.S. District Court at Nashville, resulted in a court injunction in 1959 against segregation at John Coleman School at Smyrna. The court denied a petition by the Negro plaintiff to apply permanent injunction to all Rutherford County schools because the schools were not yet at issue. The case was held open by the court.

Booker v. State Board of Education

Filed in May, 1955, in U.S. District Court at Memphis, the suit sought admission of five Negro students to Memphis State University in a case that became precedent for other state colleges and universities. The State Board of Education submitted a five-year gradual desegregation plan to have begun at the graduate level in 1956-57 for the six colleges and universities under the board's jurisdiction. The U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1957 refused to review the appellate court's action. A policy removing race as a factor in admissions was adopted by the State Board of Education in 1957 to become effective in the fall of 1958. The board granted Memphis State a one-year delay in desegregation and the U.S. District Court ruled that no further decision was necessary since the institution had been instructed to desegregate in the fall of 1959.

Carethers et al v. Humphreys County Board of Education

The suit was filed in October, 1961, in U.S. District Court at Nashville, seeking the admission of nine Negro children to all-white schools. As Judge William E. Miller began a hearing in the case on Oct. 18, the school board submitted a plan to desegregate grades one through five in January, 1962 with an additional grade to be desegregated each year thereafter. Later in the hearing, however, the board presented orally a revised plan calling for desegregation of the first five grades in January, 1962, with the remainder of the grades to be desegregated by August, 1965. Negro counsel objected to the plan and Judge Miller asked the board to present its proposal in writing. After further hearings in November, Judge Miller ordered the first five grades desegregated in January, 1962 with all other grades to be desegregated in September, 1962.

Goss et al v. Knoxville Board of Education

Filed in January, 1957, the suit sought desegregation of Knoxville city schools. U.S. District Court at Knoxville in 1960 approved a grade-a-year desegregation plan to begin in the fall of 1960. The court also ordered a supplementary plan for biracial vocational high school students and, after hearings in 1961, approved a plan by the board for Negro vocational high school students to attend previously all-white classes beginning in the fall of 1961. Negro attorneys appealed the case to the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, which scheduled hearings in the case during the week of Nov. 27.

Kelley et al v. Nashville Board of Education

The suit was filed in 1955 in behalf of 21 Negroes seeking admission to previously all-white classes. U.S. District Court at Nashville in 1957 approved a grade-a-year desegregation plan, which has served as a model in many other cities. Court declared *Act 10* of 1957 unconstitutional. U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the Nashville plan in 1959 after it was appealed by the Negro plaintiffs and the U.S. Supreme Court later in 1959, by a six to three vote, declined to review the case.

Mapp et al v. Chattanooga Board of Education

Seeking admission of Negro students to previously all-white schools, the suit was filed in 1960. U.S. District Court at Chattanooga in 1960 granted summary judgment and ordered the board to present a desegregation plan by December, 1960. The court ruled that the board's subsequent plan, which provided for desegregation in "selected" schools, was unacceptable but did not reject the plan outright. The court's rulings on the summary judgment and the proposed plan were appealed by the board to the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals. Under district court orders, the board in 1961 submitted a revised plan calling for grade-a-year desegregation. No hearing was held on the revised plan pending outcome of the board's earlier appeals, which were heard by the appeals court on Oct. 16. The appeals court affirmed the district court's original action and remanded the case to the district court to work out a final plan for desegregation.

McSwain et al. v. Anderson County Board of Education

Filed in behalf of 12 Negro students in 1952, U.S. District Court at Knoxville in 1956 ordered Clinton High School desegregated and enjoined interference by John Kasper and others.

Northcross et al v. City of Memphis Board of Education

Seeking desegregation of the Memphis city school system, the suit was filed in U.S. District Court at Memphis in 1960. In April, 1961, U.S. District Judge Marion S. Boyd at Memphis ruled that the board had "openly announced many months ago its desire to integrate Memphis schools through compliance with the (state) Pupil Placement (assignment) Law." Boyd rejected a Negro plea for immediate desegregation of the entire system. In October, 1961, 13 Negro first-graders were admitted to four previously all-white schools under provisions of the pupil assignment law. Negro appeals in the case are pending before the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Roy et al v. Brittain et al

The State Supreme Court upheld in 1956 Chancery Court's denial of an injunction to forbid admission of Negroes to Clinton High School despite U.S. District Court's order in *McSwain et al v. Anderson County Board of Education*. State tribunal held invalid Tennessee's constitutional provision and statutes requiring segregation of state-financed schools.

Sloan et al v. Wilson County Board of Education et al

The suit originally was filed in 1961 in behalf of two Negro children "and others similarly situated," seeking their admission to McClain Elementary School at Lebanon. U.S. District Court at Nashville on Sept. 12, 1961, directed that the 10th Special School District enroll three students immediately at the previously all-white elementary school. Judge William E. Miller also ordered the 10th Special School District board, the 16th Special School District board and the Wilson County Board of Education to submit a plan for desegregation. On Oct. 23, 1961, Miller ordered complete desegregation of all public schools in Lebanon and Wilson County, effective in January, 1962. The judge rejected a joint proposal by the three boards, which govern separate school systems within the boundaries of Wilson County, to end segregation under the 1957 state pupil assignment law and declared that the law in itself is not a plan for desegregation. Miller ruled that the law could be placed in effect to transfer students from one school to another once desegregation has been accomplished. The case was the first in Tennessee against more than one school board and resulted in the first order calling for desegregation of grades 1-12 at the same time in any Tennessee school system. Miller reserved judgment on a Negro request for the desegregation of the teaching staffs.

Vick v. Obion County Board of Education

Asking admission of three Negro students to all-white high school classes, the suit was filed in October, 1961. Two weeks later, the school board asked the U.S. District Court at Jackson to accept a grade-a-year desegregation plan to begin in the fall of 1962. No hearing on the suit or the board's proposed plan has been held. The school board asked U.S. District Judge Bailey Brown to deny a temporary injunction and a Negro request for biracial teacher assignments.

Ward et al v. Knoxville Board of Education

U.S. District Court at Knoxville in 1956 dismissed the suit on technical grounds. It had sought the desegregation of Knoxville city schools.

LEGISLATION

1957

SR 3—Protested encroachment of states' rights.

Ch. 3—Established pupil assignment. (U.S. District Court at Memphis in 1961 ruled that the Memphis Board of Education had adopted a policy of desegregation through compliance with the law in *Northcross et al v. City of Memphis Board of Education.* In *Sloan et al v. Wilson County Board of Education et al,* U.S. District Court at Nashville held that the law in itself did not constitute a plan for desegregation but that it could be used for the transfer of students once desegregation had been accomplished.)

Ch. 9—Regulated transfers of pupils between districts.

Ch. 10—Permitted voluntary segregation. (U.S. District Court in 1957 declared the law unconstitutional in *Kelley v. Nashville Board of Education.*)

Ch. 12—Authorized consolidated schools to serve two or more districts.

Ch. 98—Permitted segregation by sex.

Ch. 151—Required registration for racial organizations.

Ch. 152—Required information on solicitors for litigation.

1959

Ch. 289—Made local school boards responsible for enforcing compulsory attendance; permitted parents to withdraw children from school for any good and substantial reason, with school board consent, and to enroll them elsewhere within 30 days.

TEXAS

Elementary and High Schools

1,485 Districts: 643 With Negroes and Whites; 148 Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment*	1,889,851	303,060	2,192,911
Teachers*	79,195	11,712	90,907

*Estimated

Colleges and Universities

32 Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	49	4	53
Enrollment	138,555	7,172	145,727

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Desegregation of Texas public schools started at Friona, in West Texas, in 1953, before the U.S. Supreme Court decision, but the change was not revealed until later. In 1954, a test case involving Big Spring public schools opened the way for local boards to abolish segregation without losing state aid. But in 1957 the legislature passed a referendum law, requiring approval by local voters before a district desegregated. Loss of state funds was the penalty. Three years later, Attorney General Will Wilson said the law would not apply where desegregation followed a court order, and in a lawsuit involving Dallas, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals said in effect that the referendum act was unconstitutional. Unofficial estimates place at one million the number of white students and at 115,000 the number of Negroes enrolled in the 148 desegregated districts. About 400,000 whites and 4,300 Negroes attend classes together, according to estimates. Dallas and Galveston desegregated without incident in September, 1961, under court order. Fort Worth is under a court order to desegregate in September, 1962. Desegregated districts, by counties, are:

- Andrews County
  - Andrews
- Aransas County
  - Rockport
- Atascosa County
  - Pleasanton
- Bee County
  - Beeville
  - Pettus
- Bell County
  - Killeen
- Bexar County
  - Alamo Heights
  - East Central
  - Edgewood
  - Ft. Sam Houston
  - Harlandale
  - Judson
  - Lackland
  - Northeast
  - Northside
  - Randolph Field
  - San Antonio
  - S. San Antonio
  - S.W. Rural High
- Brewster County
  - Alpine
- Brooks County
  - Falfurrias
- Brown County
  - Brownwood
- Burnet County
  - Burnet
- Calhoun County
  - County Independent
- Cameron County
  - Brownsville
  - Harlingen
  - LaFeria
  - San Benito
- Castro County
  - Dimmit
  - Hart
- Comal County
  - Comal Rural High
  - New Braunfels
- Culberson County
  - Van Horn
- Dallam County
  - Dalhart
- Dallas County
  - Dallas
- DeWitt County
  - Nordheim
  - Yorktown
- Dimmit County
  - Carizzo Springs
- Ector County
  - Odessa
- El Paso County
  - Canutillo
  - Clint
  - El Paso
  - El Paso Rural High
  - Socorro
  - Ysleta
- Erath County
  - Dublin
- Floyd County
  - Lockney
- Frio County
  - Pearsall
- Galveston County
  - Galveston
  - Moody State Home
- Gillespie County
  - Fredericksburg
- Guadalupe County
  - Marion
  - Navarro
  - Schertz-Cibolo
  - Seguin
- Hale County
  - Cotton Center
- Harris County
  - Houston
  - Spring Branch
- Hays County
  - San Marcos
- Hidalgo County
  - Donna
  - Edinburg
  - McAllen
  - Mercedes
  - Mission
  - Pharr-San Juan
  - Weslaco
- Hockley County
  - Pep
- Howard County
  - Big Spring
- Hutchinson County
  - Borger
- Jim Wells County
  - Alice
  - Orange Grove
- Karnes County
  - Falls City
  - Kenedy
  - Karnes City
  - Runge
- Kinney County
  - Brackett
- Kleberg County
  - Kingsville
- Lamb County
  - Littlefield
  - Spade
- Limestone County
  - Echols
- Llano County
  - Llano
- Lubbock County
  - Frenship
  - Ida Lou
  - Lubbock
- Lynn County
  - Tahoka
  - Wilson
- Mason County
  - Mason
- Maverick County
  - Eagle Pass
- Medina County
  - Devine
  - Hondo
  - Natalia
- Menard County
  - Menard
- Midland County
  - Midland
- Nueces County
  - Aqua Dulce
  - Bishop
  - Calallen
  - Corpus Christi
  - Flour Bluff
  - Robstown
  - Sundeen
  - Tuloso-Midway
  - West Oso
- Parmer County
  - Bovina
  - Friona
  - Farwell
  - Lazbuddie
- Pecos County
  - Fort Stockton
- Potter County
  - Amarillo
- Reeves County
  - Pecos
- Refugio County
  - Austwell-Tivoli
  - Refugio
  - Woodsboro
- San Patricio County
  - Aransas Pass
  - Ingleside
  - Mathis
  - Sinton
  - Taft
- San Saba County
  - San Saba
- Swisher County
  - Kress
  - Happy
  - Tulia
- Taylor County
  - Abilene County High
- Terrell County
  - Sanderson
- Terry County
  - Wellman
- Tom Green County
  - San Angelo
- Travis County
  - Austin
  - Austin State School
- Uvalde County
  - Uvalde
- Val Verde County
  - Del Rio
  - San Felipe
- Victoria County
  - Victoria
  - Bloomington
- Ward County
  - Monahans-Wickett
  - Pyote
- Webb County
  - Laredo
- Wichita County
  - Wichita Falls
- Willacy County
  - Raymondsville
- Williamson County
  - Andice
  - Jarrell
  - Liberty Hill
- Wilson County
  - Floresville
  - LaVernia
  - Poth
  - Stockdale
- Winkler County
  - Kermit
  - Wink
- Yoakum County
  - Plains
- Zavala County
  - Crystal City

TEACHERS

An estimated 100 Negro teaching positions have been abolished through desegregation, and a much larger number of jobs failed to materialize for Negroes for the same reason. Three Negro teachers have been reported in desegregated schools of South Texas, held over from former segregated classes. In 1959, a spokesman for a Texas Negro teachers' association estimated that at least 1,000 members were looking for teaching jobs. Many others had left the profession and accepted other work. Meanwhile, a scarcity of white teachers existed in certain areas but appeared to be diminishing, as basic salaries were set at $4,004 for nine months.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Thirty-two of the state's 53 public colleges and universities have both races enrolled. Twenty-one others (19 white, two Negro) retain segregation, although five of these are under the same board as a school that admitted Negroes under court order. Listed below are the total enrollments of the tax-supported colleges on Oct. 15, 1961, with estimated Negro enrollment. Under column "Date Desegregated" these symbols are used: S—retains segregation; D—date of desegregation unknown; V—voluntarily desegregated; and C—court-ordered desegregation.

Predominantly White Senior Colleges	Total	Negro	Date Deseg.
Arlington State	8,318	0	S
E. Tex. State Teachers	3,511	0	S***
Lamar State Coll. of Tech.	6,440	140*	1956-C
Midwestern Univ.	1,924	20*	1955-C
N. Tex. State	8,843	203	1956-C
Pan-American	1,886	5*	D
Sam Houston State	5,045	0	S***
Southwest Tex. State	2,866	0	S***
S. F. Austin State	2,373	0	S***
Sul Ross State	1,190	0	S***
Tarleton State	1,389	0	S
Tex. A&M	7,724	0	S
Tex. College of Arts & Ind.	3,292	20*	1957-V
Tex. Tech.	10,210	5	1961-V
Tex. Western	4,771	25*	1956-C
Tex. Woman's Univ.	2,766	1	1961-V
Univ. of Houston	11,860	0	S
Univ. of Tex.†	20,396	175*	1950-C
W. Tex. State	3,430	25*	1960-C
TOTALS	108,234	619*	

Predominantly Negro Senior Colleges	Total	White	Date Deseg.
Prairie View A&M	2,920	0	S
Tex. Southern Univ.	3,580	5*	1956-C
TOTALS	6,500	5*	

Predominantly White Junior Colleges	Total	Negro	Date Deseg.
Alvin	555		S
Amarillo	1,794	60*	1950-V
Blinn	516		S
Cisco	284	7*	1956-V
Clarendon	140*	NA	D
Cooke County	386	3*	1956-V
Del Mar	2,270	30*	1952-V
Frank Phillips	503	3*	1951-V
Henderson County	457		S
Howard County	716	30*	1951-V
Kilgore	1,279		S
Laredo	690	4*	1954-V
Lee	1,195		S
Navarro County	724	6	1961-V
Odessa	1,657	5*	1952-V
Panola County	335		S
Paris	564	3*	1956-V
Ranger	170		S
San Angelo	977	15*	1951-V
San Antonio	7,009	210*	1955-V
San Jacinto	851		S
South Plains	509	10*	1959-V
Southwest Texas	483	2*	1955-V
Temple	591	12*	1957-V
Texarkana**	1,084		S
Texas Southmost	668	2*	1955-V
Tyler Junior	1,636		S
Victoria	867	8*	1955-V
Weatherford	328		D
Wharton County	1,083	35*	1954-V
TOTALS	30,321	445*	

Predominantly Negro Junior Colleges	Total	White	Date Deseg.
St. Phillips**	477	80*	1955-V
Tyler District	195	0	S
TOTALS	672	80*	
STATE TOTALS	145,727		

*Estimated.

**Under court order to desegregate.

***Have no Negro students but under same board as West Texas State, which desegregated by court order.

†Negroes accepted at medical branches in Galveston, Dallas and Houston.

††Branch of San Antonio College and formerly all-Negro.

FACULTIES

Texas Southern University has considerable desegregation of its faculty, but no other tax-supported institution has.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

The desegregated special schools in Texas include Abilene State School, which cares for epileptics; Austin State School, for the mentally retarded; and Moody State Home, for cerebral palsy victims.

LITIGATION

Atkins v. Mathews

Filed in 1955 in U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Texas. District judge ordered Negroes admitted to North Texas State College in December, 1955.

Avery v. Wichita Falls ISD

Suit filed in 1955 in U.S. District Court, Northern District of Tex. Application to desegregate Wichita Falls schools dismissed by district court. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed with order to desegregate.

Barnes v. Calvert

State District Court in 1955 denied injunction to halt use of funds for desegregated undergraduate education at The University of Texas.

Battle v. Wichita Falls Junior College

Suit filed in 1951 in U.S. District Court, Northern District at Wichita Falls, to desegregate municipal junior college (now Midwestern University). District judge ordered desegregation. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed and U.S. Supreme Court denied certiorari.

Bell v. Rippy (Boston v. Rippy)

Filed in 1955 in U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas. In 1960, U.S. District Judge and Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered Dallas school desegregation to commence September, 1961, on grade-a-year pattern starting in first grade.

Butler v. Wilemon

Filed in 1949 in U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas. The court ordered Waxahachie ISD to furnish substantially equal teaching facilities for Negroes as for whites.

Dallas Independent School District v. J. W. Edgar

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1958. Dismissed by district and circuit courts. Filed in State District Court in 1959. Dismissed by all state courts through Supreme Court on the holding that suits against the state cannot be maintained without consent of the legislature. The suit sought to test validity of *Ch. 283* of 1957 requiring referendum approval of desegregation, with loss of state school funds as the penalty.

Eastland v. Wheat

Filed in 1960 in U.S. District Court to desegregate Northeast Houston ISD. Pending.

Evans et al v. Brooks

Filed at Galveston in U.S. District Court, August 1961, to desegregate public schools at Texas City. Pending.

Flax v. Potts

Filed in 1959 in U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas, to desegregate Fort Worth public schools. District Court ordered in 1961 that desegregation begin September, 1962.

Houston ISD v. Ross

Filed in 1956 in U.S. District Court, Southern District of Texas. Trial judge ordered desegregation "with deliberate speed" and in August, 1960, ordered desegregation on grade-a-year plan to begin in first grade in September, 1960. Upheld by U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Jackson v. McDonald

U.S. District Court in 1956 ordered Lamar State College of Technology desegregated.

Jackson v. Rawdon

Filed in 1955 in U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas at Fort Worth, seeking desegregation of Mansfield, Tex., public schools. District judge denied injunction. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, in June, 1956, overruled and ordered admissions without regard to race.

McKinney v. Blankenship

Filed in 1955 in State District Court at Big Spring, attacking constitutionality of requirement that state funds be paid separately to schools based on white and Negro attendance. State trial and appellate courts held law unconstitutional insofar as it prohibited payments to desegregated schools (1955). Went through State Supreme Court.

Mills v. Woods

Filed in 1951 in U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas, to set aside action of school board at Euless, Tex., to discontinue separate Negro elementary school. District court issued injunction against discontinuance. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals overruled, declaring state administrative procedure should have been exhausted before court acted.

Robinson v. Evans

Filed in 1960 in U.S. District Court, Southern District of Texas, to desegregate Galveston public schools. Court ordered desegregation to begin on grade-a-year basis in September, 1961. No appeal planned.

Sanders et al v. Ransom et al

Filed in U.S. District Court, at Austin in November, 1961, to abolish all segregation in dormitories at the University of Texas. Some men's dormitories there are desegregated; all women's dormitories are segregated. Pending.

Simmons v. Edwards

Filed in 1960 in U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas (Lubbock) to desegregate Frenship School District, Lubbock County. Voters later approved voluntary desegregation.

Sweatt v. Painter

Filed in 1946 in U.S. District Court, Western District of Texas. U.S. Supreme Court June, 1950, ordered Heman Sweatt admitted to University Law School in first case declaring "separate, equal doctrine" would not suffice.

Thomas v. Bowen

Seeks to desegregate public schools at Bryan. Filed September, 1961, in U.S. District Court at Houston. Pending.

Washington et al v. Reidel

Filed August, 1961 in U.S. District Court at Houston to desegregate A&M Consolidated ISD (near Bryan). Pending.

White v. Smith

Filed in 1955 in U.S. District Court, Western District of Texas, seeking to admit Negroes to Texas Western College. District judge held state statutes requiring segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional and void.

Whitmore v. Stilwell

Filed in 1955 in U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Texas. In the same year, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered Texarkana Junior College desegregated.

LEGISLATION

1957

HCR 3—Urged that preservation of order and operation of schools be left to state.

HCR 5—Urged constitutional amendment to limit federal authority on preservation of order.

HCR 32—Urged establishment of qualifications for federal judiciary.

Ch. 7—Authorized closing schools to prevent violence and military occupation.

Ch. 8—Authorized attorney general to provide legal defense for school boards.

Ch. 20—Required registration with county clerk or judge of organizations interfering with school operations.

Ch. 283—Provided local option desegregation elections, requiring voter approval for a desegregated district to continue receiving state aid. Attorney General Will Wilson ruled in 1960 that state aid could be continued for districts that desegregated by court order but without voter approval. Ruled unconstitutional, in effect, in 1961 decision in Dallas case.

Ch. 287—Established pupil placement requirements.

1959

—Senate Resolution condemned American Bar Association for criticism of U.S. Supreme Court.

VIRGINIA

Elementary and High Schools

131 Districts: 129 With Negroes and Whites;
19 Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment	657,162	216,860	874,022
Teachers	26,052	7,762	33,814

Colleges and Universities

Five Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	16	2	18
Enrollment	28,638	3,208	31,846

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Virginia has 19 desegregated school districts out of the 129 districts with both white and Negro students. The 19 districts have 252,758 whites and 73,309 Negroes enrolled. There are 533 Negroes actually attending classes with whites in 75 schools. Desegregation began in the public schools in February, 1959, when four districts desegregated under court orders.

The 19 desegregated districts with enrollment, Negroes in schools with whites, number of biracial schools and date desegregated, are:

Districts	Enrollment White	Enrollment Negro	Negroes w/Whites	Brcl. Schls.	Date Deseg.
Alexandria	12,368	2,298	45	8	1959
Arlington Co.	23,602	2,128	143	11	1959
Charlottesville	3,398	1,244	35	2	1959
Fairfax Co.	63,668	2,195	95	18	1960
Falls Church	1,937	26	3	2	1961
Floyd Co.	2,259	125	13	2	1960
Grayson Co.-Galax	4,818	236	19	1	1960
Hampton	14,891	4,209	1	1	1961
Montgomery Co.	6,473	359	2	1	1961
Newport News	15,075	10,056	11	5	1961
Norfolk	34,893	18,394	50	8	1959
Prince William Co.	10,293	953	3	2	1961
Pulaski Co.	6,317	500	26	2	1960
Richmond	17,867	23,824	36	4	1960
Roanoke	15,218	4,121	28	3	1960
Roanoke Co.	13,487	937	1	1	1961
Stafford Co.	3,286	523	2	1	1961
Warren Co.	1,991	297	18	2	1959
King William Co.	917	884	2	1	1961
TOTALS	252,758	73,309	533	75	

TEACHERS

Segregation is maintained.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Four of the predominantly white public institutions now have 56 Negroes enrolled. First desegregation in higher education in Virginia was at the University of Virginia, where a Negro was admitted to the law school under court order in 1950. Desegregation of the other colleges followed, although there were no court orders at these other institutions. The College of William and Mary at Williamsburg also has admitted Negroes to its graduate and professional schools, beginning in 1951, and has awarded degrees to two. The last Negro to attend W&M withdrew in 1956 because of grades. Enrollment (estimated in some cases) follows:

Predominantly White Four-year Colleges	White	Negro	Deseg. Date
Univ. of Va.*	4,908	22	1950-C
Medical College of Va.	1,200	25	1951-V
Virginia Poly. Inst.	5,300	3	1953-V
Richmond Professional Inst.	4,200	6	1951-V
W & M, Williamsburg	2,350	0	1951-V
W & M, Norfolk	2,600	0	
Longwood	1,100	0	
Madison	1,750	0	
Mary Washington	1,750	0	
Radford	1,500	0	
Virginia Military Inst.	1,060	0	
Predominantly Negro Four-year Colleges			
Virginia State, Petersburg*	0	1,606	
Virginia State, Norfolk	0	1,602	
Predominantly White Two-year Colleges			
Clinch Valley	250	0	
VPI, Danville	150	0	
George Mason	120	0	
Bland	200	0	
Christopher Newport	200	0	
TOTALS	28,638	3,264	

*Extension Division enrollment not included.

FACULTIES

White and predominantly white institutions have all-white faculties and Negro institutions have all-Negro faculties.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Segregation is maintained.

ETHNIC GROUPS

Four small schools are operated exclusively for Indians—one by the state on an Indian reservation and three by counties in Indian settlements. In addition, a county on the Virginia-North Carolina border jointly operates, with a North Carolina county, an Indian school located in the latter county. Some Indians have attended white public schools and some have attended Negro public schools in Virginia.

LITIGATION

Adkins v. Newport News School Board

Desegregation plea delayed by U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, after Newport News-Warwick merger in 1958 raised new legal issues. Negro attorneys notified court July, 1959, that no Negroes would apply in fall, 1959. Desegregation began in fall, 1961.

Allen v. Charlottesville School Board

U.S. District Court, Western Virginia, in August, 1956, ordered desegregation by fall of 1956. State's massive resistance program delayed compliance until September, 1959.

Almond v. Day

Test case in which State Supreme Court in November, 1955, approved tuition grants *(Acts of 1954, Ch. 708)*.

Anderson v. West Point and King William County School Boards

Suit filed Sept. 22, 1961, in U.S. District Court at Richmond asking injunction against State Pupil Placement Board from denying 10 Negro children admission to white schools in West Point. Placement Board had admitted three other Negroes to West Point High.

Beckett v. Norfolk School Board

U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, in January, 1957, held pupil placement law *(Ch. 70, Acts of 1956)* invalid "on its face" and in February, 1957, ordered Negro assignments by September, 1957. Desegregation began February, 1959.

Blackwell v. Fairfax County School Board

Twenty-six Negroes sought admission to eight schools in suit filed in U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia. On. Sept. 22, 1960, court ordered some plaintiffs admitted immediately. Desegregation began in fall, 1960.

Bradley v. Richmond School Board

Suit filed in U.S. District Court at Richmond Sept. 5, 1961, on behalf of 11 Negro children whose applications to two predominantly white desegregated schools had been turned down by State Pupil Placement Board. Court asked to require city to adopt "a racially non-discriminatory school system."

Braxton v. Stafford County School Board

Suit filed in September, 1961, in U.S. District Court at Alexandria challenging the 1956 state law that conferred school assignment authority on the State Pupil Placement Board. Filed on behalf of 18 Negro children who were not among the two admitted to a county white school when desegregation began in September, 1961.

Brooks v. Galax School Board

U.S. District Court, Western Virginia, in September, 1959, ordered one Negro admitted in January, 1960, but child decided not to enter. Same court in September, 1960, ordered Negroes admitted from adjoining Grayson County. Desegregation began September, 1960.

Calloway v. Farley

U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, Sept. 18, 1957, granted injunction restraining Pupil Placement Board and city from denying Negroes in Richmond enrollment in school solely because they failed to apply through the board.

Coley v. Brewbaker

Norfolk Circuit Court in August, 1958, denied injunction that would have prohibited local school board from making pupil assignments. Reversed three days later by two State Supreme Court justices. In September, 1958, U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, overrode State Supreme Court.

Crisp v. Pulaski School Board

U.S. District Court, Western Virginia, on April 26, 1960, ordered 14 Negroes admitted to white schools in September, 1960.

Dorothy E. Davis et al v. County School Board of Prince Edward County (Later *Allen v. Prince Edward County School Board*)

Filed in U.S. District Court on May 23, 1951, by Negro children of high school age residing in Prince Edward County to enjoin the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. A three-judge district court found in 1952 that the Negro school was inferior in physical plant, curricula and transportation, but denied the plaintiffs admission to a white school. The court ordered the defendants to equalize facilities "with all reasonable diligence and dispatch." The case was one of the five school segregation cases decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954. The court ruled on May 17 that the Negroes were "deprived of equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment." On May 31, 1955, the Supreme Court issued an implementing decision in the five cases, ordering compliance with its earlier decision "with all deliberate speed." The justices remanded the case to the respective lower courts. Subsequent developments:

July 18, 1955—A three-judge federal court for the Eastern District of Virginia entered an "all deliberate speed" decree for the admission of Negroes to county schools without discrimination. It authorized a delay pending necessary arrangements. A motion was made that the constitutionality of the Virginia segregation statutes had been decided and that the three-judge court should be dissolved for the case to be considered by a single judge. The three-judge court dissolved itself on July 17, 1956, and turned over jurisdiction in the case to a single-judge court.

Jan. 23, 1957—This court denied motions by both sides. The court refused to set a requested deadline of September, 1956, for the desegregation of Prince Edward schools. It based its decision on conditions in the county—public opinion unfavorable to desegregation and the possibility of school closings. The court denied the defendants' motion for dismissal of the suit.

Nov. 11, 1957—The case appeared in the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals as *Eva Allen et al v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Va., et al.* The appellate court reversed the district court opinion and remanded the case with directions to enter a decree for abolition of racial discrimination in school admission policies "without further delay."

Aug. 4, 1958—The suit returned to U.S. District Court with the Negroes asking the court to set a date for desegregation. After hearing the school board testify that racial relations in the county had deteriorated, the court fixed 10 years after the 1955 Supreme Court decision as the time for compliance, reserving the right to accelerate or extend the date if necessary.

May 5, 1959—The U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals again ruled on the case, now styled *Ulysses Allen, an infant, by Hal Edward Allen, his father and next friend. et al, v. the County School Board of Prince Edward County ,Va., et al.* The court reversed and remanded the District Court decision. The higher court set September, 1959, as the deadline for desegregating the high schools and ordered the elementary schools to admit pupils on a non-racial basis "at the earliest practical day."

June 26, 1959—The U.S. Supreme Court denied the school board's request for a delay. The same court denied certiorari on Oct. 12, 1959. The county had ceased operation of all its public schools in the summer of 1959.

July 18, 1960—The Board of Supervisors enacted ordinances providing for local tuition grants and tax credits.

April 22, 1960—Once again styled *Eva Allen et al v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Va., et al,* the case returned to District Court with Judge Albert Bryan eliminating the 1965 deadline. The judge entered an order in accordance with the appellate court's mandate of May 5, 1959.

Sept. 14, 1959—Private classes opened for the white children by the Prince Edward School Foundation.

Sept. 19, 1960—U.S. District Judge Oren Lewis agreed to hear the Negroes' request for a supplemental plea in the case. The Negroes, in a complaint endorsed by the NAACP, sought to enjoin the county from refusing to operate public schools (closed in 1959) and to bar the sale or lease of the closed schools.

October, 1960—Judge Lewis heard the defendants' request for dismissal of the supplemental complaints. Before a decision, the NAACP counsel asked permission on Jan. 13, 1961, to file other supplemental complaints. The Negroes asked for an order prohibiting spending any public funds for the direct or indirect support of any private school excluding Negroes, or for aiding or reimbursing persons for tuition to any such private schools; for forbidding the award of tax credit for contributions to private schools excluding Negroes.

April 11, 1961—Judge Lewis granted the defendants the right to file their supplemental complaints requested the previous September and January.

April 26, 1961—The attorney general of the United States petitioned the U.S. District Court at Richmond to be allowed to intervene in the Prince Edward case. He asked to be allowed to file a supplemental complaint requesting the court to enjoin the county from paying tuition grants to students attending private schools so long as public schools remained closed, and also asking the court to bar state support of any public schools in Virginia until Prince Edward schools re-opened on a desegregated basis.

June 24, 1961—Judge Lewis ruled that the attorney general had failed to sustain his motion for intervention as a matter of right, and that permissive intervention would unduly delay the case.

Aug. 23, 1961—Judge Lewis ruled that tuition grants and tax credits could not be used to support Prince Edward's private segregated system as long as public schools there remained closed.

September, 1961—The private system reopened for its third year and Prince Edward Negro children began their third year without schools. On Sept. 8, a Negro youth of Prince Edward filed suit, through his father, in the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals asking for a writ of mandamus to compel the county board of supervisors to appropriate funds for public schools for 1961-62.

Dobbins v. Commonwealth

State Supreme Court in January, 1957, overruled compulsory attendance law conviction of a Negro who refused to attend a remote Negro school after being denied admission to a nearby white school.

Estes v. Farley

U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, Sept. 29, 1957, granted injunction against Pupil Placement Board, restraining enforcement of placement act in Norfolk.

Farley v. Turner

U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals on July 28, 1960, upheld the Norfolk school board's admission of four Negroes to white schools without following state pupil placement procedures.

Goins v. Grayson County School Board

Eight Negroes sought admission to white high school. U.S. District Court, Western Virginia, ordered desegregation to begin immediately. Desegregation began fall 1960.

Green v. Roanoke City School Board

Suit filed Aug. 20, 1960, in U.S. District Court at Roanoke seeking admission of 28 Negroes to white schools. Judge Oren R. Lewis on Oct. 4, 1961, ordered one Negro admitted, told the Pupil Placement Board to reconsider rejections of others. (Earlier, PPB had admitted six Negroes to white schools in September, 1960.) School board appealed to U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals on Nov. 1, 1961.

Harrison v. Day

Virginia Supreme Court in January, 1959, held that Section 129 of state constitution requiring school operation prevented closing of desegregated schools if segregated schools remained open.

Iseley v. Roanoke County School Board

Suit filed Aug. 31, 1960, on behalf of seven Negro children. U.S. District Judge Oren R. Lewis on Oct. 4, 1961, ruled against plaintiffs. Appeal made to U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals on Nov. 1, 1961. Meanwhile, one Negro child assigned by the Pupil Placement Board entered an all-white county school in September, 1961.

Jackson v. Lynchburg School Board

Four Negro students filed suit in U.S. District Court at Lynchburg Sept. 18, 1961, in an effort to force board to admit them to all-white high school. On Nov. 14, 1961, Judge Thomas J. Michie ordered two Negro ninth-graders admitted to the all-white E. C. Glass High School on Jan. 29, 1962.

James v. Almond

Special three-judge U.S. District Court in January, 1959, ruled Norfolk's school closing unconstitutional.

James v. Duckworth

Federal District Court, Eastern Virginia, in January, 1959, enjoined Norfolk City Council from cutting off funds from secondary schools.

Jones v. Alexandria School Board

U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, on Feb. 4, 1959, ordered desegregation Feb. 10, 1959.

Jordan v. Farley

U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, Sept. 29, 1957, granted injunction against Pupil Placement Board, restraining enforcement of placement act in Nansemond County.

Kilby v. Warren County School Board

U.S. District Court, Western Virginia, in September, 1958, ordered high school desegregated same month. Stay denied Feb. 16, 1959, by Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Simon E. Sobeloff. Desegregation began in February, 1959.

NAACP v. Patty (See *NAACP v. Harrison*)

NAACP Legal and Educational Defense Fund v. Patty (See *v. Harrison*)

NAACP v. Harrison, and

NAACP Legal and Educational Defense Fund v. Harrison

Virginia Supreme Court in September, 1960, ruled *Ch. 36, Acts of 1956*, unconstitutional, but upheld *Ch. 33*. U.S. Supreme Court in March, 1961, agreed to review. (*Ch. 36* banned inducing litigation. *Ch. 33* prohibited solicitation of business for lawyers.)

Shelton v. Hanover County School Board

State Supreme Court in June, 1956, reversed Hanover Circuit Court decision that bonds approved for segregated schools in referendum could not be used for non-segregated ones.

Thompson v. Arlington County School Board

U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, in 1956 ordered elementary school desegregation by Jan. 31, 1957, and secondary school desegregation by September, 1957. State's massive resistance program delayed compliance until February, 1959.

Walden v. Farley

U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, Sept. 29, 1957, granted injunction against Pupil Placement Board, restraining enforcement of placement act in Suffolk.

Walker v. Floyd County School Board

U.S. District Court, Western Virginia, on Sept. 14, 1960, ordered 14 Negroes admitted to white high school on Jan. 25, 1960.

Warden v. Richmond School Board

Six Negroes sought entry to white schools in suit filed in U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, in 1958. Case argued (for one remaining plaintiff) March 30, 1961 and taken under advisement by court. Desegregation began fall, 1960.

LEGISLATION

1955

Ch. 2—Proposed amendment to revise Section 141 of state constitution to permit public funds for tuition grants to students attending private nonsectarian schools. Approved in referendum Jan. 9, 1956.

1956

SJR 3—Interposition.

Ch. 31—Prohibited solicitations for litigation.

Ch. 32—Required registration of advocates of racial integration or segregation.

Ch. 33—Prohibited solicitation of business for lawyers.

Ch. 34—Created joint committee to study administration of justice. Repealed 1958.

Ch. 35—Banned barratry.

Ch. 36—Banned inducing litigation. Declared unconstitutional by State Supreme Court on Sept. 2, 1960.

Ch. 37—Created joint committee to study administration of justice. Repealed 1958.

Ch. 56—Provided funds for private schooling. Repealed 1959.

Ch. 57—Authorized taxation and appropriations for tuition grants. Repealed 1959.

Ch. 58—Included tuition grants in school budgets. Repealed 1959.

Ch. 59—Provided no child would be required to attend desegregated school. Repealed 1959.

Ch. 60—Relieved school boards on transportation requirements.

Ch. 62—Authorized tuition grants. Repealed 1959.

Ch. 63—Provided legal defense for school boards and members.

Ch. 64—Extended teacher retirement benefits to private schools.

Ch. 65—Directed the attorney general to assist local school boards in legal cases.

Ch. 66—Permitted reduction in school terms.

Ch. 67—Permitted month-to-month school financing.

Ch. 68—Gave state authority over schools ordered to desegregate. Repealed 1959.

Ch. 69—Gave governor authority to operate schools. Repealed 1959.

Ch. 70—Created Pupil Placement Board. Held invalid in *Beckett v. Norfolk School Board* in 1957. Amended by *Ch. 500* in 1958.

Ch. 71—Withheld state funds from desegregated schools. Repealed 1959.

Ch. 591—Provided election of school board members by local governing body in Arlington County, replacing popular election.

1958

HJR 50—Directed state bar to punish persons guilty of unethical or unauthorized law practice.

Ch. 40—Provided closure of any school policed by federal troops or officers. Repealed 1959.

Ch. 223—Created commission on constitutional government.

Ch. 319—Closed all schools in a district policed by federal forces. Repealed 1959.

Ch. 373—Created committee on offenses against administration of justice.

Ch. 500—Amended Pupil Placement Act (*Ch. 70*) to give placement board subpoena powers to substitute criteria for pupil assignment, and to permit parents to sign assignment applications under protest.

Ch. 506—Required registration of non-profit organizations engaged in law practice.

Ch. 540—Required federalization of state militia be handled through governor.

Ch. 631—Amended school closing law. Repealed 1959.

1959

Ch. 49—Authorized localities to provide free transportation for pupils attending nonsectarian, private schools.

Ch. 50—Provided for repayment of teacher scholarships by service in either private or public schools.

Ch. 52—Gave localities budgetary flexibility so that school appropriations may be cut off in 30 days.

Ch. 53—Provided state tuition grants up to $275 per year for private schooling of any child.

Ch. 68—Permitted initiative and referendum for disposal of local school property.

Ch. 71—Gave localities option of remaining under the State Pupil Placement Board or administering their own local assignment plans.

Ch. 72—Re-enacted compulsory attendance provisions, but left enforcement to the local school boards and authorized parents to withhold their children from school.

Ch. 80—Exempted private school buildings from zoning and building code laws for two years.

1960

Ch. 191—Authorized localities to permit taxpayers to deduct contributions to nonsectarian private schools from real estate and personal property tax levies.

Ch. 448—Revised formula for scholarship grants to children attending private or public schools other than ones to which they normally would be assigned.

Ch. 461—Authorized local governing bodies to spend funds for private schooling of children.

WEST VIRGINIA

Elementary and High Schools

55 Districts: 43 With Negroes and Whites;
43 Desegregated

	White	Negro	Total
Enrollment	411,790	25,000*	436,790
Teachers	16,459	849*	17,308

*Estimated

Colleges and Universities

All 11 Desegregated

	Predominantly White	Predominantly Negro	Total
Institutions	10	1	11
Enrollment	22,722	580*	23,302

*Estimated

Status of Segregation-Desegregation

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Desegregation was first started in the Monongalia County public schools in the fall of 1955. All 43 of the state's school districts with whites and Negroes, have begun or completed the desegregation process. An estimated 362,577 whites and an estimated 25,000 Negro pupils are enrolled in the desegregated districts. An estimated 15,500 Negroes are in classes with whites. In addition, four of the state's all-white school districts have desegregation policies; the remaining eight all-white districts have made no announcement on the subject.

TEACHERS

A survey four years ago found that 58 Negro teachers had been displaced because of desegregation. Some faculties are desegregated.

HIGHER EDUCATION

In 1938 West Virginia University voluntarily admitted Negroes to graduate schools. All 11 state-supported colleges and universities have been open to applicants without regard to race since 1954, by directives from the State Board of Education and the University Board of Governors. There have been no court cases dealing with higher education. Enrollments by school are:

Predominantly White	White	Negro	Date Deseg.
Concord	1,667	1	1954-V
Fairmont	1,415	12*	1954-V
Glenville	854	0	1954-V
Marshall	4,689	60*	1954-V
Potomac (Junior)	644	10*	1954-V
Shepherd	918	15*	1954-V
West Liberty	1,622	6*	1954-V
W. Va. Tech	1,069	5*	1954-V
W. Va. State	954	499*	1954-V
W. Va. Univ.	8,157	125*	1938-V
TOTALS	21,989	733*	
Predominantly Negro			
Bluefield	150	430*	1954-V
STATE TOTALS	22,139	1,163	

*Estimated

FACULTIES

Bluefield and West Virginia State have predominantly Negro faculties. Both institutions started hiring white instructors two or three years ago.

SPECIAL SCHOOLS

The legislature has removed racial restrictions for admission to the West Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind.

LITIGATION

Anderson v. Mercer County Board of Education

Filed in 1955 and voluntary desegregation ordered by the second semester of the 1956-57 school year. Case still held in Southern U.S. District Court.

Dunn v. Greenbrier County Board of Education

Filed in 1955 and brought voluntary desegregation Jan. 18, 1956. Case still open in Southern U.S. District Court.

Goode v. Summers County Board of Education

Filed in 1959 and charged discriminatory practice in teacher hiring. Pending in Southern U.S. District Court.

Martin v. McDowell County Board of Education

Filed in 1955 and brought desegregation in September, 1956. Case still held in Southern U.S. District Court.

Pierce v. Cabell County Board of Education

Filed in 1955 and voluntary desegregation ordered by second semester of 1956-57 school term. Case still held in Southern U.S. District Court.

Shedd v. Logan County Board of Education

Filed in 1956 and voluntary desegregation ordered by beginning of 1957-58 school year. Case still held in Southern U.S. District Court.

Starling v. Mingo County Board of Education

Filed in 1959 and charged discriminatory practice in teacher hiring. Court found for the defendant, but the teacher was reinstated and given a continuing contract.

Taylor v. Raleigh County Board of Education

Filed in 1955 and voluntary desegregation ordered by the second semester of the 1956-57 school year. NAACP in 1961 filed notice in Southern U.S. District Court to reopen case.

Wilkinson v. Harrison County Board of Education

Filed in 1956 and brought desegregation May 28, 1957. Case still held in Northern U.S. District Court.

LEGISLATION

The West Virginia legislature in 1957 amended statutes governing the business and educational affairs of West Virginia State College, eliminating references to it as a Negro institution. The legislature also eliminated racial restrictions for admission to the West Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind.

Chronology of Major Desegregation Developments

This chronology covers the major developments leading to the U.S. Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling and arising from it. Included are the most significant legal developments, the first desegregation in each state in tax-supported colleges and schools, and some of the other more important events that accompanied this major social change.

1936

Donald Murray, a Negro, enrolled at the University of Maryland Law School under a court order. In *Pearson v. Murray*, the Maryland Court of Appeals held that the state must afford equal educational opportunities in its own institutions.

1938

The University of West Virginia graduate and professional school voluntarily admitted Negroes.

In *Gaines v. Canada*, the U.S. Supreme Court decreed that the state was bound to furnish equal facilities within its borders. It ordered Leroy Gaines admitted to the University of Missouri law school since no Negro law school existed. Gaines never enrolled.

1948

The U. S. Supreme Court in February, 1948, ordered Mrs. Ada Lois Sipuel admitted to the University of Oklahoma Law School, which did not accept her until 1949. The court said one race must receive equal facilities as soon as another race. The university admitted its first Negro, G. W. McLaurin, in October, 1948, by federal court order.

The University of Delaware announced it would admit Negroes to any courses not offered at Delaware State College for Negroes. (The university desegregated under court order in 1950.)

The University of Arkansas voluntarily admitted Negroes to its professional schools.

1949

The University of Kentucky opened its graduate schools to Negroes under court order (*Johnson v. Board of Trustees*).

1950

The U.S. Supreme Court, in *Sweatt v. Painter*, ordered Heman Sweatt admitted to the University of Texas Law School after ruling the law school at Texas State University for Negroes was inferior in such intangible criteria as standing in the community, tradition and prestige.

In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, the Supreme Court held that G. W. McLaurin, a Negro admitted to the University of Oklahoma Graduate School, in 1948, was handicapped in being taught in segregated conditions. The court ordered that he receive the same treatment as other races.

A U.S. District Court order opened Louisiana State University Law School to a Negro, Roy S. Wilson (*Wilson v. Board of Supervisors*).

The University of Virginia Law School admitted its first Negro under court order (*Swanson v. University of Virginia*).

A state court opened the University of Missouri to Negroes.

1951

A federal court order in *McKissick v. Carmichael* opened the University of North Carolina law school to Negroes.

1952

The University of Tennessee, under court order in *Gray v. University of Tennessee*, admitted Negroes to its graduate, professional and special schools.

1953

Friona in West Texas desegregated voluntarily.

Arden and Claymont districts in Delaware voluntarily desegregated.

1954

May 17—The U.S. Supreme Court overruled the "separate-but-equal" doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) in the five school segregation cases titled *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* and held that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

Aug. 23—Charleston, Ark., admitted 11 Negroes to a formerly all-white high school.

September—District of Columbia schools and colleges desegregated. The two separate colleges merged into a biracial school a year later. Public schools also desegregated in St. Louis, Mo., Baltimore, Md., and Monongalia County, W.Va., the first in the respective states.

1955

May 31—The U.S. Supreme Court remanded the segregation cases to their respective district courts, for them to order Negroes admitted to the public schools "on a racially non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed . . ."

June 7—Poteau, Okla., desegregated voluntarily.

July 15—U.S. Circuit Judge John Parker, in the Clarendon County, S.C., school case, said the high court "has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools . . . What it has decided . . . is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains . . ."

July 18—Wayne County, Ky., became the first in the state to open on a desegregated basis.

September—Federally-operated Oak Ridge, Tenn., voluntarily became the first in the state to desegregate.

1956

Feb. 1—Autherine Lucy entered the University of Alabama under court order (*Lucy v. Adams*) and attended classes for three days amid riots. The board of trustees expelled her for charging them with conspiracy in the violence.

Feb. 22—In the first legal effort to back up the Supreme Court decision, the federal government intervened in the Hoxie, Ark., school board's appeal to enjoin interference with desegregation.

March 12—Southern Manifesto signed by 101 congressmen. On the same day, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled (*Hawkins et al v. Board of Control et al*) that the possible delay allowed in its 1955 implementing decision did not involve graduate professional schools. The court ordered Virgil D. Hawkins admitted to the University of Florida. In 1957, by a consent decree, the board agreed to accept all qualified students regardless of race, and Hawkins agreed not to contest further the board's finding that he was ineligible because of a low admission test score.

September—Violence ended a brief desegregation at Mansfield, Tex. The National Guard restored order at Clinton, Tenn., after demonstrations over Negroes attending Clinton High School. Negro students were removed from Clay and Sturgis, Ky., after violence. Louisville, Ky., began its "free choice" plan without incident.

1957

May—Desegregation virtually stopped in Texas with the adoption of laws cutting off state funds for schools desegregating without previous approval in a referendum.

September—Greensboro, Charlotte and Winston-Salem, N.C., desegregated voluntarily. Under a court order in *Kelley v. Nashville Board of Education*, Nashville, Tenn., inaugurated a grade-a-year plan, followed by the bombing of Hattie Cotton Elementary School. Riots occurred in Little Rock, Ark., as Negroes entered Central High School under court order (*Aaron v. Cooper*). Gov. Orval Faubus called out National Guard troops to block the desegregation. U.S. troops returned the Negroes to the schools as the riots continued.

1958

May—U.S. troops withdrew from Little Rock.

August—The U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals overturned a lower court order allowing a delay in Little Rock's desegregation. The appeals court held that incidents of violence were "insufficient to constitute a legal basis for suspension of the plan to integrate the public schools in Little Rock."

September—Gov. Faubus closed the Little Rock schools after the U.S. Supreme Court refused to suspend desegregation. Virginia Gov. Lindsay Almond closed the schools under orders to desegregate in Norfolk, Front Royal and Charlottesville. The University of Florida Law School admitted a Negro, George H. Starke.

Oct. 5—Clinton, Tenn., High School was dynamited.

Nov. 24—U.S. Supreme Court held that Alabama's Pupil Placement Law was constitutional on its face in *Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Education.*

Dec. 14—The Supreme Court allowed Nashville's grade-a-year plan to stand when it refused to hear an appeal in the *Kelley* case.

1959

Jan. 19—The Virginia Supreme Court ruled that closing schools violated the state constitution (*Harrison v. Day*). A three-judge federal court ruled the state must make public schools available to all children and not just some (*James v. Almond*).

Feb. 2—Virginia abandoned its "massive resistance" policy and seven public schools opened on a desegregated basis. The state turned to a tuition-grant program.

June—Prince Edward County, Va., school board closed its schools rather than desegregate. White citizens set up private schools.

August—Little Rock schools reopened with four Negroes in formerly white schools.

September—Dade County, Fla., voluntarily desegregated two schools.

1960

April 20—The U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals held that "the maintenance of a dual system of attendance areas based on race offends the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs . . ." in *Jones v. School Board of Alexandria.*

May 17—A survey on the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision showed that six per cent of the South's three million Negro students attended classes with whites.

Aug. 29—The U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals overruled Delaware's grade-a-year plan and ordered complete desegregation by September, 1961. The court noted other courts' approval of the Nashville plan but said that what constitutes "with all deliberate speed" and "reasonable start towards full compliance" could only be decided "on due consideration of all the pertinent factors and circumstances." The U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the Circuit Court order (*Buchanan v. Evans et al*).

September—The South's public schools opened without violence for the first year since the 1954 decision. Houston, Tex., the nation's largest segregated public school system, followed a court order and admitted 12 Negroes to formerly white classes. The Texas attorney general had ruled that state aid would not be cut off in cases where court orders forced school boards to desegregate. U.S. district and appellate courts held in three Virginia cases that criteria and tests could not be used in assigning Negroes unless also used for assignment of whites.

November—New Orleans, La., desegregated two schools under court order (*Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board*), despite demonstrations, almost complete boycotts of the schools and repeated special laws by the legislature. A three-judge federal court, ruling that interposition was not a constitutional doctrine, blocked all attempts of the legislators to halt the Orleans Parish desegregation.

1961

January—The University of Georgia under federal court order admitted two Negro students, briefly suspended them because of disorders, then readmitted them under another court order. The state legislature repealed its compulsory school closing laws and adopted local option, tuition grants and freedom-of-choice plans.

June 24—U.S. District Judge Oren R. Lewis refused the U.S. Justice Department's request to intervene in the Prince Edward school desegregation case and to close all Virginia schools unless Prince Edward reopened its public schools.

Aug. 23—U.S. Judge Lewis ruled in the Prince Edward case that tuition grants and tax credits could not be used to support Prince Edward private schools as long as public schools were closed.

Aug. 30—Atlanta desegregated its first four schools, admitting nine Negroes without incident. A three-judge court at New Orleans ruled unconstitutional the state law permitting local option school closing to avoid desegregation. Later upheld by U.S. Supreme Court.

Sept. 6—Dallas, the nation's largest segregated school system, admitted 18 Negroes without incident to schools with whites. The South's public schools experienced their second school opening without violence since 1954.

Districts Under Orders to Desegregate

District	Date Effective	Court and Date of Order
Chattanooga, Tenn.	September, 1962*	U.S. District Court—1960
Clarendon County, S.C.	With all deliberate speed	U.S. Supreme Court—1954-55
East Baton Rouge Parish, La.	With all deliberate speed	U.S. District Court—1960
Escambia County, Fla.	September, 1962	U.S. District Court—1961
Fort Worth, Tex.	September, 1962	U.S. District Court—1961
Humphreys County, Tenn.	Jan. 2, 1962	U.S. District Court—1961
Six Louisiana trade schools (at Crowley, Natchitoches, Opelousas, Greensburg, Lake Charles, Shreveport)	With all deliberate speed	U.S. District Court—1960
Lynchburg, Va.	Jan. 29, 1962	U.S. District Court—1961
Prince Edward County, Va.	September, 1959 (County closed schools)	U.S. Supreme Court—1954-55 U.S. Fourth Circuit Court—1959
St. Helena Parish, La.	With all deliberate speed	U.S. District Court—1960
Watertown, Tenn	Jan. 2, 1962	U.S. District Court—1961
Wilson County, Tenn.	Jan. 2, 1962	U.S. District Court—1961

*School board proposal not yet approved by court.

Districts Planning to Desegregate

District	Date Effective	Desegregation Plan
Dickson County, Tenn.	September, 1962	Three grades a year
Franklin, Tenn., Ninth Special District	September, 1962	Grade a year
Bristol, Tenn.	September, 1962	Grade a year
Obion County, Tenn.*	September, 1962	Grade a year

*School board proposal not yet approved by court.

Dates First Desegregated

State	Public Schools (Grades 1-12)	Public Colleges
Alabama	—	1956-C
Arkansas	1954-V	1948-V
Delaware	1953-V	1948-V
District of Columbia	1954-C	1954-V
Florida	1959-V	1958-C
Georgia	1961-C	1961-C
Kentucky	1955-V	1949-C
Louisiana	1960-C	1950-C
Maryland	1954-V	1867-V
Mississippi	—	—
Missouri	1954-V	1950-C
North Carolina	1957-V	1951-C
Oklahoma	1955-V	1948-C
South Carolina	—	—
Tennessee	1955-V	1952-C
Texas	1953-V	1950-C
Virginia	1959-C	1950-C
West Virginia	1954-V	1938-V

[1962, Feb. 27]

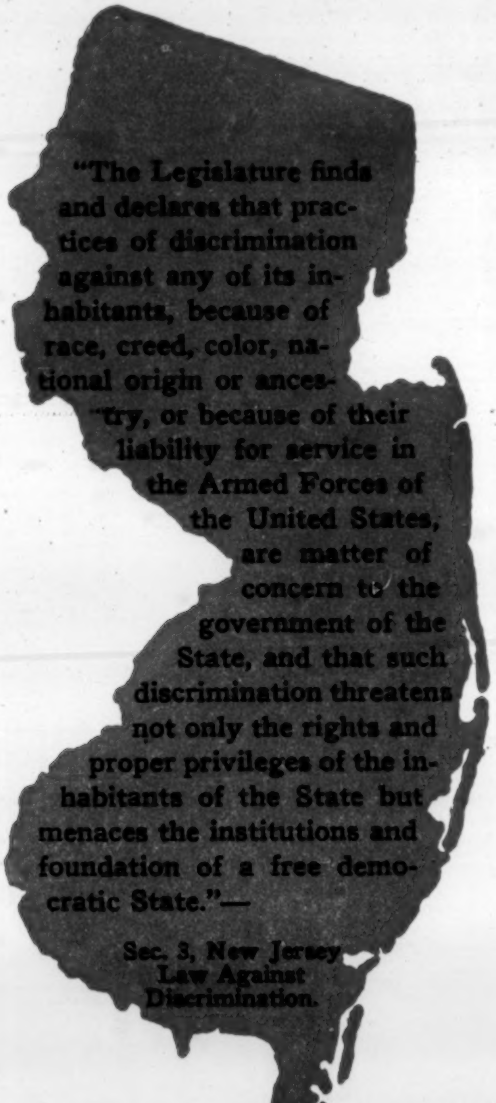
State of New Jersey
Department of Education

DIVISION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

1100 Raymond Boulevard
Newark 2, N. J.

LAW AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

As set forth in Title 18, Chapter 25 of the New Jersey Statutes Annotated



"The Legislature finds and declares that practices of discrimination against any of its inhabitants, because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, or because of their liability for service in the Armed Forces of the United States, are matter of concern to the government of the State, and that such discrimination threatens not only the rights and proper privileges of the inhabitants of the State but menaces the institutions and foundation of a free democratic State."—

Sec. 3, New Jersey Law Against Discrimination.

CHAPTER 25. LAW AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

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LAW AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

As set forth in Title 18, Chapter 25 of the New Jersey Statutes Annotated

† An Act to protect all persons in their civil rights; to prevent and eliminate practices of discrimination against persons because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, or because of their liability for service in the armed forces of the United States; to create a division in the Department of Education to effect such prevention and elimination; and making an appropriation therefor.

Be it enacted *by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:*

18:25–1. **Short Title.** This act shall be known as "Law Against Discrimination."

18:25–2. **Police Power, Enactment Deemed Exercise of.** The enactment hereof shall be deemed an exercise of the police power of the State for the protection of the public safety, health and morals and to promote the general welfare and in fulfillment of the provisions of the Constitution of this State guaranteeing civil rights.

† 18:25–3. **Finding and declaration of Legislature.** The Legislature finds and declares that practices of discrimination against any of its inhabitants, because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry or because of their liability for service in the armed forces of the United States, are a matter of concern to the government of the State, and that such discrimination threatens not only the rights and proper privileges of the inhabitants of the State but menaces the institutions and foundation of a free democratic state.

/ † 18:25–4. **Employment and Accommodations without Discrimination; Civil Right.** All persons shall have the opportunity to obtain employment, and to obtain all the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of any place of public accommodation, publicly assisted housing accommodation, and other real property without discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, (subject only to conditions and limitations applicable alike to all persons) This opportunity is recognized as and declared to be a civil right.

18:25-5. **Definitions.** As used in this act, unless a different meaning clearly appears from the context:

† a. "Person" includes one or more individuals, partnerships, associations, labor organizations, corporations, legal representatives, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy, receivers, and fiduciaries.

† b. "Employment agency" includes any persons undertaking to procure employees or opportunities for others to work.

c. "Labor organization" includes any organization which exists and is constituted for the purpose, in whole or in part, of collective bargaining or of dealing with employers concerning grievances, terms or conditions of employment or of other mutual aid or protection in connection with employment.

† d. "Unlawful employment practice" and "unlawful discrimination" includes only those unlawful practices and acts specified in section eleven‡ of this act.

† e. "Employer" does not include a club exclusively social or fraternal, charitable, educational or religious association or corporation, if such club, association or corporation is not organized and operated for private profit, nor does it include any employer with fewer than six persons in his employ.

f. "Employee" does not include any individual employed by his parents, spouse or child, or in the domestic service of any person.

† ff. "Liability for service in the armed forces of the United States" means subject to being ordered as an individual or member of an organized unit, into active service in the armed forces of the United States by reason of membership in the National Guard, naval militia or a reserve component of the armed forces of the United States or subject to being inducted into such armed forces through a system of national selective service.

/ g. "Division" means the "Division of Civil Rights" created by this act.

h. "Commissioner" means the State Commissioner of Education.

† i. "Commission" means the Commission on Civil Rights created by this act.

† j. "A place of public accommodation" shall include any tavern, roadhouse, or hotel, whether for entertainment of transient guests or accommodation of those seeking health, recreation or rest; any retail shop or store; any restaurant, eating house, or place where food is sold for consumption on the premises; any place maintained for the sale of ice cream, ice and fruit preparations or their derivatives, soda water or confections, or where any beverages of any kind are retailed for consumption on the premises; any garage, any public conveyance operated on land or water, or in the air, and stations and terminals thereof; any public bathhouse, public boardwalk, public seashore accommodation; any auditorium, meeting place, or public hall; any theatre, or other place of public amusement, motion-picture house, music hall, roof garden, skating rink, swimming pool, amusement and recreation park, fair, bowling alley, gymnasium, shooting gallery, billiard and pool parlor; any comfort station; any dispensary, clinic or hospital; and any public library, any kindergarten, primary and secondary school, trade or business school, high school, academy, college and university, or any educational institution under the supervision of the State Board of Education, or the Commissioner of Education of the State of New Jersey. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to include or to apply to, any institution, bona fide club, or place of accommodation, which is in its nature distinctly private; nor shall anything herein contained apply to any educational facility operated or maintained by a bona fide religious or sectarian institution, and the right of a natural parent or one in loco parentis to direct the education and upbringing of a child under his control is hereby affirmed; nor shall anything herein contained be construed to bar any private secondary or post-secondary school from using in good faith criteria other than race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, in the admission of students.

* k. "A publicly assisted housing accommodation" shall include all housing built with public funds or public assistance pursuant to chapter 300 of the laws of 1949, chapter 213 of the laws of 1941, chapter 169 of the laws of 1944, chapter 303 of the laws of 1949, chapter 19 of the laws of 1938, chapter 20 of the laws of 1938, chapter 52 of the laws of 1946, and chapter 184 of the laws of 1949, and all housing financed in whole or in part by a loan, whether or not secured by a mortgage, the repay-

ment of which is guaranteed or insured by the Federal Government or any agency thereof.

l. The term "real property" includes real estate, lands, tenements and hereditaments, corporeal and incorporeal, provided however that, except as to publicly assisted housing accommodations, the provisions of this act shall not apply (1) to the sale or rental of a dwelling, or of a portion thereof, containing accommodations for not more than 3 families, 1 of which is maintained by the owner at the time of sale or rental as the household of his family, or; (2) to the sale or rental of a dwelling, or a portion thereof, containing accommodations for not more than 2 families, except, however, such dwellings shall be included within the term "real property" when they are part of a group of 10 or more dwelling houses constructed or to be constructed on land that is contiguous (exclusive of public streets) and are offered for sale or rental by a person who owns or has owned or otherwise controls or has controlled the sale or rental of such group of dwelling houses, or; (3) to the rental, by the owner or occupant of a 1-family accommodation in which he or members of his family reside, of a room or rooms in such accommodation to another person or persons. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to bar any religious or denominational institution or organization, or any organization, operated for charitable or educational purposes, which is operated, supervised or controlled by or in connection with a religious organization, in the sale, lease or rental of real property, from limiting admission to or giving preference to persons of the same religion or denomination or from making such selection as is calculated by such organization to promote the religious principles for which it is established or maintained.

m. "Real estate broker" includes a person, firm or corporation who, for a fee, commission or other valuable consideration, or by reason of promise or reasonable expectation thereof, lists for sale, sells, exchanges, buys or rents, or offers or attempts to negotiate a sale, exchange, purchase or rental of real estate or an interest therein, or collects or offers or attempts to collect rent for the use of real estate or solicits for prospective purchasers or assists or directs in the procuring of prospects or the negotiation or closing of any transaction which does or is contemplated to result in the sale, exchange, leasing, renting or auctioning of any real estate or negotiates, or offers or attempts or agrees to negotiate a loan secured or to be secured by mortgage or other encumbrance upon or transfer of any real estate for others, or any person who, for pecuniary gain or expectation of pecuniary gain conducts a public or private competitive sale of lands or any interest in lands. In the sale of lots, the term "real estate broker" shall also include any person, partnership, association or corporation employed by or on behalf of the owner or owners of lots or other parcels of real estate, at a stated salary, or upon a commission, or upon a salary and commission, or otherwise, to sell such real estate, or any parts thereof, in lots or other parcels, and who shall sell or exchange, or offer or attempt or agree to negotiate the sale or exchange, of any such lot or parcel of real estate.

/ n. "Real estate salesman" includes any person who, for compensation, valuable consideration or commission, or other thing of value, or by reason of a promise or reasonable expectation thereof, is employed by and operates under the supervision of a licensed real estate broker to sell or offer to sell, buy or offer to buy or negotiate the purchase, sale or exchange of real estate, or offers or attempts to negotiate a loan secured or to be secured by a mortgage or other encumbrance upon or transfer of real estate, or to lease or rent, or offer to lease or rent any real estate for others, or to collect rents for the use of real estate, or to solicit for prospective purchasers or lessees of real estate, or who is employed by a licensed real estate broker to sell or offer to sell lots or other parcels of real estate, at a stated salary, or upon a commission, or upon a salary and commission, or otherwise to sell real estate, or any parts thereof, in lots or other parcels.

• 18:25–5.1. **Change of Name.** The Division Against Discrimination shall be known as the "Division on Civil Rights."

/ † 18:25–6. **Division Against Discrimination (Division on Civil Rights)• in State Department of Education Created; Powers.** There is created in the Department of Education a division to be known as "The Division on Civil Rights" with power to prevent and eliminate discrimination in employment against persons because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry or because of their liability for service in the armed forces of the United States, by employers, labor organizations, employment agencies or other persons and to take other actions against discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry or because of their liability for service in the armed forces of the United States, as herein provided; and the division created hereunder is given general jurisdiction and authority for such purposes.

† 18:25-7. **Composition of Division; Commission; Membership; Appointment; Terms; Vacancies; Compensation.** The said division shall consist of the Commissioner of Education and the commission. The commission shall consist of seven members; each member shall be appointed by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a term of five years and until his successor is appointed and qualified, except that of those first appointed, one shall be appointed for a term of one year, one for a term of two years, one for a term of three years and two for a term of four years. Vacancies caused other than by expiration of term shall be filled in the same manner but for the unexpired term only. Members of the commission shall serve without compensation but shall be reimbursed for necessary expenses incurred in the performance of their duties. The first chairman of the commission shall be designated by the Governor and thereafter, the chairman shall be elected by the members, annually.

18:25-8. **Powers and Duties of Commissioner of Education.** The commissioner shall:

† a. Exercise all powers of the division not vested in the commission.

b. Administer the work of the division.

† c. Organize the division into sections, one of which shall receive, investigate, and act upon complaints alleging discrimination in employment against persons because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry or because of their liability for service in the armed forces of the United States, and the other of which shall receive, investigate, and act upon complaints alleging other unlawful acts of discrimination against persons because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry; prescribe the organization of said sections and the duties of his subordinates and assistants.

¶ d. † Subject to the approval of the commission and the Governor, appoint an assistant Commissioner of Education, who shall act for the commissioner, in his place and with his powers, and such other directors, field representatives and assistants as may be necessary for the proper administration of the division and fix their compensation within the limits of available appropriations. The assistant commissioner, directors, field representatives, and assistants shall not be subject to the civil service act and shall be removable by the commissioner at will.

¶ e. Appoint such clerical force and employees as he may deem necessary and fix their duties, all of whom shall be subject to the civil service act.

+ f. Maintain liaison with local and state officials and agencies concerned with matters related to the work of the division.

+ g. Subject to the approval of the commission adopt, promulgate, amend, and rescind suitable rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this act.

+ h. Receive, investigate, and pass upon complaints alleging acts in violation of the provisions of this act.

+ i. Hold hearings, subpœna witnesses, compel their attendance, administer oaths, take the testimony of any person under oath, and, in connection therewith, require the production for examination of any books or papers relating to any subject matter under investigation or in question before the commissioner. The commissioner may make rules as to the issuance of subpœnas by the assistant commissioner.

+ j. Issue such publications and such results of investigations and research tending to promote good will and to minimize or eliminate discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, as the commission shall direct.

k. Render each year to the Governor and Legislature a full written report of all the activities of the division.

• l. Appoint, subject to the approval of the commission, a panel of not more than five hearing examiners, each to serve for a term of one year and until his successor is appointed, any one of whom the commissioner may designate in his place to conduct any hearing and recommend findings of fact and conclusions of law. The hearing examiners shall receive such compensation as may be determined by the commissioner; subject to available appropriations.

18:25–9. **Repealed.** Effective May 13, 1947.

/ § 18:25–9.1. **Enforcement of Laws Against Discrimination in Houses Built with Public Funds or Assistance.** The Division on Civil Rights in the Department of Education shall enforce the laws of this State against discrimination in housing built with public funds or public assistance, pursuant to any law, and in real property, as defined in the law hereby supplemented, because of race, religious principles, color, national origin or ancestry. The said laws shall be so enforced in the manner prescribed in the act to which this act is a supplement.

18:25–10. **Commission's Powers and Duties.** The commission shall:

a. Consult with and advise the commissioner with respect to the work of the division.

b. Approve or disapprove the appointment of officers; employees and agents, and the fixing of their compensation by the commissioner.

c. Survey and study the operations of the division.

d. Report to the Governor and the Legislature with respect to such matters relating to the work of the division and at such times as it may deem in the public interest.

+ e. The mayors or chief executive officers of the municipalities in the State may appoint local commissions on civil rights to aid in effectuating the purposes of this act. Such local commissions shall be composed of representative citizens serving without compensation. Such commissions shall attempt to foster through community effort or otherwise good will, cooperation and conciliation among the groups and elements of the inhabitants of the community, and they may be empowered by the local governing bodies to make recommendations to them for the development of policies and procedures in general and for programs of formal and informal education that will aid in eliminating all types of discrimination based on race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry. The State commission may make provision for technical and clerical assistance to municipal officials to aid in organizing such commissions in all of the municipalities in this State.

18:25–11. **Evidence in Obedience to Summons; Immunity of Witnesses.** No person shall be excused from attending and testifying or from producing records, correspondence, documents or other evidence in obedience to the subpœna of the commissioner or assistant commissioner, on the ground that the testimony or evidence required of him may tend to incriminate him or subject him to a penalty or forfeiture, but no person shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter or thing concerning which he is compelled, after having claimed his privilege against self-incrimination, to testify or produce evidence, except that such person so testifying shall not be exempt from prosecution and punishment for perjury committed in so testifying. The immunity herein provided shall extend only to natural persons so compelled to testify.

† 18:25-12. **Unlawful Employment Practice or Unlawful Discrimination.** It shall be an unlawful employment practice, or, as the case may be, an unlawful discrimination:

† a. For an employer, because of the race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, of any individual, or because of the liability for service in the armed forces of the United States, of any individual, to refuse to hire or employ or to bar or to discharge from employment such individual or to discriminate against such individual in compensation or in terms, conditions or privileges of employment, however, it shall not be an unlawful employment practice to refuse to accept for employment an applicant who has received a notice of induction or orders to report for active duty in the armed forces.

† b. For a labor organization, because of the race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, of any individual, or because of the liability for service in the armed forces of the United States, of any individual, to exclude or to expel from its membership such individual or to discriminate in any way against any of its members or against any employer or any individual employed by an employer.

† c. For any employer or employment agency to print or circulate or cause to be printed or circulated any statement, advertisement or publication, or to use any form of application for employment, or to make any inquiry in connection with prospective employment, which expresses, directly or indirectly, any limitation, specification or discrimination as to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry or liability of any applicant for employment for service in the armed forces of the

United States, or any intent to make any such limitation, specification or discrimination, unless based upon a bona fide occupational qualification.

d. For any employer, labor organization or employment agency to discharge, expel or otherwise discriminate against any person because he has opposed any practices or acts forbidden under this act or because he has filed a complaint, testified or assisted in any proceeding under this act.

e. For any person, whether an employer or an employee or not, to aid, abet, incite, compel or coerce the doing of any of the acts forbidden under this act, or to attempt to do so.

f. For any owner, lessee, proprietor, manager, superintendent, agent, or employee of any place of public accommodation directly or indirectly to refuse, withhold from or deny to any person any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges thereof, or to discriminate against any person in the furnishing thereof, or directly or indirectly to publish, circulate, issue, display, post or mail any written or printed communication, notice, or advertisement to the effect that any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, or privileges of any such place will be refused, withheld from, or denied to any person on account of the race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry of such person, or that the patronage or custom thereat of any person of any particular race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry is unwelcome, objectionable or not acceptable, desired or solicited, and the production of any such written or printed communication, notice or advertisement, purporting to relate to any such place and to be made by any owner, lessee, proprietor, superintendent, or manager thereof, shall be presumptive evidence in any action that the same was authorized by such person.

g. For the owner, lessee, sublessee, assignee or managing agent of, or other person having the right of ownership or possession of or the right to sell, rent, lease, assign, or sublease any real property or part or portion thereof, or any agent or employee of any of these:

(1) To refuse to sell, rent, lease, assign, or sublease or otherwise to deny to or withhold from any person or group of persons any real property or part or portion thereof be-

cause of the race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry of such person or group of persons;

(2) To discriminate against any person or group of persons because of the race, creed, color or national origin of such person or group of persons in the terms, conditions or privileges of the sale, rental or lease of any real property or part or portion thereof or in the furnishing of facilities or services in connection therewith; or

(3) To print, publish, circulate, issue, display, post or mail, or cause to be printed, published, circulated, issued, displayed, posted or mailed any statement, advertisement, publication or sign, or to use any form of application for the purchase, rental, lease, assignment or sublease of any real property or part or portion thereof, or to make any record or inquiry in connection with the prospective purchase, rental, lease, assignment, or sublease of any real property, or part or portion thereof which expresses, directly or indirectly, any limitation, specification or discrimination as to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, or any intent to make any such limitation, specification or discrimination, and the production of any such statement, advertisement, publicity, sign, form of application, record, or inquiry purporting to be made by any such person shall be presumptive evidence in any action that the same was authorized by such person.

/ h. For any real estate broker, real estate salesman or employee or agent thereof:

(1) To refuse to sell, rent, assign, lease or sublease, or offer for sale, rental, lease, assignment, or sublease any real property or part or portion thereof to any person or group of persons or to refuse to negotiate for the sale, rental, lease, assignment, or sublease of any real property or part or portion thereof to any person or group of persons because of the race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry of such person or group of persons, or to represent that any real property or part or portion thereof is not available for inspection, sale, rental, lease, assignment, or sublease when in fact it is so available, or otherwise to deny or withhold any real property or any part or portion or facilities thereof to or from any person or group of persons because of the race,

creed, color, national origin or ancestry of such person or group of persons;

(2) To discriminate against any person because of his race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry in the terms, conditions or privileges of the sale, rental, lease, assignment or sublease of any real property or part or portion thereof or in the furnishing of facilities or services in connection therewith; or

(3) To print, publish, circulate, issue, display, post, or mail, or cause to be printed, published, circulated, issued, displayed, posted or mailed, any statement, advertisement, publication or sign, or to use any form of application for the purchase, rental, lease, assignment, or sublease of any real property or part or portion thereof or to make any record or inquiry in connection with the prospective purchase, rental, lease, assignment, or sublease of any real property or part or portion thereof which expresses, directly or indirectly, any limitation, specification or discrimination as to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry or any intent to make any such limitation, specification or discrimination, and the production of any such statement, advertisement, publicity, sign, form of application, record, or inquiry purporting to be made by any such person shall be presumptive evidence in any action that the same was authorized by such person.

/ i. For any person, bank, banking organization, mortgage company, insurance company or other financial institution or lender to whom application is made for financial assistance for the purchase, acquisition, construction, rehabilitation, repair or maintenance of any real property or part or portion thereof or any agent or employee thereof:

(1) To discriminate against any person or group of persons because of the race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry of such person or group of persons or of the prospective occupants or tenants of such real property or part or portion thereof, in the granting, withholding, extending, modifying or renewing, or in the fixing of the rates, terms, conditions or provisions of any such financial assistance or in the extension of services in connection therewith; or

(2) To use any form of application for such financial assistance or to make any record or inquiry in connection

with applications for such financial assistance which expresses, directly or indirectly, any limitation, specification or discrimination as to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, or any intent to make any such limitation, specification or discrimination.

• + 18:25–13. **Remedies; Complaint, Persons Entitled to File.** Any person claiming to be aggrieved by an unlawful employment practice or an unlawful discrimination may, by himself, or his attorney-at-law, make, sign and file with the commissioner a verified complaint in writing which shall state the name and address of the person, employer, labor organization, employment agency, owner, lessee, proprietor, manager, superintendent, or agent alleged to have committed the unlawful employment practice or unlawful discrimination complained of and which shall set forth the particulars thereof and shall contain such other information as may be required by the commissioner. The Commissioner of Labor, the Attorney-General or the Commissioner of Education may, in like manner, make, sign and file such complaint. Any employer whose employees, or some of them, refuse or threaten to refuse to co-operate with the provisions of this act, may file with the commissioner a verified complaint asking for assistance by conciliation or other remedial action.

+ 18:25–14. **Investigation of Complaint; Commissioner's Duties.** After the filing of any complaint, the commissioner shall cause prompt investigation to be made in connection therewith; and if the commissioner shall determine after such investigation that probable cause exists for crediting the allegations of the complaint, he shall immediately endeavor to eliminate the unlawful employment practice or the unlawful discrimination complained of by conference, conciliation and persuasion. Neither the commissioner nor any officer or employee of the division shall disclose what has transpired in the course of such endeavors.

+ 18:25–15. **Notice Requiring Respondent to Answer Charges; Place of Hearing.** In case of failure so to eliminate such practice or discrimination, or in advance thereof if in his judgment circumstances so warrant, the commissioner shall cause to be issued and served in the name of the division, a written notice, together with a copy of such complaint, as the same may have been amended, requiring the person, employer, labor organization, employment agency, owner, lessee, proprietor, manager, superintendent, or agent named in such complaint, hereinafter referred to as respondent, to answer the charges of such complaint at a hearing before the commissioner at a time and place to be specified in such notice. The place of any such hearing shall be the office of the commissioner or such other place as may be designated by him.

18:25-16. **Practice and Procedure.** The case in support of the complaint shall be presented before the commissioner by the attorney for the division and evidence concerning attempted conciliation shall not be received. The respondent may file a written verified answer to the complaint and appear at such hearing in person or representative, with or without counsel, and submit testimony. In the discretion of the commissioner, the complainant may be allowed to intervene and present testimony in person or by counsel. The commissioner or the complainant shall have the power reasonably and fairly to amend any complaint, and the respondent shall have like power to amend his answer. The commissioner shall not be bound by the strict rules of evidence prevailing in courts of law or equity. The testimony taken at the hearing shall be under oath and be transcribed.

+ 18:25-17. **Findings and Order of Commissioner; Failure to File Findings and Serve Order.** If, upon all evidence at the hearing the commissioner shall find that the respondent has engaged in any unlawful employment practice or unlawful discrimination as defined in this act, the commissioner shall state his findings of fact and shall issue and cause to be served on such respondent an order requiring such respondent to cease and desist from such unlawful employment practice or unlawful discrimination and to take such affirmative action, including, but not limited to, hiring, reinstatement or upgrading of employees, with or without back pay, or restoration to membership in any respondent labor organization, or extending full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges to all persons, as, in the judgment of the commissioner, will effectuate the purpose of this act, and including a requirement for report of the manner of compliance. If, upon all the evidence, the commissioner shall find that the respondent has not engaged in any such unlawful employment practice or unlawful discrimination, the commissioner shall state his findings of fact and shall issue and cause to be served on the complainant an order dismissing the said complaint as to such respondent. The failure of the commissioner to file his findings of fact and to issue and serve an order as in this section provided, within ninety days after the filing of the verified complaint with him in the manner provided by section twelve° of this act, or within such additional period as may, for good cause shown, be granted by the commission, may, at the election of the complainant, be deemed to be the equivalent of an order of the commissioner dismissing the complaint, from which an appeal shall lie as hereinafter provided.

18:25-18. **Rules of Practice; Limitations.** The commissioner shall establish rules of practice to govern, expedite and effectuate the foregoing procedure and his own actions thereunder. Any complaint filed pursuant to this section must be so filed within ninety days after the alleged act of discrimination.

+ 18:25-19. **Enforcement of Orders; Review.** Observance of an order of the commissioner may be enforced by a civil action in the County Court to compel the specific performance of the order or of the duties imposed by law upon the respondent named in the order. Such action shall be brought in the County Court to which an appeal from the order would lie as hereinafter provided. (Effective March 19, 1953.)

+ 18:25-20. **Repealed.** (Effective March 19, 1953.)

+ 18:25-21. **Appeal to County Court; Procedure.** Any person aggrieved by a final order of the commissioner may take an appeal therefrom to the County Court of the county in which the alleged unlawful employment practice or unlawful discrimination took place. A notice of appeal shall be served upon the commissioner and all other parties to the proceeding or their attorneys, and filed with the court, within thirty days after the making of the order. Within twenty days after the service of such notice, the commissioner shall file in the County Court the original or a certified copy of the record of the proceedings under review, including such testimony as shall have been taken stenographically, and shall serve notice of the filing of such record upon the appellant. (Effective March 19, 1953.)

18:25-22. **Repealed.** (Effective March 19, 1953.)

+ 18:25-23. **Disposition by the County Court; Review.** Upon appeal, the County Court may affirm, reverse or modify any such order or may make such other order as shall appear equitable and just. Any final order or judgment of the County Court shall be subject to appeal by the commissioner or by any party as in other causes in such court.

+ 18:25-24. **Commissioner's Copy of Testimony to be Available.** The commissioner's copy of the testimony shall be available at all reasonable times to all parties for examination without cost.

+ 18:25-25. **Attorney for the Division.** The Attorney-General shall be the attorney for the Division.

+ 18:25-26. **Resisting or Impeding Commissioner or Representative Unlawful; Punishment.** Any person who shall willfully resist, prevent, impede or interfere with the commissioner or any representative of the division in the performance of duty under this act, or shall willfully violate an order of the commissioner, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punishable by imprisonment for not more than one year, or by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars, or by both; but procedure for the review of the order shall not be deemed to be such willful conduct.

† 18:25-27. **Fair Construction; Other Laws Not Affected; Procedure Herein, While Pending, Exclusive; Other Remedies.** The provisions of this act shall be construed fairly and justly with due regard to the interests of all parties. Nothing contained in this act shall be deemed to repeal any of the provisions of the civil rights law or of any other law of this State relating to discrimination because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry or liability for service in the armed forces of the United States; except that, as to practices and acts declared unlawful by section eleven‡ of this act, the procedure herein provided shall, while pending, be exclusive; and the final determination therein shall exclude any other action, civil or criminal, based on the same grievance of the individual concerned. Nothing herein contained shall bar, exclude, or otherwise affect any right or action, civil or criminal, which may exist independently of any right to redress against or specific relief from an unlawful employment practice or unlawful discrimination.

18:25-28. **Partial Invalidity.** If any clause, sentence, paragraph, or part of this act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances, shall, for any reason, be adjudged by a court of competent jurisdiction to be invalid, such judgment shall not affect, impair, or invalidate the remainder of this act.

† As amended April 1949, and/or May, 1951.

* As amended June, 1957.

‡ N.J.S.A. 18:25–12.

¶ As amended March, 1947.

§ As amended July, 1954.

+ As amended April, 1949.

° N.J.S.A. 18:25–13.

• As amended June, 1960.

/ As amended September, 1961.

Printed November, 1961.

Mary
2/27/62

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PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION:

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA, 1955-62

by

Paul M. Gaston and Thomas T. Hammond

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A report presented to the Nashville Conference on "The South: The Ethical Demands of Integration," a consultation sponsored by the Southern Regional Council and the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen.

December 28, 1962

PREFACE

This study could not have been written without the assistance of a number of local citizens who have special competence in one area or another. Altogether, some fifteen persons or more (of both races)--many of whom were intimately involved in the history we describe--gathered material and contributed ideas. Needless to say, we take responsibility for the facts and the interpretations that are presented, except as indicated.

Before beginning, we should point out that Charlottesville had a population in 1960 of 29,391, of whom 23,830 were white and 5,561 colored. The city operates seven elementary schools.[1] One of them, Jefferson, is exclusively for Negroes; Venable School was desegregated in 1959 and remained the only desegregated elementary school until early October, 1962, when four Negroes entered Johnson School. The other elementary schools remain segregated. There are two high schools in the city. Burley High School is operated jointly by the city and county and has Negro students only. Lane High School, predominantly white, was desegregated in 1959.

L. BEFORE THE STORM: THE PRELUDE TO DESEGREGATION

The immediate origins of the school desegregation issue go back to 1955, when forty-three Negro parents of school-age children, urged by the local branch of the NAACP, petitioned the School Board to desegregate its city schools. The Board agreed to study the request but no desegregation plan was forthcoming. The failure of the city torespond positively led the Negroes to turn to the legal staff of the NAACP. Suit was entered in 1956 requesting a court order to compel school desegregation. Thus began the litigation that led to the inevitable demise of segregation in Charlottesville. Thus began, also, the basic pattern which has characterized school desegregation history to the present time: Negro demands for an end of unlawful discrimination; School Board refusal to act voluntarily toward ending the discrimination; and court orders compelling the School Board to act.

The events that followed cannot be fully appreciated without some knowledge of the city's history in race relations. In comparison with many other Southern cities,

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[1] The seventh elementary school opened in September, 1962. It serves pupils in an area recently annexed by the city and is not treated in the study.

Charlottesville was a reasonably good town in this field in the years before the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. The Interracial Commission (now superseded by the Council on Human Relations) was making slow progress in the area of private employment; Negroes had played a major role in winning better working conditions for white and Negro alike at the University Hospital; Negroes had been admitted to the University graduate and professional schools since 1950; occasional Negro candidates for City Council drew many white votes; and at least two white candidates, one of whom was successful, had made no bones about seeking Negro votes with a sincere promise to improve conditions for Negroes. There were no Negro policemen as there were in some other Southern towns (and there still are none) but there was a movement on to appoint a Negro to the School Board.

Negro housing had been the principal concern of groups which launched an effort to eradicate slums. Five years before the Supreme Court decision, city and county voters had approved a $1,000,000 bond issue to build a joint city-county high school for Negroes--something which was influenced by ominous court decisions but which came in many other Southern communities only after the ax had fallen. At the time, school bond issues usually met resistance on non-racial grounds.

The first local activity on the political front came in the winter of 1953-54 when an influential member of the Albemarle County Board of Supervisors began calling for local and state authorities to prepare a plan of action should the court outlaw segregation. He got little response. It was still inconceivable to most local politicians, apparently, that the court would make such a decision.

On the day of the decision--May 17, 1954--reactions varied, but most local politicians' comments were far short of the flaming oratory some used a year or so later when Massive Resistance became the accepted line. A school official commented that the decision was "morally right" but gave Southern schoolmen an impossible task to achieve.

The state response to the Supreme Court decision is told in detail in Benjamin Muse's Virginia's Massive Resistance. The Governor appointed a State Commission on Public School Education, known as the Gray Commission, which proposed a tuition grant program that implied minimum compliance with the court's decision. Before the Gray Plan could be put into effect, however, Senator Byrd called a switch and jettisoned the Gray Plan for the program of Massive Resistance, which provided that any public school ordered to desegregate would be closed by the Governor.

In Charlottesville, neither the city nor the county member of the House of Delegates was an enthusiastic Massive

Resistance man, but neither felt that the program could be fought. While the City Council felt that local option was preferable to school closing, very few Charlottesville citizens protested against Massive Resistance and cocktail conversation on schools and race became unpopular. Vocal segregationists virtually pre-empted the field of opinion making. Up to this point city politics had been relatively free of the race issue, but if a pro-integration candidate had arisen, there is little doubt he would have been shouted down. In the county, political leaders were almost unanimously behind resistance of any form.

By the spring of 1958 a crisis atmosphere was developing. It had been almost two years since Federal District Judge John Paul had first heard arguments in the school case and by this time the last appeal against integration had failed; Judge Paul had said "September." In an interview later, Johan Galtung, a Norwegian sociologist studying the Charlottesville school situation, observed that the spring and summer of 1958 was the time of greatest tension in the community. Ministers became aware of the possibility of violence. Judge Paul's order was inevitably going to take effect the following fall; the General Assembly had adopted a new round of Massive Resistance legislation which promised school closing as the response to court-ordered desegregation. Good friends had fallen out over the school issue; communications between those of opposing viewpoints was virtually nil. One meeting took place between city officials, a few leading citizens, and members of the local branch of the NAACP. The NAACP was asked to abandon its support of Negro admissions to Lane High School on the grounds that the school would be closed. The NAACP refused to grant this request. This is the only occasion on which city officials have requested conversations with the NAACP.

City Council elections that spring centered on the school question for the first time, but in a reserved manner. A Massive Resistance advocate lost, but the winners supported continued legal opposition to integration. An impasse had been reached. Overwhelmingly, the powers of the state demanded loyalty to the Massive Resistance stance. Locally, leadership was in general divided between massive resisters and local-option segregationists. And as September approached it became increasingly clear that there could be no further delay in granting the Negro plaintiffs their constitutional rights--unless, of course, the schools were closed altogether.

II. CITY IN CRISIS: 1958-59

The vast majority of Charlottesville's citizens, hard to stir to decisive action, had remained pretty much on the sidelines from 1955 to 1958 as the crisis slowly approached.

If there were those who sensed the impending troubles, and there must have been more than a few, they remained relatively quiet. The local chapter of the Council on Human Relations had sponsored a constructive meeting on the subject, "When School Desegregation Comes to Charlottesville," but no white organization, and no city official or group, offered a plan to make desegregation a reality. Some may have been lulled by the Governor's rhetoric in the campaign of 1957 when he promised that public schools would not be closed. By late spring of 1958 his promises seemed hollow and the community began to awaken.

In May the PTA Board of Venable Elementary School, the only one of the five white elementary schools to which Negroes were to be assigned, sent out a questionnaire to parents of Venable children. The questionnaire put the issue realistically, asking parents whether they preferred a public school of [illegible] with some measure of integration, or a closed public school. Of those responding, 58% preferred the former. Following this poll, another group of Venable parents, with predominantly segregationist sympathies, sent out their own questionnaire, including in their choice of preferences segregated private schools, with tuition grants provided (although tuition grants were not available at the time). About 90% of those responding checked this preference.

From these two polls stemmed the organization of two groups, each proposing a different approach to the school crisis. One group, made up principally of housewives who later jokingly referred to themselves as the "basement mothers," or the "emergency mothers," became the Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling (PCES). They decided that if Governor Almond closed the schools they would organize temporary classes until the public schools should be reopened. The other group became the Charlottesville Educational Foundation (CEF). Dominated by segregationists, the CEF looked toward private segregated schools as a permanent thing. Both groups began to plan elementary and high school classes. (For additional details on the PCES and the CEF and the emergency schools, see Appendix I.)

On September 13, Judge Paul signed the court order requiring the admission of ten Negroes to Venable and two to Lane. On September 16, the Court of Appeals refused to stay the effective date of the injunction. Three days later, on the 19th, the Governor invoked the Massive Resistance program, took control of the two affected schools out of the hands of the city and ordered them not to be opened. This action, as it later turned out, was in violation of provisions of the constitutions of both the United States and the Commonwealth of Virginia. At the time, however, citizens and officials of Charlottesville were powerless to reverse the Governor's action.

More than 1700 Venable and Lane students, as well as the twelve Negroes whose rights were not yet to be honored, were affected by the Governor's action. At this point the two emergency groups moved into action. The CEF began classes for elementary school children in a large house, instructing 182 displaced Venable students. The majority of the former Venable students--340--attended classes launched by the PCES in various homes. Former Venable teachers, for the most part, taught in the two schools, splitting between the two groups more on the basis of need than of ideology.

A crucial development at this stage was the decision of the Lane High faculty to teach in a single body or not at all. This forced the adoption of a cooperative high school program, presided over by the Lane principal and supervised by an equal number of representatives from the PCES and the CEF. Thus the Lane teachers prevented the segregationist group (the CEF) from leading the Lane students into a private segregated high school which could have become a permanent replacement for the public high school. Of the 1,080 students who had been expected to enroll in Lane, 862 enrolled in the emergency program. These students met their classes in various churches and other buildings across the city.

Throughout the period of the emergency schools, the public school teachers who staffed them continued to receive their salaries. Because of this fact, Judge Paul ruled that the twelve Negro plaintiffs could not be refused admission to the emergency schools. The Negroes, however, elected to receive private tutoring, cautiously awaiting the time when they should be enrolled in desegregated public schools.

A lack of violence in these tense weeks can be attributed in large measure to the fact that the man who took office as mayor in the midst of the excitement was a person of independent spirit who was not afraid of political retaliation from the state political machine. Mayor Thomas J. Michie stated unequivocally that violence would be punished, regardless of its source. He made it plain that no citizens, including community leaders, would be immune if they dropped a match in this sea of gasoline. Mayor Michie was one of the few Virginians freely to label himself a "liberal Democrat" in a state where such men are a scarce commodity. He was also one of the few elected officials in the community to declare that desegregation was inevitable.

The first significant citizen reaction to the school closing, after the inauguration of the emergency school program, was the organization of a Committee for Public Education (CPE). The chairman and most of the members of the CPE were persons who had never before taken an active part in local political affairs. Prominent among CPE leaders, however, were several professional educators who called community attention to the threat to public education. Declaring that it was concerned "neither with encouraging integration nor perpetuating segregation," the CPE announced its determination to "pursue every legal means to keep public schools open," and stated its objection to "any permanent arrangement which entrusts public education to private hands having no responsibility or accountability to the general public."

After two organizational meetings, the CPE held a mass meeting, attended by 450 persons, and adopted a resolution urging City Council to petition the Governor for return of the schools to local control. City Council, at its next meeting, declined to act on the petition. The Council, as well as state officials in Richmond, had apparently expected much more vocal opposition to the school closings than actually developed. There were, moreover, opposite political pressures on the Council urging that no action be taken. Part of the explanation for the failure of more citizens to protest probably lies in the fact that Mayor Michie called for a temperate approach, and many persons placed their faith in him. He and others were confident that the Massive Resistance legislation would be struck down by the courts before too much time had passed.

This belief was well founded. In January key provisions of the Massive Resistance legislation were declared unconstitutional by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals. The way was now open for the Charlottesville School Board to comply with Judge Paul's order. For the first time since litigation had begun in 1956, the School Board undertook to draft a plan for desegregation. On the basis of this plan, and giving assurance that special tutoring would be arranged for the twelve Negro plaintiffs, the School Board attorney, John S. Battle, Jr., was able to persuade the Circuit Court to stay Judge Paul's injunction until the following September. Declaring that "The School Board's present attitude deserves commendation," Chief Judge Simon Sobeloff expressed the court's "full confidence in Mr. Battle."

With the requirement to desegregate postponed until the fall, the School Board ordered the re-opening of Lane and Venable in February, 1959. Advocates of public education--the "moderates" who had guided the city through its crisis period--heaved a sigh of relief and received congratulations for a job well done. Leaders in the Negro community and white advocates of desegregation were well aware that the real job had hardly begun. Meanwhile, the CSF announced that when integration came to the community in the fall, segregated "private" schools would be available for those who would not accept integration.

Two sociologists studying community attitudes in the spring of 1958 found that 88% of Charlottesville's "influentials" believed that the schools would be desegregated in the fall, despite the fact that 73% of these people preferred segregation. This study, based on a rather small sample, reached conclusions which veteran observers would validate. By the time, then, that Charlottesville had finally faced up to the reality of desegregation--albeit on a small scale-- the majority of the community had adjusted to the idea and had accepted it as inevitable, if not desirable. This development augured well for further small gains.

III. DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST THREE YEARS

In September, 1959, nine Negro children entered Venable Elementary School and three enrolled in Lane High. Almost four years had passed since the Negroes had first requested the School Board to comply with the Supreme Court's desegregation requirement. The city and the state had gone through the turmoil of Massive Resistance and closed schools. By the time desegregation finally came, most responsible citizens recognized that it was unavoidable and, on the day school opened, there was no violence and little tension in the city.

For the next three years the pattern was much the same. There were twelve Negroes in desegregated schools that first year, eighteen the following year, and thirty-five the next. A clear pattern of tokenism emerged that the white community found acceptable. In fact, a University of Virginia Law professor, reporting to the Civil Rights Commission in mid-1962, declared that Charlottesville's "temperament is such that it can accept more desegregation...." Commenting on this study in December, the editor of the Charlottesville Daily Progress (who is also a member of the School Board and an advocate of "freedom of choice") concurred in this view but asserted that any large increase in the number of Negroes entering formerly all-white schools would endanger popular support for public schools.

Token desegregation in these three years was largely, although not exclusively, the result of the school assignment plan approved by Judge Paul in 1959. The relative ease with which desegregation proceeded was due, in part at least, to the existence of the tuition-grant supported "private" schools (discussed below in Part IV) which siphoned off from the public schools those who objected most vigorously to desegregation.

Under the court-approved plan, students were assigned to elementary and high schools by the Superintendent. To determine assignments at the elementary school level, the city was divided into six districts. Students were normally to attend the school in their zone. However, white students living in the Jefferson (Negro) district were in fact assigned (technically, "transferred") to one of the other schools.

Negro students living in one of the "white" zones were normally assigned to Jefferson. If they wished to attend the school in their district they were required to make a written request. The procedure was altered slightly in 1961 (see Section V). In 1961-62, some 50 Negroes were "transferred" to Jefferson, while 149 whites were "transferred" out of the Jefferson district.

The Jefferson district was by far the most populous of the six zones (last year, the Jefferson School had 40% more students than the next largest school). The district also contained within it the great majority of the city Negroes. Moreover, Negroes living in the Jefferson district--unlike the whites similarly situated--were not allowed to transfer out of their zone. Thus, by the manner in which the district lines were drawn, and by placing restrictions on the right of transfer, the Charlottesville plan was a blueprint for containment, with an almost built-in guarantee of token desegregation at the elementary school level.

At the high school level, there were no district lines, since there was but one Negro and one white high school, but all whites were assigned to Lane and all Negroes to Burley. To attend Lane, a Negro was required to apply for transfer and to satisfy certain residence and academic requirements not applied to whites. The residence criterion required that the Negro live closer to Lane than to Burley, and the academic criterion required that the Negro should demonstrate on tests that his academic aptitude and scholastic achievement equipped him to perform adequately in the grade to which he was applying. These obstacles, not placed in the way of the whites, plus the reticence of Negroes long accustomed to segregated schools, largely account for tokenism at the high school level.

Within this restricted framework, Charlottesville's experience with desegregation has been highly successful. Before any Negro students were admitted, a majority of the white parents probably looked upon desegregation with either disapproval or fear. Some of the Negro applicants were worried that they might be beaten, humiliated, or ostracized by the white students. Arch segregationists warned that there would be fights, knifings, and riots. Many predicted educational standards would decline. But when desegregation became a reality the world did not come to an end and these fears proved groundless. In the three years since desegregation began, not a single serious incident has been reported. In no significant way has the situation in the desegregated schools worsened.

On the contrary, in many ways desegregation has turned out to be something of value to students of both races. No study has been made of the white student or parent attitudes toward the desegregation experience, but it is commonly agreed by many who are involved in the schools that white children frequently go out of their way to welcome new Negroes to the schools; not so much because they are Negroes as because they are new students. Such events occur more frequently in the elementary school than in the high school. In addition, some white parents have gone beyond "accepting" desegregation to welcoming it as a valuable experience in democracy for their children.

As far as the Negroes are concerned, there is little doubt that the experience has been rewarding for most of them. It is probably true that the process of integration has proceeded further in the elementary school than in the high school, but, on the other hand, only two high school students have elected to transfer from Lane back to Burley. A special study of the experiences and attitudes of the Negro children in the desegregated schools was prepared for this report and is reproduced in full in Appendix 2. The highlights summarized below underscore the generally optimistic findings of the report.

No violence whatever has been encountered. Roughly half have met some unpleasant treatment, usually name-calling, but only one Negro said that an attempt was made to throw something at him. Furthermore, the situation seems to be improving, for only one instance of name-calling was reported in 1962.

All of the students found the teachers friendly and helpful. None of the Negroes found the white students as a whole hostile; 45% said they were neutral, while 55% said they were friendly. When asked whether school officials or students offered moral support during the first days at school, 63% of the Negro students answered in the affirmative. This reply was particularly frequent among the earliest entrants. Examples given included: (1) shaking hands, (2) sharing tables in the library and cafeteria, and (3) walking together to and from classes.

Two-thirds of the Negroes said they had made friends among the white students. Half studied together, including 2% who studied at each other's homes. On the other hand, 27% said that they did not completely feel like "one of the bunch."

While 67% of the Negro students felt that participation in extracurricular activities was allowed, only one student actually takes part in the concert band, 3 in preparatory band, none in the concert choir, 4 in the "treble choir," and none in athletics. The students' opinions were equally divided as to whether school officials encourage or disapprove their participation. There was general agreement that the Negro students in desegregated schools were more highly motivated to learn and that the educational standards are higher than those in the Negro schools, a major fact which underlies the quest for a desegregated education.

IV: "SAFETY VALVE": PUBLIC MONEY AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

When Negro children entered Venable and Lane in the fall of 1959, the CEF kept its promise to offer "private" segregated schools for those who would not accept desegregation. Earlier in the year the General Assembly had made this escape mechanism possible by providing tuition grants for children attending non-sectarian schools other than those to which they would normally be assigned.

The economics of tuition grants, a subject of debate in the community, is discussed below. Here it should be noted that, from the beginning, many advocates of the tuition-grant program preferred to avoid the racial argument that underlay it. They chose, instead, the somewhat more appealing principle of "freedom of choice." Leon Dure, a retired newspaper man living near Charlottesville, is Virginia's major "freedom of choice" spokesman. Here, as well as in other parts of the South, Mr. Dure has argued that the "freedom of choice" program has brought to view a new human right: the freedom to associate or not to associate with whom one pleases. Despite the fact that the tuition-grant program was born of segregationist demands to escape enforced desegregation, his effort has been to project a non-racial, human rights image of it. In Charlottesville, Mr. Dure has been strongly supported by Chester Babcock, editor of the Daily Progress, and their combined efforts have doubtless influenced large numbers in the community, especially the "moderate" segregationists who would be uncomfortable in basing their support of the program on racial grounds alone.

It is difficult to say how strong the anti-tuition-grant sentiment is within the community. There has been little sustained criticism of "freedom of choice" on educational and philosophical grounds and it has not yet become an immediate constitutional issue. Among local critics of "freedom of choice," Professor Hardy Dillard, of the University of Virginia School of Law, has engaged in public debate with Mr. Dure and the two men elaborated their arguments recently in the Virginia Quarterly Review (Summer, 1962, pp. 400-435). In addition to finding serious constitutional shortcomings in the "freedom of choice" program, Professor Dillard concludes that the "right" it claims to secure is illusory and that, in the last analysis, the program is inconsistent with democratic values.

The practical effect of tuition grants locally was to make possible the relatively easy operation of the two CEF schools, Robert E. Lee Elementary School and Rock Hill

Academy. When the two schools opened in 1959, about 30% of the students who normally would have attended Venable and Lane were enrolled. This year, the two schools have a combined enrollment of about 700. Of these, 488 are city students, as compared with over 1700 city students in Venable and Lane.

When the schools opened, they were widely regarded as "safety valves," making unlikely an explosion in the public, desegregated schools. They are still so regarded today. Political leaders, and many others, look upon them as providing a necessary alternative for those who find desegregation repugnant and unacceptable. Most observers agree that public school desegregation has gone smoothly in part because of the existence of the CEF schools. The pupils from homes where the atmosphere might encourage them to participate in "incidents" in desegregated schools are the ones most inclined to go to the private schools.

When the private schools began, there was some doubt that they could survive for very long. It appears now, in their fourth year of operation, that their future is relatively secure, provided tuition grants continue to be available. On the other hand, the schools must be assured of a solid base for enrollment and there are indications that the gradual acceptance of desegregation in the city may have a tendency to erode that base. Desegregation of county schools would probably broaden it considerably. The recent growth in enrollment in the CEF schools has come from county students.

Financially, the schools have been troubled by the need for capital construction funds. Two new buildings were erected in a residential area to serve as the elementary school, while for the high school a large dwelling with spacious grounds was purchased from one of the supporters of the program. Several classroom buildings were erected and more construction has followed. An assembly hall is planned. Tuition grants have covered most, although not all, of actual operating expenses. Fund drives as well as loans have helped to meet financial needs, but needs have generally kept a few paces ahead of funds. How long tuition grants will remain available is, of course, one of the great imponderables. Their constitutionality has not yet been determined, but many constitutional lawyers believe that federal courts would find that schools supported substantially by public funds are, in fact, public schools and subject to the requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Another aspect of the private school development has been the ambiguity over the central purpose and role of the schools. Probably more out of necessity than out of choice, the authorities of the Foundation have continued to play on the idea of the schools as a stronghold of segregationist and state rights views. This stand is apparently necessary in order to attract enough students to keep enrollments high enough for economical operation. On the other hand, a number of teachers and patrons of the schools are more interested in them at this point for a variety of educational reasons than as a symbol of resistance. Some families have children in both private schools and public desegregated schools; and while some CEF patrons have strong segregationist views, others have moderate views, or no strong feelings one way or another.

While many--perhaps most--citizens look upon the private schools as a valuable safety valve, far fewer are happy with the price that must be paid for them. The analysis of the economics of tuition grants that follows makes it clear that "freedom of choice," contrary to the claims of its advocates, is not free.

Charlottesville issued 630 tuition grants in 1961-62.[1] Albemarle County, with no public school integration, issued 436 grants. In Charlottesville tuition grants are used largely to avoid sending children to desegregated schools. Of the 630 grants, 495 were used to send children to the CEF schools. Almost all of the other grants were used to send children to other local private schools that were in existence prior to desegregation.

In Albemarle County, only 124 of the 436 grants were for children attending the new private schools; 225 were used for children attending other local private schools; 79 were used for sending children to other public schools, 57 of them going to the two desegregated schools.

Under Virginia's tuition-grant program, a locality is required to pay each student no less than the lowest of three figures: the per pupil cost of public education, the actual tuition of the school to be attended, or an arbitrary figure of $275 for high school students and $250 for elementary school students. The locality is reimbursed by the state in the amounts of $150 for each high school grant and $125 for each elementary school grant. The difference is borne by the locality.

From the start of the tuition-grant program, City Council has voluntarily set the amount of all tuition grants at the per pupil cost of public school education. The CEF waits each year until the amount of the tuition grant is announced before setting its tuition for the year. It has then always set its tuition $15 above the amount of the tuition grant.

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[1] Tuition-grant figures for 1962-63 were released too late to be analyzed for this study. They alter in no important way the conclusions reached below.

Charlottesville's 630 grants cost a total of $196,805.70. Of this, $84,850 was reimbursed by the state and $111,955.70 was borne by the city. If City Council had set the tuition grants at the minimum of $275 for high school students and $250 for elementary school students, the total cost would have been $167,150.00, or $29,655.70 less than they actually cost. The state's portion would have remained the same, so this cost of nearly $30,000 was borne entirely by the locality. In terms of the local real and personal property tax rate, the higher tuition grant cost the taxpayer 5½ cents for each $100 of assessed value. The same $30,000 would give each public school teacher a raise of $150, or would finance public school kindergartens for 200 children, or would provide five badly needed guidance counselors for the city's high schools.

Because of their easy availability, tuition grants are used freely by parents who would send their children to a private school regardless of the integration question. Although the number in this category is impossible to determine, it is reasonable to assume that the 135 Charlottesville grants to children attending already established private schools fall mostly into this category. These grants cost a total of $42,172.65, of which $23,122.65 was paid from local funds. In Albemarle County, without desegregation, the 436 grants cost $111,918.48, of which $54,243.56 was paid from local tax money.

The diversion of public funds into private schooling caused by the voluntary overpayment of Charlottesville's tuition grants and the use of tuition grants for purposes other than to avoid integration amounted to $52,778.35 for Charlottesville and $54,243.46 for Albemarle County. The total drain for the Charlottesville-Albemarle community was $107,021.81.

The cost of private schooling has been a subject of continuous argument since the inception of the tuition-grant program. The proponents of tuition grants argue that the grants actually save the locality money because the city pays only the per pupil cost of operating the public school to a tuition-grant student and does not have to pay the cost of buildings, grounds, and furnishings for him. Furthermore, they argue, the state pays 48% of the tuition grant for each high school student and 40% of the grant for each elementary school student, while contributing approximately 30% of the cost of Charlottesville public education.

This argument, while having some elements of truth in it, ignores many considerations. Administrative and maintenance costs, for example, would not increase appreciably if all children attended public schools. Classroom space has been available for all the tuition-grant children until last year although it was disproportionately located in the elementary schools. To educate the 495 city children at the CEF schools in the public school system would probably cost between $100,000 and $125,000 for teachers and supplies, rather than the $154,000 it costs for tuition grants. Of this, about $45,000 would be received from the state aid for teachers salaries alone. Thus, the city of Charlottesville would pay from local funds only $55,000 to $80,000 for the education of these children in public schools. The tuition grants for these students costs the city $84,308.05 from local funds. Until this year, no building space would have been needed, so the city might have saved $4,000 to $29,000 by educating these children in public schools. The cost of tuition grants for children attending already established private schools was shown to be over $23,000 in local funds. Thus, the tuition grant program probably costs local taxpayers from $27,000 to $52,000 a year.

Tuition-grant costs are but a small part of the price Charlottesville is paying to adjust to the new order of things. A far more staggering sum--one that has not yet been disclosed to the public--has gone to pay lawyers' fees and court costs for six years of almost continuous litigation. There are indications that the School Board, at least, is tired of this form of expenditure. But tuition grants, despite considerable opposition, will doubtless continue to be a drain on public resources for many years to come--unless, or until, the tuition-grant program is found to be unlawful.

V. FROM CRISIS TO CROSSROAD

The crisis out of which Charlottesville came in 1958-59 was followed by a three-year period of tokenism, a School Board policy of containment, and a gradual acceptance in the community of the new situation. That period has come to an end and Charlottesville finds itself at a crossroad again. There is no crisis atmosphere and probably none will develop, but the time has arrived when new and crucial decisions must be made.

Two recent and related developments make the new departure imminent. First, the fourth Circuit Court of Appeals on September 17, 1962, invalidated key features of the school assignment plan. Second, the crowded condition of Lane High School has led to mounting pressure from all sides to expand the school system. How the community--and particularly the School Board--will respond to these new developments is difficult to predict.

To begin with, the Superintendent can no longer operate under the old assignment plan. Prior to this year it was possible to contain nearly all the Negro elementary school pupils in the large Jefferson district. As early as April 14, 1961, the Circuit Court warned the School Board that its assignment procedures were discriminatory, but refrained from invalidating them on the Board's assurance that these procedures would be changed. In the wake of this warning, the Board made a slight alteration in the assignment system, but retained its substance. Prior to the warning, Negro students living outside the Jefferson district were initially assigned to Jefferson and had to make application to attend the school in the district where they lived. After the warning, the students were assigned initially to the school in their district and, if they wished to transfer to Jefferson, they had to sign a form supplied them by mail and return it to the Superintendent. Left unchanged was the practice--which the court was now to condemn--of routinely granting whites in the Jefferson district free transfers to one of the other schools, but routinely denying such transfers to Negroes. The rationale for this procedure was that Negroes living in one of the "white" zones were granted free transfer to Jefferson; or to put it another way, any child was allowed to transfer if he found himself assigned to a school in which his race was in the minority.

In finally upsetting this arrangement, the majority of the Circuit Court on September 17, 1962, declared that "little progress in the integration of the schools may be expected if the Board is permitted to pursue the policy which, after mature consideration, it has deliberately adopted." The Court found no fault with the desire to allow students to transfer out of a school in which their race was in a minority, but pointed out that this could be achieved by a system which freely permitted transfers to both races, rather than one which restricted transfers in a discriminatory way.

The full effect of the Court's ruling is not yet clear.[1] The Board has not announced what assignment procedures will be used for the next academic year. All that is certain is that the Board may not routinely grant whites in the Jefferson district transfers and routinely deny transfers to Negroes in the same district. It also seems fairly obvious that Negroes in the Jefferson area will be required to take the initiative, by applying for transfer, in order to attend a desegregated school.

At the high school level, the Court issued a warning in April, 1961, that the assignment procedure, in applying academic and residence criteria to Negroes alone, was discriminatory. Again, however, it refrained from outlawing these procedures in the hope that the Board would act of its own accord. The Board did abandon the residence criterion, but it refused to grant transfers to Negroes who failed to meet the special academic requirements set only for them. In September, 1962 the Court declared this procedure unconstitutional, stating that the "discrimination involved is too clear to require discussion." It conceded that academic considerations may form valid criteria for school assignment, but reminded the Board of the obvious constitutional requirement that such criteria, if used, must be applied to whites as well as Negroes.

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[1] The decision has been appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, but a stay of the Circuit Court's order was not granted.

For the next academic year, the import of the Court's decision for high school enrollment appears fairly clear: any Negro who wishes may be granted a transfer to Lane. Undoubtedly, all but a few Negroes will be assigned to Burley, but their right to transfer to Lane seems established. However, the present overcrowded condition of Lane may have some effect on the assignment of Negroes to it.

The immediate effect of the Court's September decision was to increase the number of Negroes in desegregated schools. Although classes had already begun, the Court would not delay further the admission of the plaintiff children. Nineteen additional Negroes were assigned to Venable and Lane, bringing the total in those two schools to sixty-three.

More important, four Negroes were assigned to Johnson Elementary School, ending desegregation there. Highly significant is the fact that no white children dropped out of Johnson. This underscores the extent to which the whites have come to accept the fact of desegregation. Moreover, no incidents have been reported at Johnson and the Negroes have received a friendly reception from both teachers and fellow pupils.

The future is complicated by the growing size of the school population and the overcrowding of Lane High School. With a "comfortable" operating capacity of 1,035, Lane's enrollment has grown to 1,200, and an increase to 1,400 is expected for next year. Aware of the need to expand school facilities, the city authorities began last year to plan for the future.

Last spring a special committee recommended to the School Board that a new high school be constructed in the northwestern part of the city. Had the Board adopted this policy, it would have been an indication of a desire to hew closely to the "containment" policy, for the new high school would have been in a section where no Negroes live. It would have become the "white" high school. Lane, the desegregated high school, would have served the southeastern section of the city, where segregationist sentiment is strong. The new high school could have been financed only by a bond issue, and it became clear to city officials (though of course never publicly stated) that a bond referendum would probably be defeated by an "unholy alliance" of Negroes and white segregationists in the Lane area.

Some members of the special committee favored a junior high school system for the city, but they had been requested not to include such a recommendation in their original report. Over the summer, however, sentiment changed and informed persons realized that the proposal to build a new high school was dead. In December the special committee made a second report, this time calling for the construction of three junior high schools.

The committee's report calls for enlarging Burley (the Negro high school) and converting it into a junior-senior high school. It recommends that two additional junior high schools be built "on sites located as strategically as possible." Precisely what assignment procedures would be used for the junior high schools is, of course, unknown, but the report contemplates the continuation of a dual educational system, with most of the Negro graduates of Jefferson going to Burley junior high and then to Burley senior high.

Negro leadership in the community is disappointed in the report. To enlarge and convert Burley into a junior-senior high school is regarded by the NAACP as a means of perpetuating segregation. The branch president has informed the School Board that the NAACP will object in court should this part of the proposal be adopted. He expressed the NAACP's approval of the idea of junior high schools as a solution to the city's educational problems, but requested the School Board to consult "Negro experts in the field of education and local Negro citizens...on plans which so vitally affect Negroes...."

The situation is in such flux at this writing that it would be foolish to speculate on the precise nature of decisions to be made in the next few weeks and months. Instead, we may conclude with some general observations which we hope will shed light on the direction of events in the future.

Nearly all signs point to a continued and slow but steady advance of desegregation. In the first place, recent School Board actions give some cause for encouragement. Before the decision had been reached to appeal the latest decision of the Fourth Circuit Court (a political decision in which Richmond played a part), the School Board chairman indicated his feeling that it would be a waste of money and effort to appeal. The Board also requested--and City Council enacted--a compulsory school attendance ordinance, even though the assignment plan had been upset. The apparent switch of the Board away from the new high school to the junior-high school idea was made despite the fact that the latter plan will involve more desegregation considerations.

In the past, the School Board has been accustomed to receiving criticism primarily from segregationists. This situation has changed markedly as educational matters have come to the forefront. Many parents, no longer fearful of desegregation, criticize the Board for what they consider to be lack of Board leadership in school problems. They maintain that school decisions based primarily on racial considerations frequently interfere with constructive planning. Continued desegregation, they point out, is inevitable, and greater educational gains will be made by accepting it rather than by seeking further useless means of resisting it.

The shifting attitude of the PTA is another indication of the general change in viewpoints now being expressed to the Board. When the public schools were closed in 1958, a resolution protesting school closing died in one PTA meeting for lack of a second. The subject was considered too controversial to discuss at PTA meetings. Today, the PTAs have lost their hesitancy and, under active leadership, play an important role in leading community acceptance of desegregation. For example, last year the School Board banned all school dances when they heard that Negroes were to attend a high school dance. The high school PTA Executive Committee protested to the Board, and the PTA members overwhelmingly supported the protest.

The firmness of Negro leadership, backed by an NAACP branch with over 1400 members, is another factor which indicates continued expansion of desegregation. To date, the NAACP's principal role has been in keeping the Charlottesville case in federal court, where the School Board's containment policy has been subjected to continuous scrutiny. A possible step in the future (although not now apparently under serious consideration) would be to request rezoning of the elementary school districts on the grounds that the present lines have the effect of containing nearly all of the Negroes in one school--a school which has 40% more students than any other city elementary school. The size of the Jefferson district might be reduced, with the result that more Negroes would be assigned to desegregated schools.

In conclusion, then, shifting sentiments within the white community and continued firmness in the Negro community indicate a steady and continued growth in desegregation. For many years to come, however, there is likely to be a considerable amount of voluntary segregation, especially among those who have had several years of segregated school experience. True integration--defined as the glad welcoming and full participation of Negroes in the public schools--

is not just around the corner.[1] Progress toward that end is apparent, but its achievement will depend heavily upon strong support for public schools and upon the extent to which those who understand the goal are willing to work for it.

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[1] It should be noted that, so long as public schools are supported, there is little reason to expect that complete integration would result in what some segregationists refer to as "engulfment." Only about 25% of the city school children are colored and Negroes will, therefore, always be a distinct minority in the school system.

APPENDIX I

THE CLOSING OF TWO PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE EMERGENCY PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The spring of 1958 was a time of real and deep soul searching for the people of Charlottesville. After hearing a local lawyer say, "The word at Court Square is that this is the year the schools will be closed," and after considering Governor Almond's advice to parents to set up small neighborhood schools in homes or wherever they could, the moderate voice in Charlottesville spoke. The fact that the moderate voice was heard early and with considerable strength helped to prevent Charlottesville's system of public schools from being destroyed.

The Venable Elementary School Parent-Teacher Association decided to poll the patrons of the school in an effort to determine what real opposition existed to the closing of the schools, even though keeping them open would involve desegregation. The poll went to the patrons of Venable (449 letters sent out, one to a family), whose children were to be in the school for the session 1958-1959. It read as follows: "If you are faced with the choice of either some measure of integration at Venable Public School or a closed Venable Public School what is your preference:

"a. Some measure of integration.
"b. A closed Venable Public School.

"Please check your preference and return, unsigned, in the enclosed envelope."

Three-hundred-five patrons responded to the poll, 177 or 58% checking "some measure of integration" while 128 or 42% checked "a closed Venable Public School." Following this PTA poll, a group of independent parents sent out a numbered poll to the parents of Venable children, to be signed by the parents, listing these questions:

I. Would you prefer for your children to attend:

    a. Integrated schools
    b. Segregated schools

II. In the event integration does take place would you prefer for your children to attend:

a. Integrated schools
b. Segregated private schools (tuition grant supported).

Two hundred families responded to this poll, of which 14 checked "integrated school," 186 checked "segregated schools," and 179 checked "segregated private schools (tuition grant supported)."

The Venable PTA Executive Board then released the following statement which was published in the Daily Progress, the local newspaper:

> The Venable Public School PTA Board has received inquiries concerning the purpose of the Poll which it conducted. The Board thought it would be helpful for the responsible authorities to have a realistic expression of how the people directly involved felt about the choices available. Our schools have been ordered by the Federal Court to desegregate by September 1, 1958, while our State laws provide that if our schools comply they will be closed. The questions asked in the PTA Board poll were not invented by the Board, but in fact are those offered by our government. We felt that a poll to determine whether or not the patrons of Venable prefer a segregated public school would serve no useful purpose. We do not believe that such a choice is available. Nor do we believe adequate private schools can be provided for all children. The Board feels that the best interests of the people of Virginia require the continuation of public schools and the Board's efforts have been directed solely toward this end.

From these two polls and from the conflict which followed their release, two definite camps of thought and action developed in Charlottesville: one developed into the Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling, which was dedicated to the preservation of the public school system, and the other into the Charlottesville Educational Foundation (CEF), which planned for private, tuition-grant supported schools.

Many people in Virginia believed that, when the schools would be closed under the "massive resistance" laws, a way would be found for private organizations to buy the white public schools and run them as private schools, using the same buildings, teachers, principals and school superintendents. Thus the Negro schools would be the public schools and the white schools would be private and supported by public money. This was the first approach used by the CEF when its members called parents of white public school students to ask them to join that organization.

In the meantime, a group of mothers, all of whom were on the PTA Board of Venable Elementary School, began to meet quietly in their homes and plan for educating their children, as the Governor had suggested. The plan was as simple as this--to provide space in private homes, hire a few Venable teachers who would be unemployed if the school closed, use the Venable curriculum, and be prepared to return to the Venable school when it reopened, whether integrated or segregated. As other parents of Venable school children heard of this plan, they asked to participate. As the number of children in the plan increased, more space in private homes was obtained and more teachers contacted. The salaries of the teachers was to be borne by the parents involved and the teachers were to work without contract, with the understanding that they would return to the public schools when they reopened. When operation of this makeshift school began in September, 1958, there were fifteen elementary classes and well over 300 children enrolled.

In trying to establish this temporary school, it was realized that some business entity would be needed through which the employment of teachers and other personnel and the purchasing of equipment, as well as the receiving and disbursing of funds, could be conveniently and expeditiously handled. The group wanted to have an employer organization that would insure the teachers their retirement rights in the event the School Board of the city of Charlottesville did not honor its contracts with the teachers. It was also desired to have an organization which would be exempt from income taxation by State and Federal authorities.

Lawyers advised that a non-stock corporation under the Virginia laws could be formed immediately at very little expense, and would provide the members of the group protection from possible liabilities that might arise in connection with running a school. So a non-stock corporation was organized under the provision of Chapter 12 of Title 13.1 of the Code of Virginia. The name given to the corporation was the Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling.

On September 5, 1958, the School Board was informed by letter of the incorporation, that private facilities had been secured and inspected, and that preliminary arrangements with teachers had been made to teach all seven elementary grades, with the intention to return children and teachers to the Venable Public School when it reopened.

On September 19, 1958, the School Board announced that it would honor the teachers' contracts for the school year 1958-59 and that the teachers were free to volunteer their services wherever they chose. Thus, with the teachers' contracts honored, the only expense for teachers to the private schools was for substitute teachers. Incidental expenses were paid from an assessment fee charged each parent.

* * * * *

The Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling was originally organized to provide temporary schooling for displaced Venable elementary pupils only. Toward the end of the summer of 1958 two Parent Committee families and other parents with high school students began making plans for a high school program during the school closing. A member of the Parents Committee was elected chairman of this group, and they immediately began to find classroom space, sign up students, and secure teachers.

Their first idea was to employ and pay the salaries of a few Lane High School teachers, who presumably would not be working while Lane was closed. These teachers and students would return to Lane when it reopened. (At this time no public announcement had been made that the teachers would be kept under contract and their salaries paid while the schools were closed. There was a 30 day termination clause in their contracts, which would have permitted the city to cancel them if it wished. This group of parents of high school students now requested the Parents Committee to expand its operation to include a high school division. This request was granted.

When a request was made by this group to a school official for use of some Lane High School teachers, they were told that none would be available and that other plans had already been made for the teachers.

During the summer of 1958 the Charlottesville Educational Foundation was making extensive plans to sign up Lane and Venable School students and to establish permanent private schools, supported by tuition grants, modelled on the Prince Edward County plan.

It is not clear, even today, how much cooperation, if any, city officials gave the CEF, or whether their plans had city approval. However, on September 19, 1958, before public announcement of the Parents Committee's decision to provide high school education, city officials invited representatives of the Parents Committee to meet with them and with CEF representatives, and proposed that the Parents Committee confine itself to the elementary school program, leaving the high school operation completely to the CEF.

The Parents Committee took this proposal to its directors the same night. After failing to get adequate assurance from the CEF that they intended to discontinue school operations and return students and teachers to Lane High School when it reopened, and unable to get the CEF to endorse Mayor Michie's inaugural address, which stated his support of public education, the Parents Committee voted to continue its plans for operating both high school and elementary school programs.

On September 22, at a Lane High School faculty meeting, a letter from the CEF was given to the teachers, explaining that since the CEF and the Parents Committee were unable to reconcile their differing points of view about the ultimate fate of the public schools, the CEF intended to proceed with its plans to operate a high school and an elementary school program. They asked that the teachers come with their organization. Following is the letter from the CEF:

September 21, 1958

To the Teaching and Supervisory Personnel
of Lane High and Venable Schools:

As you know, the Charlottesville Education Foundation and the Parents Committee for Emergency Education are the two principal organizations formed for the purpose of operating substitute school programs in place of those previously offered by Venable School and Lane High School. Both organizations have limited their plans to the period when the public schools are closed. The Parents Committee will go out of existence entirely at the end of that period. The Foundation's present program will terminate at the same time, but it will remain in existence in case of subsequent public school closings and also as a vehicle for those of its members who may later wish to organize a new program for private schools, if sufficient demand exists. No member, employee or patron of the Foundation is committed to continue with it beyond the time the public schools reopen.

The Foundation has, from its inception, offered its facilities to any resident of Charlottesville without regard to his views on the many controversial aspects of the present school problem. Our entire policy has been based upon the belief that all of us are entitled to the maximum degree of independence of thought and action and of freedom of choice compatible with civic order. Our membership numbers over 2,000 and our organization is operated by nineteen directors representing every section of Charlottesville and holding widely varying opinions concerning the moral and political aspects of the school problem.

In view of the similarity of aims of this Foundation and the Parents Committee during the present emergency, many persons believed that the members of both organizations could and should overlook any personal differences concerning the political aspects of the school problem and the best methods to be followed in arriving at an ultimate solution, in order that wasteful competition might be eliminated and the mutual desires more quickly accomplished. During the past weekend, representatives of both groups conferred informally several times. The purpose of these informal contacts was to attempt to work out an agreement that the Foundation would assume full authority and responsibility for establishing and operating emergency school facilities to replace Lane High School, and that the Parents Committee would do the same for Venable Elementary School.

A sincere effort to effect such an agreement upon terms acceptable to the governing bodies of both organizations was made by the representatives who acted as emissaries. The governing bodies had little difficulty in reaching agreement concerning some differences in planned operational methods for the schools themselves, and it appeared that full agreement was virtually certain as soon as a joint public statement had been approved. The representatives of the Foundation submitted a suggested announcement which stated quite briefly and simply that both organizations were willing to overlook the individual differences of opinion on the school issue in order to discharge quickly and efficiently their common essential purpose and to promote the welfare of the children in this emergency. The statement further emphasized that the beliefs and policies of neither organization had changed.

The governing body of the Parents Committee refused to join in that suggested statement and further indicated that it would not enter into the basic agreement unless the Foundation would join in a joint public statement reiterating several of the previously published views held by the members of the Parents Committee's governing body with regard to the proper solution of the entire school problem. The Foundation's representatives considered such a joint statement unnecessary and irrelevant to the proposed agreement. More importantly, such a statement by the Foundation would have been a complete violation of our basic policy of freedom of thought, choice and action for all our members. The Parents Committee group has every right to its opinions, individually and collectively, but that does not include the right to force those opinions upon any member of the Foundation.

I have gone to considerable length to relate to you the history of the recent efforts to reach an agreement between these two groups because I believe that you, as teachers who are being requested to volunteer your services, have a stake in the matter which entitles you to know the facts. I believe you were hoping for agreement. We should have welcomed agreement but, under the existing circumstances, the Foundation has no choice except to proceed with its plans to operate substitute programs for both Venable School and Lane High School until those schools may be legally reopened.

Very truly yours,

W. M. Pope
President
Charlottesville Educational
Foundation

At the same meeting the Superintendent of schools announced that the School Board would honor the teachers' contracts:

September 22, 1958

TO: Teachers at Lane and Venable

FROM: Fendall R. Ellis, Superintendent

SUBJECT: Joint Resolutions Adopted by the City Council and School Board on September 19, 1958.

The City Council and School Board of the City of Charlottesville met on Friday afternoon, September 19, at 4:00 o'clock at City Hall and adopted two resolutions which reflect the views of these bodies on two matters pertaining to the present school situation.

The first resolution advises parents of the city to make the best private arrangements they can for the education of their children during the period public schools are closed. The full resolution is quoted below:

> "Because of circumstances beyond the control of the City Council and the School Board, we have been required by State Law to relinquish to the Governor all authority over Venable Elementary School and Lane High School. There are so many imponderables involved that no one can predict with certainty how many weeks or months these schools will be closed or on what basis they may ultimately be reopened. The Council and School Board believe that the

> parents of children involved would be well advised to make the best private arrangements possible concerning the schooling of their children during this period of uncertainty."

The second resolution is designed to reassure teachers in schools that are closed that their contracts will not be jeopardized because of the present school emergency. This resolution reads as follows:

> "RESOLVED, that in order to reassure the teachers at Lane High and Venable Elementary schools, in view of action of the Governor in taking over control of these schools, the City Council and the School Board hereby reaffirm their intention of standing by the contracts between the teachers and the School Board."

The Lane High teachers at this meeting voted against operating under the CEF, but stated their wish to volunteer their services as a unit to teach while schools were closed, provided they had full charge of the teaching program. They elected the late Dr. David McKeith as their spokesman, and issued the following statement.

TEACHERS' RESOLUTION

We, the teachers of Lane High School, have as our sole aim the education of all the children of Lane High School. We believe that this basic aim is shared by the Charlottesville Educational Foundation and the Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling, and therefore, in order to achieve our common purpose, we submit the following plan:

1. That immediate steps be taken to effect the formation of a single organization through which the teachers of Lane High School can work as a single volunteer group and offer their services to all Lane High School students who wish them;

2. That a conference composed of Mr. W. I. Nickels, principal of Lane High School, and other representatives of the teachers and of the educational groups involved meet immediately to implement a satisfactory plan;

3. That when this plan is effected, the actual conduct of the emergency educational program be completely in the hands of the teachers and their elected Chairman, Mr. W. I. Nickels.

Privately, some of the teachers expressed their fear of being taken over by the CEF group, which they thought was hoping to circumvent the federal court order by the establishment of permanent private schools to replace the public schools.

On September 23rd, in response to the teachers' resolution, a group composed of six Lane High teachers, three members of the Parents Committee, and three members of the CEF met to find some arrangement agreeable to the teachers for providing high school classes.

At this time, the teachers made it clear to the CEF that they were united in their decision not to participate in the CEF's original program. Because of the teachers' decision, the CEF reluctantly agreed to join with the Parents Committee in forming a new group to provide temporary schooling:

PRESS RELEASE FROM CEF

> The C.E.F. has agreed, in deference to the wishes of the Lane High School teachers, to the establishment of an unincorporated organization to be known as the Joint High School Committee. Three members of our Foundation and three representatives of the Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling have been named to this Committee. We do not believe that formation of this new organization should have been necessary for the establishment of an efficient substitute high school program. After many weeks of diligent effort by members of our Foundation,

our plans to provide facilities for such a program for the Senior class were complete. Our registration has been completed for that class and the Seniors' classroom program was to begin today. We were on the point of announcing similar plans for the other classes. Classroom space was rapidly being made available to care for the students.

At this point, the Parents Committee's High School Division, representing a small minority of high school children and their parents, first made its existence known. In spite of our clearly defined policy requiring no commitment concerning the individual views of our members and patrons, and in spite of our agreement to waive membership requirements, the members of the Parents Committee refused to participate in our well-established program, but set about to organize their own program and called upon some Lane High teachers to provide instruction for their children.

The high school teachers, in a desire to conserve their abilities for the benefit of all high school children, then united and called upon both organizations to form a single organization to which they could volunteer their services as a group. This Joint High School Committee is the result.

Our Foundation has agreed to this new Committee, not because our members consider it desirable, but because refusal to agree could only result in further delay in inaugurating a school program... Were it not for our confidence in our group of teachers and in their determination to educate our children, we would not agree to join in this new organization.

I make this statement in order to explain to our large membership and to the public the circumstances and motives which led us to accept this new plan for our high school students. Regardless of our reluctance to accept this new plan, the representatives of our Foundation will extend full cooperation to the other members of the Joint High School Committee so that further unnecessary delay will be avoided and a successful high school program may be conducted.

So in effect, a group of teachers stood together and forced the segregationists and the local group defending the public school system to join in a cooperative effort to provide temporary schooling for displaced Lane students. This new group was to be called the Joint Committee. (The Parents Committee and the CEF continued to provide elementary schooling separately.)

The Joint Committee was established as a temporary measure to exist for the emergency only and to cease functioning when public schools reopened. The Committee was made up of three members each from the Parents Committee and CEF. A member of the Parents Committee was elected chairman. Their first press release follows:

PRESS RELEASE FROM MEETING BETWEEN TEACHERS, CEF, PARENTS COMMITTEE

Since the Lane High School teachers have expressed their desire to serve as a unit and to volunteer their services to a single group, the representatives of the Charlottesville Educational Foundation and the Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling have agreed upon a plan to form a committee composed of individuals of both groups. This committee will have full authority and responsibility to operate schooling for the period during which Lane High School is closed.

Representatives of the Charlottesville Educational Foundation and the Parent's Committee for Emergency Schooling are to report to their respective governing bodies in order to secure approval of this plan and to arrange for the selection of persons to serve on the Joint Committee. If this plan is adopted, the conduct of the educational program will be the sole responsibility of the teachers.

The plan of the Charlottesville Educational Foundation to begin classes for the Senior Class on Wednesday, September 24th, has been temporarily suspended pending approval of the joint plan.

So in effect, a group of teachers stood together and forced the segregationists and the local group defending the public school system to join in a cooperative effort to provide temporary schooling for displaced Lane students. This new group was to be called the Joint Committee. (The Parents Committee and the CEF continued to provide elementary schooling separately.)

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JOINT RESOLUTION OF LANE HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS COMMITTEE, CHARLOTTESVILLE EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION, AND PARENTS COMMITTEE - HIGH SCHOOL DIVISION

WHEREAS the high school teachers, formerly teachers at Lane High School, acting through their committee representatives, have conferred at length with representatives of the Charlottesville Educational Foundation and the high school division of the Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling concerning the establishment of a single organization for operation of a substitute program for the period during which Lane High School is closed;

and WHEREAS, a proposed plan resulting from these conferences has been approved by the entire teachers' group and by the governing bodies of Charlottesville Educational Foundation and the high school division of the Parents Committee;

Now be it resolved as follows:

1. That an unincorporated organization to be known as the Joint High School Committee is hereby created with full authority and responsibility to establish and operate a substitute high school program during the period that Lane High School is closed.

2. Said Joint High School Committee shall be composed of six members, three of whom shall be chosen by the governing body of said Foundation and three by the governing body of said Parents Committee.

3. The members of said teachers group will volunteer their services to operate the instructional aspect of said program and shall have complete authority and responsibility in that field....

The actual operation of the Joint Committee was simple and workable only because the teachers, working under their principal, had their work plans, books and rolls. The main hardship was that classes had to be held in many different places. Facilities in churches, office buildings, local men's clubs and the laboratory at a local technical institute were used. The Joint Committee charged each student a monthly fee of $2.50 which covered utilities and janitor services in these buildings.

The sharpest change for the students and teachers was in the scheduling of classes. Because of the scattered classrooms, the teachers decided to schedule one subject each day for five hours, e.g., Latin for five hours on Monday, algebra on Tuesday, etc. The concensus was that the better students profited from the arrangement but weaker students found it more difficult. Classes were held from 8:00 to 1:00 Monday through Saturday, in order to conform to the six period per day schedule customary at Lane, and also to avoid lunch hour complications.

The teachers volunteered their services, but continued to be paid their salaries by the city. The Joint Committee paid substitute teachers when needed.

The legality of the teachers' salaries being paid by the city was raised by a court ruling on October 9, and the Joint Committee, after a prolonged soul-searching meeting, announced publicly that it would accept Negro students if they applied.

PRESS RELEASE FROM JOINT COMMITTEE

October 2, 1958

In view of the numerous statements made by the President of the United States, the Governor of the State of Virginia and other prominent persons, official and unofficial, the Joint High School Committee of Charlottesville, Virginia wishes to make the following four points:

1. There has never been and there is not now any desire or intention on the part of the Members of this

Committee, individually, or as a Committee, either to circumvent Federal court decisions or violate laws of the State of Virginia.

2. This Committee has not considered it to be one of the functions to debate any issues. The Committee has, therefore, avoided making public statements of opinion or commenting on such statements of others.

3. The function of the Joint High School Committee has been and is to provide emergency schooling for displaced students of Lane High School during the period of Lane High School's closing.

4. The willingness and ability of the community of Charlottesville TO JOIN TOGETHER IN A COMMON OBJECTIVE, i.e., emergency schools, while putting aside differing points of view give excellent hope for continued community cooperation in taking action in the future.

An interesting note is the reaction of various churches to requests for use of their facilities as classrooms. One Episcopal church and several Baptist and Methodist churches after a vote by the governing bodies of the churches made their space available to the Charlottesville Educational Foundation for use as private segregated schools and later to the Joint Committee. One Episcopal church offered its space to the Parents Committee with the provision that no Negro child would be turned away if he applied. The one Unitarian church offered its space to the Parents Committee with the provision that Negro applicants would be accepted. One Presbyterian church was used by the Joint Committee with the understanding that it was not being used to circumvent the Federal court order. One Presbyterian church refused use of the space at all, for fear it would be interpretated as attempted circumvention, even though it had been assured that no such intention existed.

On October 9, Judge Paul, of the U. S. District Court, ruled that public school teachers could not be used by the emergency schools if the emergency schools refused the application of one or all of the colored children assigned by Federal Court Order to Venable and Lane. If the Parents Committee decided to accept the colored children, two problems would arise: (1) would it be wise to continue to use private homes to house the school rooms? (2) would the governor allow the public school teachers to teach in an integrated private school, or would he withdraw them?

With the above dilemma facing them, the directors of the Parents Committee secured a complete faculty of teachers to take over in case the public school teachers withdrew from the emergency school program, since the Parents Committee had decided to accept as students any of the colored children assigned by the Federal Court to Venable and Lane; the Negro community was advised of this decision.

A word must be said here about the dignity and restraint of the colored people involved in this emergency. The colored children assigned to Venable Public School could have applied to the emergency schools, but they did not because they felt this action would cause additional problems and would not accomplish their desire of having public facilities opened to them.

In January 1959 the Virginia Supreme Court struck down as unconstitutional the State's massive resistance laws. On January 15, a member of the Board of Directors of the CEF announced that a group of parents planned to present City Council with petitions asking that Lane and Venable not be reopened during the remainder of the 1958-59 school term. On the same day the Parents Committee sent notices to the parents of the children enrolled in its school that "should the School Board reopen the public schools in accordance with any change in State laws, all the teachers working with the Parents Committee for Emergency Schooling are ready to return to Venable with their classes. To avoid confusion and disruption the formation of the present classes will be maintained as closely as possible." In this way, the School Board knew that if they reopened the schools, the children and the teachers in the Parents Committee schools would be there.

On January 26, 1959, the Charlottesville School Board resolved to "resume the operation of Venable Elementary School and Lane High School." On January 27, the City Council unanimously voted to cooperate with and support the School Board in complying with the decree of the district court. On the basis of these steps, the U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals issued a stay on a lower court order requiring desegregation of two Charlottesville Schools to give the School Board "reasonable time to accomplish the administrative adjustments essential to a positive and effective transition from a racially segregated to a non-segregated public school system in Charlottesville...." On February 3, 1959, Lane and Venable reopened quietly without incident.

In trying to draw some conclusions from the Charlottesville experience of 1958-59, one paramount observation is that Mayor Thomas J. Michie's inaugural statement concerning the conduct he expected of the people of Charlottesville, his support of the public school system of Virginia, and his determination to maintain law and order at any price, provided a framework within which the people of Charlottesville approached a solution to their problems. The following is a partial quote from Mayor Michie's speech:

> ...Our immediate problem is, of course, the school question. We do not know just what course events in the next few weeks or months or even years may take.
>
> But I do know this, and I know that every member of this Council, and I believe also every member of the School Board, will be guided in whatever action we take by these principles: Respect for our courts and their orders, a determination to preserve law and order in this city at any cost, and a determination to do everything in our power to preserve our public school system.
>
> I know that we shall all be guided by those principles in what we do. But, to be guided by those principles, we may, therefore, be compelled to take action which will be distasteful to every member of this Council and of the School Board, distasteful to the overwhelmingly majority of those of our citizens who may be more effected by it--and actually abhorrent to any who feel most strongly about it.
>
> If this is to be the case, I must urge our citizens to remain calm and to accept what may be forced upon us as good citizens should. There may be some, quite possibly agitators from other areas, who will argue that our citizens should take matters in their own hands and try by physical violence to prevent

> obedience to the laws of the courts....I have enough confidence in the good sense of our people.... there will be no violence..., but I must warn all those agitators who may endeavor to make trouble that violence and mob action will not be tolerated here....

All of the varying degrees of opinion were brought into clear focus by the necessity to provide education for the children. The controversial issues were often subordinated in an effort to make the operation workable. At the same time, no legal position was ever compromised nor any Federal Court Order ever evaded or defied. As a result of the primary emphasis not always being on the legal and moral issues, there was communication between the opposing factions at all times.

In this way, schooling was provided for the children during the emergency, and our long range goal of preserving public schools was accomplished. Because of the way issues were resolved, many people who had been frightened by the prospect of desegregation returned their children to the public schools after integration was an accomplished fact. At the same time, the segregationists were provided a way out through tuition-grant supported schools. Although on principle the Parents Committee opposed tuition grants, it must be admitted that they made possible the peaceful transition from segregated to desegregated schools.

The determination of the public school administration to maintain the highest scholastic standards has since resolved the doubts in many minds concerning the deteriorating effects desegration might have.

* * * * *

CONCLUSIONS REACHED BY ONE MEMBER OF THE PARENTS COMMITTEE ABOUT THE CHARLOTTESVILLE EXPERIENCE

1. Why didn't things go in Charlottesville as they did in Prince Edward County, where the schools were closed?

Because there was a moderate voice, and it made itself heard soon enough to keep from being steam-rollered out of existence. The moderate group found one another and banded together soon enough to mean something. We were frightened at first, but actually our group was not attacked. Why? Because we were doing a tangible job taking care of children, not just talking in space. Although many groups and other organizations were sympathetic, our work was done alone. The viability and practicality of what we were doing made us acceptable, where equally well-meaning groups who stood for public schools and human rights and related causes were watched rather than joined. The fact that there was a body of uninflammatory PTA mothers ready to help made it easier for the city officials to pursue the moderate course.

2. What if the Parents Emergency Committee had never organized?

Most of the public schools would have been commandeered by the CEF (the segregationists). A few teachers might have objected, but in the face of no alternative, and with the "good of the children" held up as a goal, most would have gone along. Without the alternative that we offered, a fraction only would have returned when the public schools opened integrated.

3. What lessons could be learned from the Charlottesville experience?

For me, the lesson was that average decent people can do far more than they ever dream, if they stand together and speak moderately for reasonable goals. It took only 10 of us to get things going in a moderate alternative path. We would have been sunk without the teachers, but it was a bare handful of teachers that moved the rest of them in our direction.

Sending children to school is a comfortable middle-class thing for most of us, not a crusade. There has to be a comfortable middle-class group keeping their children in the schools to make integrating them anything but a Phyrric victory for the courts. Many dubious and undecided people went with us largely because of the teachers, and ended by going with us all the way, even back to integrated public schools.

APPENDIX II

SURVEY OF EXPERIENCES OF NEGRO STUDENTS IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS

To determine the impact of school desegregation on the Negroes involved in it, questionnaires were presented to forty-four Negro students and their parents. (See sample questionnaire attached.) This number of interviews was based on the total Negro enrollment in desegregated schools as of September, 1962. Thirty-six questionnaires were completed, and their findings are summarized below.

Sixty-three per cent of the students gave an affirmative answer when asked whether school officials or students offered moral support during the first days at school. This reply was particularly frequent among the earliest entrants. Examples given included: (1) shaking hands; (2) sharing lockers and tables in the library and cafeteria; and (3) walking together to and from classes.

Reactions to the attitudes of the white students already enrolled included: (1) none said the whites were hostile; (2) 45% said they were neutral; (3) 55% said they were friendly. Thirty-seven per cent said these attitudes were displayed more immediately than gradually. Among the gradual number, 19% reported a change to more friendliness, 2% to less friendliness, and the remaining percentage found no change at all.

One hundred per cent of the students said no violence whatsoever was encountered. Fifty-four per cent met some unpleasant treatment which, for the most part, was limited to name calling; only one student indicated that an attempt was made to throw something at him. School officials were alerted to these things at the time. Most students had great difficulty in recalling any unpleasant treatment. Especially noted was the contrast in answers between the students who entered in 1959 and those who entered in 1962--only one instance of name calling was reported in 1962.

Over 50% of the students felt that the quality of education was better than in previous schools attended. Sixty-seven per cent found a greater variety of courses offered and 59% found the equipment more adequate. An example cited was the existence of microscopes in the desegregated elementary schools, whereas no microscopes had been seen in the Negro elementary school. Twenty-seven per cent of the students were unable to make a comparison of the educational standards--indications were that they had not been there long enough to evaluate the situation completely.

One-hundred per cent of the students found the teachers friendly and helpful. While 22% felt left out of classroom participation at times, 78% felt they were included just as often as they made themselves available.

While 67% felt participation in extra-curricular activities was allowed, only one student actually takes part in the concert band, 3 in preparatory band, none in concert choir, 4 in the "treble choir" and none in athletics. The students' opinions were equally divided as to whether the school officials encourage or disapprove their participation. However, all eighth graders felt that most extra-curricular activities are encouraged, beginning with the summer program preceding the ninth grade.

Ninety per cent of the students felt that their neighbors' reactions toward their attending a desegregated school were congratulatory. No neighbors were critical; 10% were indifferent.

Forty-six per cent of the students had feelings of anxiety or tension; 14% greatly so, 32% only slightly. When asked if they were ever afraid, 37% replied sometimes, 59% responded never. Again, attention may be called to the fact that the students registering greatest anxiety were those who enrolled in the first year of desegregation--1959-1960. This feeling of anxiety was definitely not expressed by those who enrolled more recently. Also, though slight tension was mentioned, 59% stated, without reservation, that they were never afraid.

The students' attitudes toward attending a desegregated school were as follows: 37% were eager to attend, 13% most eager, 37% indifferent, and 13% reluctant. Sixty-seven per cent of the parents noticed that the students had greater motivation to learn; in addition 77% noted that homework seemed more difficult and massive. Eighty per cent of the parents attend PTA meetings, but only 2% serve on committees. Committee work is on a volunteer basis, and parents who had been in the desegregated system only nine weeks expressed the desire to begin committee work the ensuing year.

Sixty-eight per cent of the parents had held conferences with teachers. Fifty-nine per cent felt that their children appeared to miss nothing from the old school, but 14% expressed unhappiness in the desegregated school. Reasons given were: (1) restraint or curbing of full and complete participation in extra-curricular activities, (2) difficulty in maintaining the usual scale of grades obtained in previous schools.

Friends made among the white students reached a percentage of 67%. Fifty-one per cent studied together, 2% at each other's homes. Thirty-seven per cent related pleasant associations as occurring during the recess or lunch period. Twenty-seven per cent said they did not completely feel like "one of the bunch." Sixty-seven per cent declared that enrollment in a desegregated school had not affected usual friendships.

Whereas 57% of the parents felt that the existence of private schools might create a defective public school system inasmuch as funds might be cut that otherwise would be allotted to the public school system, this same percentage of parents felt that the existence of private schools served a useful purpose in reducing possible feelings of belligerency. At the same time, these parents expressed very strongly the idea that private schools should be maintained by private funds and not from the taxpayer's purse. Ninety-six per cent felt that desegregation had gone smoothly. Perhaps the most varied and divided opinions of the parents in the entire questionnaire were concerned with whether the existence of private schools had been a major factor contributing to smoothness in the desegregation process. Forty-eight per cent felt that private schools had not been a major factor. Other answers about the private schools included: "perhaps," "to a certain extent," "partly," and "not necessarily." Smoothness was also attributed to the positive stand of acceptance that the city and school officials took during this crisis.

* * * * *

QUESTIONNAIRE ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN CHARLOTTESVILLE. (AS PRESENTED TO NEGRO PARENTS AND STUDENTS DIRECTLY INVOLVED.)

TO THE STUDENT

1. Was there an example of a school official or student who offered moral support to you during your first days at school?

2. What were the attitudes of the white students already enrolled?

   a. hostile b. very hostile c. neutral d. friendly
   e. unfriendly

   1. Were these attitudes gradual or immediate?

3. Have you noticed any change in any of these attitudes? How?

4. Have you met with any unpleasant treatment?

   a. name calling b. violence c. other

   1. If so, were the school officials informed? Their reaction?

5. What is your impression as to the quality of education as compared with previous standards?

   a. Is there a lesser or greater variety of courses?
   b. Is the equipment more adequate or less?

6. How are the teachers attitudes?

   a. friendly b. indifferent c. unfriendly d. helpful
   e. unhelpful

7. Do you ever feel left out of classroom participation? Or unexpectedly included?

   a. Would you say that you generally participate as often as you make yourself available to do so?

8. Are any Negro students chosen to represent the class as officers or as student council members?

9. Are you allowed to participate in extra-curricular activities, i.e., band, chorus, athletics?

   a. What is the attitude of the school officials in this respect? Encouragement or Disapproval?

TO THE PARENT

1. What was your child's attitude toward going to a desegregated school?

   a. eager b. very eager c. indifferent d. reluctant
   e. very reluctant

      1. Has his attitude changed since he has been in school? How?
      2. Is he as happy or less happy?

2. In what ways, if any, does the scholastic situation seem better?

   a. Does the student have greater or less motivation to learn?

      1. Do lessons seem as easy or more difficult?
      2. Is homework heavier or lighter?

3. Do you attend P.T.A. meetings? Do you serve on any committee?

4. Have you had any conferences with your child's teachers?

5. Do you feel that the student misses anything from the old school?

6. Is there anything he seems unhappy about in the desegregated school?

7. Does he have any friends among the white students?

   a. Do they study together? at school? at each others homes?
   b. Does he relate any pleasant or unpleasant associations during the recess or lunch period?
   c. Do you think he actually feels like "one of the bunch."

8. Has his enrollment in the integrated school affected his usual friends who are not in an integrated school? If so, has he worried about this?

9. Do you consider the existence of private schools a good or bad influence upon the public school system?

10. Inasmuch as some citizens feel the private school system serves as a "safety valve" for racial tensions, do you feel it is worth the money spent in the tuition grant program to maintain this system?

11. Do you feel that desegregation has gone smoothly?

12. If so, would you say that the existence of private schools has been a major factor towards this smoothness?

TO THE PARENT AND STUDENT

1. What were your neighbors' reactions toward attendance in the desegregated school?

   a. congratulatory b. indifferent c. critical

2. Did you have any feeling of anxiety or tension?

   a. If so, were these feelings great or slight?
   b. Were you ever, sometimes, or never afraid?

[1962, Dec]

ACTION! ACTION!

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights is backing rules changes in the Senate (to shut ① off filibusters) and in the House (to loosen the grip ② of the Rules Committee) so that the new Congress convening in January will be able to enact meaningful civil rights legislation. The attached Memorandum explains the changes in the rules of the Senate and House being pushed by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

The organizations in the Leadership Conference, including our own, are working hard to get these rules changes adopted when Congress opens on January 9, 1963. The local groups of all the Leadership Conference constituent organizations are being asked to contact the Senators and Congressmen from their state right now and most vigorously urge them to support these rules changes.

Your Senators and Congressmen are likely to be at home now, or they almost certainly will be home at some time before the first of the year. Please ask

* Your Senator to support a change in the Senate rules to stop filibusters;
* Your Congressmen to support a change in the House rules so the Rules Committee cannot block legislation;
* Your newspapers to support both these rules changes.

Contact your Senators and Congressmen now and work with the other civil rights organizations in your community to persuade them to support the principles in the attached Memorandum.

MEMORANDUM OF LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS ON CONGRESSIONAL RULES CHANGES NEEDED TO ACHIEVE MAJORITY RULE AND OBTAIN CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION IN THE 88TH CONGRESS

Rule 22 in the Senate and the Rules Committee of the House have long been impassable roadblocks to meaningful civil rights legislation. If the 88th Congress is to redeem the pledges for civil rights legislation which the two parties made in their 1960 party platforms and their 1960 and 1962 campaign documents, something has to be done about both Senate Rule 22 and the House Rules Committee when Congress meets in January.

There is a historic opportunity in the upcoming 88th Congress to pass strong civil rights legislation. Bills will be promptly introduced in the new Congress providing for immediate school desegregation, empowering the Attorney General to enforce civil rights in federal courts (Part III), providing an effective Federal Fair Employment Practices agency, abolishing literacy tests for voting and other measures. The fate of these various bills may well depend upon what can be done at the opening of Congress on Senate Rule 22 and on the House Rules Committee. The filibuster rule and the House Rules Committee are a legislative morgue awaiting these civil rights bills; action now on both items can give these bills real life.

To this end, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights is making an all-out drive:

(i) To change Rule 22 of the Senate to permit a majority of the total Senate (i.e., 51 Senators) to close debate and get to a vote after an adequate period of full and fair debate, and

(ii) To permit any Committee of the House, after the Rules Committee has refused a rule for a period of 21 or more days, to call up legislation on the floor of the House for debate and vote.

Majority Rule in the Senate

At the present time, it takes two-thirds of the Senators present and voting to close debate and get to a vote. The Southerners and their allies have always been able to muster more than a third of the votes in opposition to closing debate on civil rights bills, so they have been able to defeat entirely or hopelessly water down civil rights legislation. King Filibuster is a Berlin Wall against meaningful civil rights legislation.

Because of this, Senators Humphrey and Hart on the Democratic side, and Senators Javits, Kuchel, Case and Scott on the Republican side, have already announced that they will move on January 9, the opening day of the new Congress, to obtain a new Rule 22 providing that a majority of the total Senate can close debate and get to a vote.

At the opening of the Senate of a new Congress, a majority can determine the rules of the Senate for that Congress before the old rules are fastened upon the body. We now have a majority of the Senate ready to enact a new Rule 22 -- counting those who have supported the fight to change Rule 22 at the opening of the Senate in earlier years and those who have committed themselves directly to the Leadership Conference or to one of its constituent organizations earlier this year. What is needed now is to build up as large a majority as possible for some change in Rule 22 and to get as many of those who believe in some change to agree to support majority rule.

Some Senators have indicated that they are willing to go for a new Rule 22 providing that three-fifths of those present and voting can close debate (rather than two-thirds as at present), but are not prepared to go for cloture by a majority of the total Senate (51 votes). A change to three-fifths is certainly better than nothing, but it is not nearly as good as majority cloture. Assuming that 96 of the 100 Senators vote on cloture (and votes on important issues do run that high), three-fifths of those present and voting will be 58 Senators or 7 more than a majority of the total Senate. These 7 votes are the hardest to get for they will have to come from Senators not particularly committed to the cause of civil rights. Every effort should be made to persuade the Senators who are willing to go for three-fifths cloture to take the really significant step and go for cloture by 51 Senators. They should be told that the difference between majority cloture and three-fifths cloture may spell the difference between cloture and no cloture and thus between civil rights legislation and no civil rights legislation. President Kennedy supported majority cloture as a Senator.

Some opponents of the Leadership Conference position argue that there is no real benefit in changing Rule 22 because it will not be possible to get three-fifths or even a majority to vote for cloture. This is in part predicated upon the fact that it was not possible to obtain a majority for cloture on the Administration's literacy test bill last year. But this was due largely to the lack of any real drive for the literacy test bill, to the half-hearted way in which the effort at cloture on the bill was handled, and to the hopelessness in getting the required two-thirds vote.

There is every reason to believe that 51 Senators would back cloture on a bill that the Administration, the Senate leadership and the civil rights organizations were vigorously supporting.

There are also those who make the exact opposite argument that the Senate does not need a change in Rule 22 in order to stop a filibuster and they point to the cloture vote last year on the Communications Satellite bill. But this was not a civil rights bill and enough Southerners stayed away to permit a successful cloture vote. What the Communications Satellite episode really proves is (i) that there are a number of Senators who will vote for cloture to help economic interests but not minority groups, and (ii) the Southerners' so-called "principled" argument against cloture based on the idea of "free speech in the Senate" was finally destroyed by their cooperation in permitting cloture on the Satellite bill.

Majority cloture will make it possible to pass meaningful civil rights legislation in the Senate. Every effort must be made to get the President, the leadership in the Senate and the individual Senators to support majority rule.

Rules Committee in the House

After a bill is approved by a regular legislative committee, it goes to the Rules Committee for a rule -- i.e., for permission to take the bill to the floor of the House. If the Rules Committee refuses to give its approval, there is no real way of getting a civil rights bill to the floor except by a discharge petition requiring 218 signatures (which is almost impossible to obtain and in any event takes many, many months' time). The Leadership Conference is therefore supporting a change in the rules of the House to permit a regular legislative committee to call up a bill on the floor of the House if the Rules Committee has failed to act in 21 days. This will insure House consideration of meaningful civil rights legislation.

This so-called "21-day rule" is not new. That rule was adopted at the opening of the 81st Congress and was in effect during that Congress (1949-1950). Unfortunately, it was dropped by the 82nd Congress. Congressman (now President) Kennedy supported the 21-day rule as a Congressman.

Last year the Democratic leadership tried to get at the Rules Committee a different way. They expanded the size of the Rules Committee from 12 to 15 members. The idea was to put enough liberals or moderates on the Rules Committee to get bills through the Committee and to the floor. Whatever this may have done or may do to facilitate economic and other legislation (and in the last Congress it didn't do too much), it is worthless as far as meaningful civil rights legislation is concerned. All 15 members of last year's RulesCommittee were returned to Congress in the 1962 elections. Of these, 5 are Northern Democrats, 5 are Southern Democrats and 5 are Republicans, many of whom have refused rules on civil rights legislation in the past. What this means is that a strong civil rights bill would almost certainly lose in the Rules Committee.

Therefore, the Leadership Conference cannot accept the 15-man Rules Committee proposal as adequate to the needs of civil rights. If a Congressman really believes in civil rights, he will vote for the 21-day rule on opening day of the new Congress.

December 1962

[1962?]

CORE - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

SKILLED TRADES GUIDE

INTRODUCTION

CORE has traditionally been and continues to be in sympathy with the basic goals of the trade union movement -- economic and social advancement for all workers, black and white. Where Negroes and other minority group workers have been organized on an integrated basis, the result has been material betterment for the Negro and a stronger union.

However, we are concerned with the difference between the stated goal and the reality for minority group workers. Discrimination exists in the form of segregated locals, membership exclusion clauses, separate seniority lines, and limiting job assignments for Negro workers, particularly among the building crafts, printing trades, transportation and metal crafts industries.

Examples of major breakthroughs achieved recently in New York City are:

1) 130 of 300 apprentices in plumbing industry are Negro and Puerto Rican;

2) 5 out of 15 graduates of the International Typographers Union are nonwhite;

3) Over 300 Negro and Puerto Rican applicants were sent to a new apprenticeship program instituted in Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers by CORE, the NAACP, Negro American Labor Council and the Urban League.

Our aim is to make a reality for nonwhite workers the benefits of trade unionism and pressure those derelict individual unions into insuring a democratic labor union for all workers.

SKILLED TRADES GUIDE

I. THE PROBLEM

A) The projected national employment picture through 1970 indicates that there will be proportionately fewer workers required to produce goods and more workers needed to provide trade, finance, insurance and real estate, personal and business services. Negroes and Puerto Ricans are employed predominantly in the declining industries. Construction work will increase, while farm employment will continue to decline. Manufacturing will have less than average growth. Specifically this means: rapid growth in white-collar occupations -- professional, technical, clerical and sales workers; managers, officials and proprietors; smaller growth in blue-collar occupations-- craftsmen, and foremen (high growth for pattern makers, tool and die makers, lithographers, brick layers, operating engineers, sheet metal workers, plumbers and electricians), (low demand for paperhangers, painters, bakers and railroad workers), and decline in industrial laborers; above average opportunities for service workers in trade, finance, insurance and real estate and personal business services.

B) Nationally there is a significant shortage in the available supply of skilled manpower, especially in the areas of high demand indicated in A. Among the causes of this shortage are population growth and resultant increased needs, decline in number of the population in the prime work age group (25-44) and increase in age ranges 5-24 and 45 and older, introduction of new fabricating processes and application of automation and other advanced techniques to industry displacing unskilled and semi-skilled workers and requiring greater operating and servicing skills, decline in immigration to U.S., attrition of skilled craftsmen due to death, retirement and geographical and occupational changes and the inadequacy of existing training systems in the United States.

C) Apprenticeship is the prime mode of training future skilled craftsmen. Greater use of automatic machinery requires more technical know-how and versatility, thus deemphasizing and making impractical existing informal training methods.

D) Because Negroes and Puerto Ricans are an important source of labor supply in urban industrial centers and they are concentrated in greater numerical proportion than whites in the prime work age group of 25-44, they are a significant source for relieving the skilled manpower shortage. However, non-whites have not been used historically in large numbers in the skilled trades and are today frequently barred from developing such skills because of discriminatory practices.

E) Today, Negroes and Puerto Ricans are not employed significantly in skilled-craft occupations. They are disproportionately concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled categories in which job opportunities generally are decreasing. Thus, the differential between white and colored workers is being perpetuated and may become greater unless immediate effective action is taken.

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F) A major reason for the lack of Negro and Puerto Rican craftsmen is the closing of apprenticeship opportunities to nonwhite youth. Associated factors are the decline of craft opportunities for Negroes in the South and the traditional discriminatory practices of craft unions, especially the building trades, transportation and printing industry and in tool and die and related metal crafts.

G) Factors influencing exclusion of Negroes from formal training programs in the skilled trades, all of which are not specifically anti- Negro.are:

1. Because of a standing historical pattern of discrimination, Negro youth are not presented with skilled Negro role models (parent, relative or neighbor who is skilled craftsman), for identification.
2. Other influences are: Lack of understanding of industrial environment (procedure for applying for apprenticeship, qualifications for apprenticeship) poor and ill-informed vocational guidance.
3. Consequently, large sections of Negro and other minority group youth lack adequate preparation for those skilled training opportunities that are open to them.
4. The informal and haphazard recruitment procedure, with exception of large industrial plants, results in general lack of knowledge of apprenticeship openings. To date, management, labor and government have condoned informal arrangements whereby apprenticeship opportunities are limited to offspring, relatives or friends. As a result, many programs in this area of employment are characterized by "nepotism" and "cronyism."
5. With relatively few apprenticeship openings and an over-abundant supply of white applicants some Negroes will not be hired.
6. Because of residential segregation some apprentice opportunities are closed to Negroes by geographical location.
7. Some ambitious nonwhites will not be motivated to enter the field because of the general low-prestige of manual labor in American society and a desire to escape the family background of "blue-collar" employment.
8. Other minority group youth will reject apprenticeship because of the long training period with no immediate substantial economic gain. Emerging from a background of poverty, a large portion of the Negro labor force will accept less mobile unskilled or semi-skilled jobs to satisfy immediate economic needs and wants.

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H) There are and will be significant numbers of Negro and other minority group youth who are qualified and will apply for admission into certified apprenticeship programs. They are then confronted with the problem of racial discrimination overtly or covertly, North and South, by unions and management often with the indirect sanction of federal and state government by the following means:

1. Discriminatory application of objective standards to Negro and white applicants; non-communication of management policy to subordinate personnel, apprenticeship recruitment from sources least likely to produce Negro applicants.
2. Motivations for discriminatory practices in the skilled trades vary:
    a) Management may in fact believe that Negroes have undesirable characteristics for skilled positions, fear placing Negroes in public contact positions and may not want nonwhites to gain experience or training which may lead to positions of authority in the lower ranks of the industrial hierarchy.
    b) Unions may reject Negroes because of real or fancied membership opposition, intra-union power considerations (leadership retention) desire to maintain control of labor supply, and uncontested autonomy of prejudiced local union officials operating contrary to stated international union policy. There prevails in some locals a caste psychology by which some workers think of their jobs as "white men's jobs," to which no Negro should aspire.
    c) State governments may subsidize and assist discriminatory apprenticeship programs.

II. OPENING OPPORTUNITIES

A. The aid of social service agencies, vocational guidance counselors, teachers and ministers in both the Negro and white community should be enlisted to direct nonwhite youth toward skilled-craft training and employment.

B) Determine what firms (including government agencies and installations) are the major employers of manpower in your community, e.g., largest 5 or 10? What are the employment practices of each as to his use of Negroes? Excluded? Unrestricted use? Use in traditional Negro categories? Other practices?

1. Public or Private Ownership: If public, is it operated by the Federal Government, State, City, or County: joint relationship: Federal-State, City-County, or other types of relationship. If private, does it have a contract with the Federal Government to furnish goods or services?

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2. Size of establishment, number of employees, turnover in employees, volume of sales or product output?

3. Part of chain or single unit firm?

4. Scale of production: Labor-capital ratio; distribution of labor force by occupational level; assembly line vs. custom precision technique of production?

C) Determine who specifically are the major parties (Employer, Employees, Customers) in a given firm and what information about each may be helpful in plotting the course of your merit employment program?

1. General reputation of employer in community

2. Response of employees and customers to merit hiring program particularly picketing or boycott

D) What are the possible sources of redress in case of discrimination by any of the parties -- present and future?

1. Agencies with operating staffs and resources

2. Local organizations and Agencies

3. Laws -- federal, state, city

E) What important resources (organizations, individuals, financial backing, etc.) are there in your community that are working or may be motivated to work for full employment of Negroes on basis of merit (predominantly Negro; Bi-racial or predominantly white in membership, outlook and program.)

F) To which major areas of activity listed below can various groups significantly contribute in achieving the employment of Negroes on basis of the merit of each applicant (capacity, qualification, seniority in some cases?)

1. Strengthen old and create strong and valid new incentives (motivation) to maximum effort and a high level of achievement among Negro (youth) for education for future employment at its highest capacity; and in fostering the full utilization in present employment of qualified Negro workers at their highest skills.

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2. Pre-employment training for future employment: Increase the quality, quantity, and diversification of educational opportunity available by strengthening the educational establishments, (facilities, personnel, and equipment) now open to Negro students and by fostering their non-discriminatory access to such establishments (educational institutions, training facilities of employers and/or unions) now closed to them by law, custom, defiance of law, or inertia. Such new opportunities should include equality of access to financial aid and educational subsidy -- scholarships, trainee wages for in-plant training, reduced tuition fees to in-state or-city students of public educational institutions.

3. Strengthen present employment and utilization practices on merit.

III. DIRECT ACTION PROCEDURE

A) Determine whether basic responsibility rests with union or management in order to best focus action.

B) Negotiations with those you believe to be responsible. These should be detailed good-faith negotiations but should not be so delayed as to miss entrance deadlines.

C) Picketing of responsible hiring party -- union or firm -- to assess reaction and possible support from other workers and surrounding community. Informal talks, surveys and leaflets may be used to this end.

D) Sit-ins may be used in employment office of management or appropriate union headquarters.

E) Make sure press knows nature of discrimination and history of CORE negotiations.

F) Keep the Program and Community Relations Departments informed of your progress in this vital area.

* * * * *

SOME SUGGESTED READING

Apprentices, Skilled Craftsmen and the Negro, An Analysis, by the New York State Commission on Human Rights, 270 Broadway, New York.

Discrimination in Labor Unions, James J. Graham; The Catholic World, September, 1961, 180 Varick Street, New York, New York.

Fair Employment Works, Julius A. Thomas; Industrial Relations Consultant, National Urban League, Oceana Publications, 1951.

Labor and the Civil Rights Revolution, Harry Fleischman; New Leader, April 18, 1960, 7 East 15 Street.

Negroes in the Work Group, Dr. Jacob Seidenberg; National Council of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York, New York.

Racism Within Organized Labor, A Report of Five Years of the AFL-CIO, 1955-1960; Labor Department, NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

The High Cost of Discrimination, Elmo Roper; National Conference of Crhistians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York, New York.

The Negro Wage-Earner and Apprenticeship Training Programs, Labor Department, NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York, New York.

Education

M

Report L-23B, Revised
February 13, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION*

Listed below are formerly all-white colleges and universities of the 17 southern and border states and the District of Columbia which we know to be desegregated. This report updates L-Reports 23 and 23A which appeared in January 1961 and September 1961 respectively. In the past two years there has been an increase of approximately 30 percent in the number of desegregated colleges and universities throughout the areas covered in this report (see appendix), and today all southern states have at least one desegregated institution of higher learning. In the past two years, 89 colleges and universities have desegregated, most of them with neither fuss nor fanfare. A few still restrict Negro enrollment to the graduate and professional schools. At some of the schools no Negro students are enrolled, but either statements of their governing boards indicate an official policy of admission without regard to race, or they are under court order.

ALABAMA	LEGAL CONTROL
Public	
University of Alabama, University (under court order to desegregate since 1956; no Negro students)	State
Nonpublic	
Spring Hill College, Mobile	Roman Catholic

ARKANSAS	
Public	
Arkansas A. & M. College, College Heights	State
Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville	State
Arkansas State College, State College	State
Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway	State
Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia	State
Southern State College, Magnolia	State
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville	State
Nonpublic	
Arkansas College, Batesville	Presbyterian
College of the Ozarks, Clarksville	United Presbyterian

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*This list is based on information in our files, and may not be complete. Periodic reports in Southern School News have been a principal source.

DELAWARE	LEGAL CONTROL
Public	
University of Delaware, Newark	State
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
Public	
District of Columbia Teachers College	Municipal
Nonpublic	
American University	Methodist
Catholic University of America	Roman Catholic
Dunbarton College of Holy Cross	Roman Catholic
George Washington University	Private
Georgetown University	Roman Catholic
Georgetown Visitation Junior College	Roman Catholic
Immaculata Junior College	Roman Catholic
Trinity College	Roman Catholic
FLORIDA	
Public	
Dade County Junior College, Miami	County
Daytona Beach Junior College, Daytona Beach	County
Florida State University, Tallahassee	State
Manatee Junior College, Bradenton	County
Palm Beach Junior College, Lake Worth	County
St. Petersburg Junior College, St. Petersburg	County
University of Florida, Gainesville	State
University of South Florida, Tampa	State
Nonpublic	
Barry College, Miami	Roman Catholic
Florida Presbyterian College, St. Petersburg	Presbyterian
Stetson University, DeLand	Southern Baptist
University of Miami, Coral Gables	Private
GEORGIA	
Public	
Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta	State
Georgia State College, Atlanta	State
University of Georgia, Athens	State
Nonpublic	
Agnes Scott College, Decatur	Private
Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur	Presbyterian
Emory University, Atlanta	Methodist
Oglethorpe University, Atlanta	Private

KENTUCKY

Public

	LEGAL CONTROL
Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond	State
Morehead State College, Morehead	State
Murray State College, Murray	State
Paducah Junior College, Paducah	Municipal
University of Kentucky, Lexington	State
University of Louisville, Louisville	Municipal
Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green	State

Nonpublic

Asbury College, Wilmore	Private
Ashland Junior College, Ashland	Private
Bellarmine College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Berea College, Berea	Private
Bethel College, Hopkinsville	Southern Baptist
Bowling Green College of Commerce, Bowling Green	Private
Brescia College, Owensboro	Roman Catholic
Campbellsville College, Campbellsville	Southern Baptist
Centre College of Kentucky, Danville	Private
The College of the Bible, Lexington	Disciples of Christ
Georgetown College, Georgetown	Southern Baptist
Kentucky Wesleyan College, Owensboro	Methodist
Lees Junior College, Jackson	Presbyterian
Lindsey Wilson College, Columbia	Methodist
Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary	Presbyterian
Nazareth College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Pikeville Junior College, Pikeville	Presbyterian
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville	Southern Baptist
Transylvania College, Lexington	Private
Union College, Barbourville	Methodist
Ursuline College, Louisville	Roman Catholic
Villa Madonna College, Covington	Roman Catholic

LOUISIANA

Public

Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge	State
Louisiana State University at New Orleans	State
McNeese State College, Lake Charles	State
Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond	State
University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette	State

Nonpublic

Immaculata Minor Seminary, Lafayette	Roman Catholic
Loyola University, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary	Southern Baptist
Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans	Roman Catholic
Tulane University, New Orleans	Private

MARYLAND	LEGAL CONTROL
Public	
Allegany Community Junior College, Cumberland	County
Anne Arundel Junior College, Anne Arundel	County
Baltimore Junior College, Baltimore	Municipal
Catonsville Community College, Catonsville	County
Charles County Junior College, La Plata	County
Essex Community College, Essex	County
Frederick Community College, Frederick	County
Hagerstown Junior College, Hagerstown	County
Harford Junior College, Bel Air	County
Montgomery Junior College, Takoma Park	County
Prince George's Community College, Suitland	County
St. Mary's Seminary Junior College, St. Mary's City	State
State Teachers College, Frostburg	State
State Teachers College, Salisbury	State
State Teachers College, Towson	State
United States Naval Academy, Annapolis	National
University of Maryland, College Park and Baltimore	State
Nonpublic	
Baltimore College of Commerce, Baltimore	YMCA
College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
Goucher College, Towson	Private
Hood College, Frederick	Private
Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore	Private
Loyola College, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
The Maryland Institute, Baltimore	Private
Mount St. Agnes College, Baltimore	Roman Catholic
Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore, Baltimore	Private
St. John's College, Annapolis	Private
St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg	Roman Catholic
Washington College, Chestertown	Private
Western Maryland College, Westminster	Methodist

MISSISSIPPI	
Public	
University of Mississippi, Oxford	State

MISSOURI	
Public	
Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg	State
Harris Teachers College, St. Louis	Municipal
Joplin Junior College, Joplin	District
Junior College of Flat River, Flat River	Municipal
Junior College of Kansas City, Kansas City	District
Moberly Junior College, Moberly	Municipal
Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville	State

MISSOURI - continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Northwest Missouri State College, Maryville	State
St. Joseph Junior College, St. Joseph	Municipal
Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau	State
Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield	State
Trenton Junior College, Trenton	Municipal
University of Missouri, Columbia and Rolla Divisions	State
Nonpublic	
Culver-Stockton College, Canton	Disciples of Christ
Park College, Parkville	Presbyterian
St. Louis University, St. Louis	Roman Catholic
University of Kansas City, Kansas City	Private
Washington University, St. Louis	Private
Webster College, Webster Groves	Roman Catholic
Westminster College, Fulton	Presbyterian

NORTH CAROLINA

Public	
Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone	State
Asheville-Biltmore College, Asheville	Municipal-County
Charlotte College, Charlotte	Municipal
East Carolina College, Greenville	State
North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, Raleigh	State
Pembroke State College, Pembroke	State
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	State
Western Carolina College, Cullowhee	State
Wilmington College, Wilmington	State and County
Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, Greensboro	State
Nonpublic	
Belmont Abbey College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Black Mountain College, Black Mountain	Private
Catawba College, Salisbury	Evangelical Reform
College of the Albermarle, Elizabeth City	Private
Davidson College, Davidson	Presbyterian
Duke University, Durham	Private
Gardner-Webb Junior College, Inc., Boiling Springs	Southern Baptist
Guilford College, Guilford	Society of Friends
Mars Hill College, Mars Hill	Southern Baptist
Meredith College, Raleigh	Southern Baptist
Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer	Methodist
Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont	Roman Catholic
Saint Andrews College, Laurinburg	Presbyterian
Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest	Southern Baptist
Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem	Baptist

NORTH CAROLINA - continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa	Presbyterian
OKLAHOMA	
Public	
Altus Junior College, Altus	District
Cameron State Agricultural College, Lawton	State
Central State College, Edmond	State
Connors State Agricultural College, Warner	State
East Central State College, Ada	State
Eastern Oklahoma A. & M. College, Wilburton	State
El Reno Junior College, El Reno	District
Murray State Agricultural College,Tishomingo	State
Muskogee Junior College, Muskogee	Municipal
Northeastern Oklahoma A. & M., Miami	State
Northeastern State College, Tahlequah	State
Northern Oklahoma Junior College, Tonkawa	State
Northwestern State College, Alva	State
Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha	State
Oklahoma Military Academy, Claremore	State
Oklahoma State University of Agriculture and Applied Science, Stillwater	State
Panhandle A. & M. College, Goodwell	State
Poteau Community College, Poteau	Municipal
Sayre Junior College, Sayre	District
Seminole Junior College, Seminole	District
Southeastern State College, Durant	State
Southwestern State College, Weatherford	State
University of Oklahoma, Norman	State
Nonpublic	
Benedictine Heights College, Tulsa	Roman Catholic
Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee	Southern Baptist
Oklahoma Christian College, Oklahoma City	Private
Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City	Methodist
Phillips University, Enid	Disciples of Christ
St. Gregory's College, Shawnee	Roman Catholic
University of Tulsa, Tulsa	Private
SOUTH CAROLINA	
Public	
Clemson Agricultural College, Clemson	State
Nonpublic	
Our Lady of Mercy Junior College, Charleston	Roman Catholic
TENNESSEE	
Public	
Austin Peay State College, Clarksville	State
East Tennessee State College, Johnson City	State

TENNESSEE - Continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Memphis State University, Memphis	State
Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro	State
Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville	State
University of Tennessee, Knoxville	State
University of Tennessee, Nashville, Memphis and Martin Branches	State
Nonpublic	
Bethel College, McKenzie	Presbyterian
Christian Brothers College, Memphis	Roman Catholic
Maryville College, Maryville	Presbyterian
Peabody College, Nashville	Private
Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville	Methodist
Tusculum College, Greenville	Private
University of the South, Sewanee	Protestant Episcopal
Vanderbilt University, Nashville	Private
TEXAS	
Public	
Amarillo College, Amarillo	Municipal
Arlington State College, Arlington (branch of Texas A. & M.)	State
Brownsville Junior College, Brownsville	Municipal
Cisco Junior College, Cisco	District
Clarendon Junior College, Clarendon	District
Cooke County Junior College, Gainesville	Municipal
Del Mar College, Corpus Christi	Municipal
East Texas State College, East Texas Station	State
Frank Phillips Junior College, Borger	District
Hill Junior College, Hillsboro	District
Houston University, Houston	Municipal
Howard County Junior College, Big Spring	County
Kilgore College, Kilgore	District
Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont	District
Laredo Junior College, Laredo	Municipal
Lee College, Baytown	Municipal
Midwestern University, Wichita Falls	Municipal
Navarro Junior College, Corsicana	County
North Texas State University, Denton	State
Odessa College, Odessa	District
Pan American College, Edinburg	County
Paris Junior College, Paris	Municipal
San Angelo College, San Angelo	Municipal
San Antonio College, San Antonio	Municipal
San Jacinto College, Pasadena	District
South Plains College, Levelland	County
Southwest Texas Junior College, Uvalde	District
Temple Junior College, Temple	Municipal
Texarkana College, Texarkana	Municipal

TEXAS - continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Texas College of Arts and Industry, Kingsville	State
Texas Southmost Junior College, Brownsville	Municipal
Texas Technological College, Lubbock	State
Texas Western College, El Paso (branch of University of Texas)	State
Texas Woman's University, Denton	State
University of Texas, Austin	State
Victoria College, Victoria	Municipal
Weatherford College, Weatherford	District
West Texas State College, Canyon	State
Wharton County Junior College, Wharton	County
Nonpublic	
Abilene Christian College, Abilene	Private
Austin College, Sherman	Southern Presbyterian
Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin	Presbyterian
Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas	Private
De Mazenod Scholasticate, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin	Protestant Episcopal
Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene	Southern Baptist
Incarnate Word College, San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Lutheran Concordia College, Austin	Lutheran
McMurray College, Abilene	Methodist
Our Lady of the Lake College, Abilene	Roman Catholic
St. Edward's University, Austin	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's University of San Antonio	Roman Catholic
Southern Methodist University, Dallas	Methodist
Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort Worth	Baptist
Texas Christian University, Fort Worth	Christian
Texas Lutheran College, Sequin	Lutheran
Trinity University, San Antonio	Presbyterian
University of Dallas, Dallas	Roman Catholic
Wayland Baptist College, Plainview	Southern Baptist

VIRGINIA

Public	
Colleges of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Norfolk and Richmond Institute	State
Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, Fredericksburg	State
Medical College of Virginia, Richmond	State
Patrick Henry College, Martinsville	State
University of Virginia, Charlottesville	State
Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg	State
Nonpublic	
Bridgewater College, Bridgewater	Brethren
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg	Mennonite

VIRGINIA - continued	LEGAL CONTROL
Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond	Presbyterian
Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia, Alexandria	Episcopal
Union Theological Seminary, Richmond	Presbyterian
WEST VIRGINIA	
Public	
Concord College, Athens	State
Fairmont State College, Fairmont	State
Glenville State College, Glenville	State
Marshall University, Huntington	State
Potomac State College of West Virginia University, Keyser	State
Shepherd College, Shepherdstown	State
West Liberty State College, West Liberty	State
West Virginia Institute of Technology, Montgomery	State
West Virginia State College, Institute	State
West Virginia University, Morgantown	State
Nonpublic	
Alderson-Broaddus College, Philippi	Baptist
Beckley College, Beckley	Private
Bethany College, Bethany	Private
Davis and Elkins College, Elkins	Presbyterian
Salem College, Salem	Seventh Day Baptist
West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon	Methodist

APPENDIX

	JANUARY 1961		JANUARY 1963	
	PUBLIC	NONPUBLIC	PUBLIC	NONPUBLIC
ALABAMA	1*	1	1*	1
ARKANSAS	7	2	7	2
DELAWARE	1	0	1	0
D. C.	1	8	1	8
FLORIDA	2	1	8	4
GEORGIA	1	1	3	4
KENTUCKY	7	17	7	21
LOUISIANA	5	2	5	6
MARYLAND	8	14	17	14
MISSISSIPPI	0	0	1	0
MISSOURI	10	5	13	7
NORTH CAROLINA	3	6	10	16
OKLAHOMA	18	4	23	7
SOUTH CAROLINA	0	0	1	1
TENNESSEE	6	7	7	8
TEXAS	24	18	39	20
VIRGINIA	5	4	7	5
WEST VIRGINIA	9	4	10	6
	108	94	161	130

*Court Order, 1956, but no Negro students have been admitted since Miss Autherine Lucy was expelled in February 1956.

A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE FROM THE MISSISSIPPI WAY OF LIFE

Freedom Schools open a door to the world

Freedom School theme by a 10-year-old in Hattiesburg, Mississippi:
"Well, it was this bus driver, I was on the first straight seat on the bus, and he told me to move back. I said, 'I will not. I paid a dime and two pennies for a transfer and I'm not moving.' He said, 'You know white people must get on this bus.' I said, 'You know colored people must get on this bus, too.'"

By Joanne Grant
Guardian staff correspondent

JACKSON, MISS.

ACROSS THE STATE youngsters expressed similar attitudes in the Mississippi Summer Project's Freedom School classes, in poetry, in school newspapers. The impact of the program on the state's educationally-deprived Negro youngsters was readily apparent at a convention held at the end of the second session Aug. 8 in Meridian, Miss. At the convention, organized and run by the students, were about 75 delegates from 41 Freedom Schools with a registered attendance of 2,135. They adopted a platform—with a program for "our state, our nation and our world" with resolutions on subjects ranging from medical care to foreign affairs. They also resolved that "copies of this platform be sent to the President, every Congressman, the Library of Congress, the Governor and every member of the Mississippi legislature."

Resolutions had been drawn up by the students in each school before the convention, then were consolidated into a platform by delegates at workshops on voter registration, medical care, housing, education, jobs, federal aid and foreign affairs. There was vigorous discussion, both in workshops and in plenary sessions, which expressed the essence of the Freedom school aim of freeing the children from the strictures of the Mississippi system of education. The system is described in a Freedom School report: "The Mississippi educational system is geared to teach the Mississippi Educational Way of Life: Dissent is heresy. Ignorance is safer than inquiry. Fear pervades the academic atmosphere."

BUT THE DISCUSSION at the workshop on education illustrated particularly the students' revolt against almost all aspects of the state's education system. Points covered: lack of vocational courses, foreign language instruction and kindergarten; inadequate laboratories, libraries and classrooms. When some students proposed a resolution on academic freedom for teachers, lively debate developed over whether this meant a teacher might be free to force his ideas on the students. Others argued freedom for teachers to teach Negro history and voter registration. Still others argued for unqualified academic freedom so teachers could teach "different forms of government." One said: "I hear all this about communism. I want to learn about it in school." Focus of the discussion on education was the age and timidity of eachers: "How can we listen to a teach-r talk about citizenship and democracy nd voter registration when he is afraid o go down and register?"

The foreign affairs workshop resolu-ion began: "We support strict enforce-ent of the Monroe Doctrine." It called or non-intervention by European coun-ries in the Western Hemisphere and for .S. "nonmilitary" pressure to force Latin merican governments to refrain from cepting "military aid from the Com-unist bloc." At the plenary the resolu-on was deleted from the platform after participant said of the Monroe Doctrine: "As a permanent member of the Negro race I'm sick and tired of anything that smacks of paternalism."

Other resolutions sought solutions for every discriminatory practice in the life of the Mississippi Negro. One on housing, for example, called for a building code with these minimum requirements: "A complete bathroom unit, a kitchen sink, a central heating system, insulated walls and ceilings, laundry room, pantry space, an adequate wiring system providing for at least three electrical outlets in the living room and kitchen and at least two such outlets in the bedroom and bath, at least a quarter of an acre of land per building lot and a basement and attic."

Photo by Mark Levy

I'LL DO MY WORK IF I HAVE TO DO IT ON THE GROUND.
Joyce Brown's poem was heard in the school in Meridian too

SUCH RESOLUTIONS CAME from children like the Hattiesburg Freedom School student, Robert MacAfee, who wrote in a paper entitled Segregated Schools (Seperate but Equal?): "Most of the white kids live in these big large fine houses you know. If they need anything, their parents simply go and buy it for them. But me, you see, I live in this little three-room shack and my mother only makes $15 a week and with four children how can a person live with rent being $24 a month and still be able to feed us . . . And if I walk to school and want to take a few shortcuts, I have to go by the white elementary school where there is a white cop standing on the corner where he tells me, 'Hey Nigger, you not suppose to come this way, if I catch you here again I'll put you in jail.' So I have to walk two blocks out of my way to go to school."

At orientation sessions before the Freedom Schools opened, volunteer teachers —many in the state for the first time— had to learn how to leave something of value with children who were products of the Mississippi system. Staughton Lynd, Freedom School director, expressed it thus to teachers for the Jackson schools: "You must stress to the students: it is their school; they can study what they want, think what they want, say anything they choose."

In schools across the state teachers fought rigidity. Day after day they would remind students, "I am not Miss Jones. I am Kathy.". . . "Not 'Yes sir.' The name is Bob." The young northern college students or professional teachers who staffed the schools found they were dealing with students who were wise beyond their years. Theirs was a wisdom born of daily fear, brutality, deprivation.

THEY WERE WISE, but unlearned. They were 10-year-olds, fifth graders, who could not read; 14-year-olds who could not spell. But they were children who could define freedom thus: "Freedom is to be able to go in" (a Meridian 12-year-old) and "Freedom is like when you make $40 a week and a white man with the same job makes $100, you should make $100" (a 10-year-old in Jackson).

They were students who, like those in the rural community of Carthage, where there is no Negro public school, were exposed in Freedom School to E. E. Cummings and James Joyce's **Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.** When this reporter visited the Meridian school, the French class was discussing existentialism and reading aloud Jean Paul Sartre's **The Respectful Prostitute.** They were students who, like Joyce Brown, wrote poetry. Joyce, who began voter registration canvassing at 12, is now a 16-year-old Freedom School student in McComb and chairman of the Freedom School convention. She wrote in "House of Liberty": "I asked for your churches, and you turned me down,/ But I'll do my work if I have to do it on the ground;/ You will not speak for fear of being heard,/ So you crawl in your shell and say, 'Do not disturb.'/ You think because you've turned me away,/ You've protected yourself for another day."

Joyce was writing of one of the most urgent problems which faced many of the Freedom Schools—finding a building to house the classes. Two churches had been burned in nearby Natchez just before the McComb school was to open, so the church which was to house it backed down at the last moment. Then the Freedom House—civil rights workers' headquarters—was bombed. Since no church could be found for the school, its first session was held on the lawn of the bombed out Freedom House. When Joyce's poem was read to a secret meeting of a dozen Negro businessmen, they were moved to tears and a home was found for the school and its 100 students.

PROBLEMS WERE SIMILAR elsewhere. When the Freedom School staff arrived in Carthage, the entire Negro community was assembled at the church to greet them. Two days later the staff was evicted from the school; the community again appeared with pick-up trucks to help move the library to a new school. Then the Carthage community began building its own community center to house a library, a winter Freedom School and adult classes.

Among the results of the summer's Freedom School program has been the unifying of Negro communities in many areas. In addition, the program has provided a glimpse of a far broader world for its 2,000 Negro students. It has been a small bridge with white Mississippians (white children attended Freedom Schools for short periods in Vicksburg and Holly Springs). It has helped develop local young Negro leadership. It has taught young Americans from other parts of the country that, as the Freedom School convention theme put it: Freedom is a struggle.

AS THE SECOND of the summer's sessions ended, plans were being developed for the schools to continue through the winter in each of the state's 25 summer project areas. Half of the budget of $100,000 will provide scholarships for volunteers who give up a year of college to teach in Mississippi and for local students. (Contributions to the budget may be made out to Freedom Schools and mailed to the Council of Federated Organizations, 1017 Lynch St., Jackson, Miss. Information on tax exemption is available from the Freedom School Coordinator at that address.)

The Mississippi legislature had adopted a package of anti-Summer Project bills. One was designed to outlaw the Freedom Schools, but it is doubtful if the state's power structure has recognized the long-lasting significance of the schools. The law has not been enforced, the schools have flourished and the students, from 6 to over 70, will not easily be re-molded into the Mississippi educational system. Palmer's Crossing Freedom School students adopted a Declaration of Independence listing their grievances and ending:

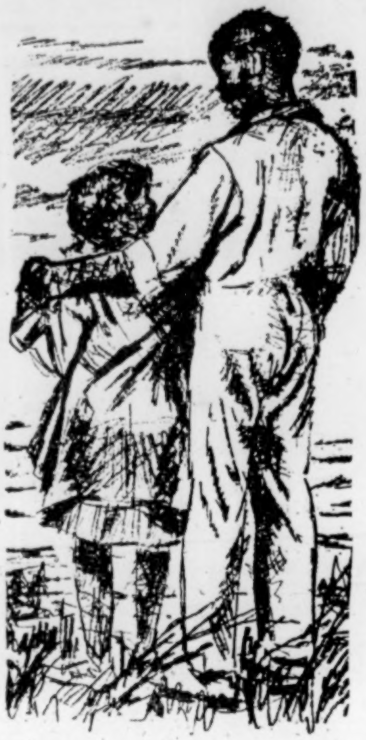
"We, therefore, the Negroes of Mississippi assembled, appeal to the government of the state, that no man is free until all men are free. We do hereby declare independence from the unjust laws of Mississippi which conflict with the United States Constitution."

Additional copies of this reprint from the August 29, 1964 issue are available from NATIONAL GUARDIAN at 10¢ each.

enon, of an extraordinary humanization.

The white volunteer in the Summer Project, or the visitor like myself, walks down a street in the Negro community of some town which has been "opened up": Greenwood, Hattiesburg, Holly Springs, He is a stranger to the local people but they stop him, greet him, ask how long he is staying, does he know so-and-so who is also in the Movement. Without seeming "grateful," a better-off Negro will insist on paying for his dinner. And the Negro community quickly becomes home; he feels safe there. If a car passes, he watches to see if it contains white men or black, and when the passengers turn out to be black (or fellow white workers), he relaxes. He eats in Negro restaurants; it is a strange sensation to go into a white place. Suddenly everything is inverted, and with the inversion comes a new identity. Not that the white man "becomes a Negro," but that he begins to feel he has found a new self through others, through the very people who are, in some eyes, his enemies.

Inspirational cliches? No, just the experience of an American in one part of the world where human beings seem to be moving forward instead of standing still. Mississippi was a blank on the map before; today, hundreds of young people study the names of its counties and speak of them with emotion. In the Freedom Schools, the words to be learned from a blackboard are directly related to the current struggle: convicted, levying, testimony, adhering. At headquarters in Jackson (known as the COFO office because the project is being carried out in the name of a rather mythical coalition of civil rights organizations; actually SNCC is doing 4/5 of the job) reporters stream through and old friends meet unexpectedly. The Greenwood office, like Jackson's, is manned around the clock; workers eat casually, sleep little—often on desks or sitting up in chairs—and Jim Forman, SNCC's executive secretary, mops the floor at midnight.



Drawing by Ernest Crichlow

REVOLUTIONARY CUBA comes to mind; there is the spirited singing and that humor which is directed toward oneself as often as toward the opposition. Even the climate is the same. To make this comparison may be a disservice to the Movement, for SNCC has enough trouble with red-baiting. And of course what is happening in Mississippi has no particular political orientation.

But the project is a threat to the established Southern order, and is meant to be. The redneck meets that threat by concocting a homemade bomb or calling the Greenwood office at 2 a.m. and growling, "Kiss mah ass." Those above him on the social ladder are more rational, like the police commissioner who passed by that same office one afternoon and let himself be embroiled in an unusual discussion with a large number of the project workers. He admitted the reason for his opposition to Negroes voting—power.

It would be naive not to acknowledge some of the project's problems and weaknesses: the fear and resistance among local Negroes who have a little to lose; the limited success of the community centers compared to the Freedom Schools; the confusion and inefficiency. One of the big questions, which cannot now be be answered, is: What will happen when the white volunteers leave—as most, but not all, are expected to do? This question arises not only in terms of renewed violence but also on the less dramatic scale of situations such as that faced by Sally Belfrage, daughter of the GUARDIAN editor-in-exile, who has organized donated books into a library at Greenwood and must find a literate local person to maintain it come fall.

PROBLEMS AND ALL, the spirit remains—and other whites feel it too. An orthodox Jewish folk singer commented: "It reminds me of the Hassidic movement in Judaism: it's like fresh air. These people take cliches and give them new meaning; the preachers interpret Biblical legends in ways I never heard before—but ways that make sense." A nurse trained in psychiatry said in Holly Springs: "There are so many beautiful people among Mississippi Negroes; in one sense, they don't seem **deprived** at all." She had, I think, discovered that the South is not a four-letter word as many outsiders feel, thinking primarily of the white racist. The South is Negroes, mostly; it is a rural and small town people who haven't been made neurotic by technological one-dimensionality.

And she went on to say: "I wonder what will happen to the white volunteers when they go back to their Northern, middle-class worlds. They may be very depressed." For the remarkable truth is, a great many of those who have been to Mississippi this summer are sorrowful when the time comes to leave.

—**Elizabeth Sutherland**

NFCEP

[1964, Dec?]

REVISED PUPIL ASSIGNMENT PLAN
FOR
GADSDEN COUNTY, FLORIDA

WHEREAS, the Legislature of the State of Florida in extraordinary session, 1956, enacted Senate Bill No. 11-XX, Chapter 31380, relating to assignment of pupils in the public schools and the State of Florida, and

WHEREAS, said enactment of the Florida Legislature required that the Board of Public Instruction of the several counties of the State of Florida shall assign pupils to the public s[illegible] so as to provide for the orderly and efficient administration of such public schools, the effective instruction of the pupils therein and the health, safety, education and general welfare of such pupils in order that each pupil may be afforded an opportunity for a normal adjustment to an environment and receive the highest standard of instruction within his ability to understand and assimilate, and

WHEREAS, the said enactment further requires the said Board in the exercise of its authority to prescribe school bus transportation routes and adopt such reasonable rules and regulations relative thereto as in the opinion of the Board shall best accomplish the purposes of the act, and

WHEREAS, the Board of Public Instruction of GADSDEN County has considered the several factors set forth and prescribed in said enactment of the Florida Legislature, and

WHEREAS, this Board of Public Instruction after such consideration finds that the intent and purpose of said law and the welfare of the pupils of GADSDEN County will best be attained by the plan of assignment to schools and transportation stipulated in the rules and regulations below:

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Board of Public Instruction of GADSDEN County, Florida, in meeting assembled this ____________ ____________________________, that the following revised rules and regulations made pursuant to Chapter 230.232, Florida Statutes, 1963, which refers to the powers and duties of County Boards of Public Instruction for Pupil Assignment, be and are hereby adopted:

SECTION 1. Definitions

As used in these rules and regulations the following definitions will apply:

(a) The words "child" and "pupil" mean a person residing in this county qualified under the laws of Florida for admission to a public school and desiring to attend a public school.

(b) The word "parent" means the father, mother, guardian of any child, or the person standing in loco parentis to any child, and shall include, when applicable, one or more persons.

(c) The word "board" means the Board of Public Instruction of GADSDEN County.

(d) The word "superintendent" means the Superintendent of Public Instruction of GADSDEN County.

(e) The word "assignment" means the act of the board designating the particular school to which a child is assigned.

(f) The word "enrollment" means the actual acceptance in a school and listing on the rolls of the school a pupil properly assigned thereto by the board.

(g) The words "transported pupil" means a child eligible to be transported, under Florida School Laws, to a public school at public expense.

(h) A "school bus route" means a route specifically designated by the board to be traveled regularly by each school bus.

SECTION 2. Beginning with the 1965-66 school term, the Gadsden County Board of Public Instruction will follow the plan of assignment of pupils as stated below:

(a) All pupils enrolled in the Gadsden County Public Schools for the school year 1964-1965 will be assigned for the 1965-1966 school term to the school they attended in the 1964-1965 term, except those pupils who, through promotion, will be assigned to a school of higher classification, subject to the right of any pupil to request reassignment to a school of his or her choice as hereinafter stated and to have the said request fairly considered without regard to race, color or national origin as hereinafter provided.

(b) Pupils being promoted from an elementary to a junior high school, or from a junior high school to a senior high school, will be assigned to the higher ranking school to which they would have been assigned under the plan of assignment in effect for the school year.

(c) County-wide registration will be held during the last full calendar week of April, 1965, Monday through Friday, and during the like week of each year thereafter. All pupils shall register at the school they are then attending, even though he or she will be promoted to a school of higher classification.

Prior to the last full calendar week of April, 1965, Monday through Friday, and the same week of each subsequent school year thereafter, a letter will be sent by the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Gadsden County, Florida (delivery to be effected by giving the letter to each child enrolled in the Gadsden County Public Schools with appropriate instructions for delivery) to parent or guardian or to the parents or guardians of each child, who, according to the school records, will attend the public schools of Gadsden County, Florida during the 1965-1966 school term, which letter will be in the form below and hereby made a part of this plan:

"Dear Parents or Guardians:

> In order to facilitate the fall opening of school, we have a procedure known as Spring Registration which takes place during the last full calendar week of April, 196_____, Monday through Friday. At that time, a Pupil Assignment Card or Form, is completed at the school for each pupil enrolled.
>
> While it is the function of the School Administration

to recommend assignments, a parent's preference of schools will be accepted for consideration and evaluation.

You are hereby advised that you are being afforded a reasonable and conscious opportunity to apply for admission to any school for which your child is eligible without regard to race, color or national origin and to have that choice accepted for consideration and evaluation by the Board of Public Instruction. If you wish to exercise your right of preference, you must go to the school your child is attending at the time of the Spring Registration and sign a Parent School Preference Card or Form during the period of said last full calendar week of April, 19______, Monday through Friday.

The Pupil Assignment Law provides for numerous criteria in the individual assignments of pupils, such as attendance areas, transportation facilities, uniform testing, available facilities, scholastic aptitude, and numerous other factors, except race, color or national origin.

Should the School Administration recommend assignment of your child to a school other than the one you have requested, you will be notified by letter prior how soon?

to the fall opening of school.] In that event, you have the right to request, in writing, a hearing before the Board of Public Instruction to have your preference further considered. If a request for such hearing is received, you will be notified of the time and place of the hearing.

Application for reassignment may be made when a material change in circumstance arises."

(d) Admissions, assignments and reassignments of pupils may be made by the Board pursuant to the Florida Pupil Assignment Law, provided, however, that with regard to any applications for reassignment to another school for the school year all administrative procedures outlined and set forth in the Florida Pupil Assignment Law, including but not limited to, notice to the parents of the applicant, [hearing before the State Board of Education, shall be concluded on or before September 15, 1965.]

(e) The parent or guardian of any pupil desiring reassignment for the school year 1965-1966 from the school which the child attended during the school year 1964-1965, shall report to the school where his or her child, or ward, is at that time presently enrolled, between the hours of 8:15 o'clock A.M. and 4:15 o'clock P.M. on any day, Monday through Friday, during registration week as set forth above, and request in writing reassignment to the school of his or her choice.

(f) The Board of Public Instruction of Gadsden County, Florida will consider all applications for reassignment without discrimination no! on the grounds of race, color, or national origin of the applicant.

(g) The Board of Public Instruction of Gadsden County, Florida acting on all applications for assignments and reassignments of pupils may further consider the achievement score of the applicant for assignment or reassignment, as compared to the average of the achievement scores of the class in the school to which he seeks assignment or reassignment, provided, if said criteria be utilized by the Board, the same shall be uniformly applied to all pupils in the Gadsden County Public School System seeking assignment or reassignment, and provided further that discrimination on the grounds of race, color or national origin shall not enter into said assignment or reassignment.

(h) The Board of Public Instruction of Gadsden County, Florida, in the consideration of all applications for assignment or reassignment, shall not be required to supplement or expand its available school transportation service.

(i) In the consideration of all applications for assignment or reassignment the Board may consider the capacity and pupil-load of the school to which the applicant seeks reassignment and first preference may be given by the Board to children continuing an existing course of education in the school to which reassignment is sought and thereafter to children who reside nearest to the school to which reassignment is sought.

SECTION 3. When a pupil and/or parent has fulfilled all of the requirements of the Board in making application for admission or assignment of a pupil, the Superintendent may, at his discretion, give tentative approval to the admission of the pupil, subject to final assignment by the Board at the earliest practical date.

SECTION 4. Pupils, parents and general public will be informed of the rules and regulations respecting assignments, reassignments and other provisions of the revised Pupil Assignment Plan of Gadsden County, Florida. The Gadsden County Superintendent, members of the Board of Public Instruction, County School Board Attorney and members of the County Education Staff will conduct information and discussion meetings with organizations within the school district, including, but not limited to the following:

Exchange Club
Rotary Club
Jaycees
Pilot Club
Farm Bureau
Ministerial Association

Kiwanis Club
Lions Club
Chamber of Commerce
Womans Club
Parent-Teacher Associations

SECTION 5. A copy of this plan shall be supplied to each principal in the county and the superintendent shall supply a copy to any person who requests it.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE SCHOOL BOARD

1. Assign to a school each year every qualified child.
2. Maintain records for public inspection in the Superintendent's office.
3. Design and make available pupil assignment forms in the offices of the Superintendent and Principals.
4. Establish bus routes and insure that no pupil rides a bus other than one serving a school to which he is assigned.
5. Exercise the right to change the assignment of any pupil at any time.
6. Design and make available from offices of Principals and Superintendent forms for reassignment of pupils.
7. Consider applications for reassignment and notify Principals of schools and the parents concerned of Board decisions.
8. Notify the applicant and advise as to when a hearing may be held if application for reassignment is denied by the Board.
9. Keep permanent records of hearings.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF PRINCIPALS

1. Keep a supply of application forms for admission.
2. Accept application for admission of all pupils who have not previously been assigned by the School Board. (Previously assigned means pupils covered by Section 2).
3. Accept application made by parents for reassignment of pupils.
4. Submit all three copies of such applications to the Superintendent for action by the Board.
5. Give prompt notice to the pupil and his parents when assignments have been made by the Board.
6. Keep on file school's copy of assignment form.
7. Refuse to enroll in his school any pupil not properly assigned thereto.
8. See that all application forms for assignment or reassignment are complete. Applications for reassignment must be filled out front and back. Incomplete applications will not be considered by the Board.
9. Maintain accurate pupil personnel records.

WHO MUST APPLY FOR ADMISSION AND BE ASSIGNED?

1. All pupils who are not presently enrolled in the public schools of GADSDEN County during the school year 1964-1965.

PERSONNEL RECORD FOR PUPILS APPLYING FOR REASSIGNMENT

This data sheet must be complete for every applicant

1. **Adequacy and availability of educational facilities:**

2. **Effect upon established educational program**

   (a) **Suitability of curriculum to needs and interest of students:**

   (b) **Summary statement from teachers regarding social acceptance of students being reassigned:**

3. **Achievement score as measured by a standardized test:**

   Name test:

4. **Scholastic aptitude as measured by standardized tests:**

   Name test:

5. **Mental ability as measured by standardized tests:**

   Name test:

6. **School citizenship and academic grades:**

7. **Sociological attributes based upon standardized test and personal investigation**

   (a) **Social attitudes, adjustment, and maturity as measured by standardized tests:**

   Name test:

   (b) **Socio-economic background:**

8. **Health, safety, and economic welfare of students and their families:**

[1964]

LOUISIANA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROGRAM

I. Objectives:

A. Testing the provisions of the Civil Rights Bill and pressuring the United States Department of Justice to act on 1964 Civil Rights law particularly on voting, public facilities and public accommodations.

B. Voter Registration:
   1. Conducting daily clinics and canvassing and providing transportation to and from the registration offices for potential registrants.
   2. Filing complaints on economic, physical, and political intimidations with the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department.
   3. Forcing repeal of and/or judicial test of all laws which are discriminatory by nature and definitely by application.

C. Community Organization:
   1. Local voters groups
   2. Congressional Voters leagues.
   3. Statewide civic association
   4. Chapters of CORE.

D. Politics:
   1. Negro candidates
   2. Coordination of political perspectives and strategy

E. Laying groundwork for 1965 Freedom Highway and voter registration summer project at Caddo and Plaquemine Parishes.

II. Area of concentration in Louisiana with Scounting efforts in the surrounding parishes of each named location.

Area	Cong. District	Workers needed
A. Monroe	5	4
B. Shreveport	4	2
C. St. Francisville	6	3
D. Plaquemine	6	2
E. Alexandria	8	2
F. New Orleans	1	2
1. Plaquemine Parish		
2. St. Bernard Parish		

Note: We'll be working in five of the eight Louisiana Congressional Districts with the following annual voter registration goal in mind. First District: 4,000. Fourth District 800. Fifth District 900. Sixth District 3,000. Eighth District 2,000.

III. Mechanics of project.
   A. Workers, 15
   B. Cars, 6
   C. Offices and house centers or church stations in each named area.

IV. Budget (Weekly)

A. Subsistent wages (Room and Board) for 15 workers at $25.00 a week per worker.	$ 375.00
B. Gas for 6 cars, at an estimated $5.00 per day per car, equaling $30.00 a day.	210.00

(cont. on page 2)

IV BUDGET (Weekly) cont. from page 1.

A. Subsistent wages	$ 375.00
B. Gas	210.00
C. Cars--we'll have 3 cars, one to be purchased from Clinton car fund, and two already rented by National CORE, leaving 3 cars to be rented at roughly $600.00 (weekly breakdown)	150.00
D. Office for headquarters and house stations or sub-offices at $100.00 a month.	25.00
E. Office Supplies	50.00
F. Voter Registration Forms	50.00
G. Miscellaneous and Staff Expense Advances	150.00
TOTAL	$1,010.00

OBVIOUS EXCLUSIONS: Bond, major legal costs, and salary and personal expenses of field secretary in charge.

Annual Total $52,520.00

VI. Reccommended Summer Project 1965

A. Area Targets -- Plaquemine Parish and Shreveport
B. Purposes -- Voter Registration and Direct Action aimed at implementation of the public accommodation section of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill.
C. Methodology -- Mass Freedom Rides to Plaquemine Parish and Shreveport.
D. Scouting should begin at once.
E. Training session for the project should include instructions from specialists on swamp warfare, first aid against physical attack of poisonous animals, etc. Details for later discussion.

VII. Budget totals:

A. Project as here outlined.	$ 52,520.00
B. Educational Community Centers	29,920.00
TOTAL	82,440.00

[1964]

RATIONALE FOR COMMUNITY FUNCTIONS

There is a need for a vocational counselor because there is not in the area now any agency to advise the children of the skills and capacities and of jobs which their abilities relate. Adults are also in need of guidance because no agency of counseling has ever existed. Without some such service, people who have as a group only a 4th grade education cannot find their way alone, and people having an annual median income in no case higher than $872.00 need to find away.

There are no Negro physicians or nurses in the area. Whites in the medical profession often refuse to serve Negroes or reluctantly do so. Negroes, because of limited incomes, cannot afford to pay medical fees. White doctors usually treat Negroes only in crude emergencies. A central medical agency, though far from some patients, would still be closer than none at all. Without group support, no physician will service such poor people.

In each of the parishes to be served there are thousands of voting age Negroes yet unregistered (East Feliciana potential-13,710 about 200 registered, Pointe Coupee potential - 10,852 about 1,400 registered, St. Helena potential - 4,395 about 600 registered, West Feliciana potential - 8,003 only 85 registered) who will never be able to register without assistance and encouragement. Research on federal programs, daily assistance on economic problems, like co-ops, and on other socio-economic, political endeavors on a state basis coordinated from the center could end the Louisiana political conspiracy on Negro suffrage.

In an area in which the highest annual median income is $872.00, there is an obvious need for distribution of free food and clothing.

There are no libraries for Negroes in this area. When a suit was filed to desegregate library facilities, racists of the power structure voted to use a "library phone system", offering books only by phone call and mail. Certain books are never available when requested by telephone. A library with books carefully selected to meet local needs could do unlimited spiritual and material service.

The staff to meet the pressing complex problems of the area, ... e.g. in guidance, must have readily available sources of reference.

Other than rather crude buildings, there are nor places of cultural or recreational assembly.

Many of the women and older children are employed to earn money for family survival and there is often no proper supervision of children. A nursery school would give that and provide well for the physical and spiritual growth of the children.

An area gripped by poverty and illiteracy can find means of release through education; not general education only, but special courses selected to meet the local needs. The infant mortality rate is very high; knowledge of personal and domestic hygiene is scanty; most jobs are exceedingly menial; imposed social and economic restrictions are degrading: special educational efforts, directed as much to the spirit as to physical alleviation (as in Freedom Schools are necessary to overcome these.

In addition to adult education to raise the literacy level of the Negro people in these parishes, it has become evident to the CORE Task Force and others working in Louisiana that one of the chief needs of the economically and culturally deprived segment of Louisiana's white and black population is a moral, cultural and educational awakening. The means to accomplish this are either non-existent or unexploited within the present educational system. The alternative is the establishment of a Freedom School system with emphasis on social studies such as Negro History, American History, World History, The Nature of Prejudice, etc.

It is only through this educational process that the oppressed can have their self respect and human dignity restored.

[1964]

MOVING FORWARD

> All the powers of earth seem rapidly combining against him (i.e. the Negro.) Memmon is after him, ambition follows, philosphy follows, and the theology of the day is fast joining the cry. They have him in his prison-house; they have searched his person, and left no prying instrument with him. One after another they have closed the heavy iron doors upon him; and now they have him, as it were, bolted in with a lock of a hundred keys, which can never be unlocked without the concurrence of every key - the keys in the hands of a hundred different men, and they scattered to a hundred different and distant places; and they stand musing as to what invention, in all the dominions of mind and matter, can be produced to make the impossibility of his escape more complete than it is.
>
> Abraham Lincoln

The progress of our struggle must accelerate faster than "all deliberate speed." However, our growth, direction of movement, scope and/or depth of program, and geographic expansion must move with caution and careful evaluation of not only the end but also the means. Methods and techniques will no doubt differ from one area to another and thereby make flexibility of attitudes and adaptation to trends indispensable and an imperative prerequisite in our stride to successfully overcome the evils of a diversified and unpredictable society.

We are now faced with the problem of acceleration in spite of the deep rooted, seemingly insurmountable impediments of fear, ignorance, illiteracy, poverty, apathy, and discrimination. Meeting such a challenge is not a simple matter, nor is it a matter to be avoided because of its complexity. The answer is not vivid and clear, and a practical blanket solution is an impossibility. In short, it is a problem of dual citizenship which is an outgrowth of centuries of economic, political, social, educational and legal double standards for underprivileged Americans. It must be solved in a short time to avoid additional damage or inevitable destruction. However, we have not found a "scientific sociologist" to give us a "sociological chemical formula" which would give the sharp, fatal blow that would end the American dilemma of racism. It is obvious why such cannot be done. We are left with a problem demanding immediate eradication, but the means of eradication are restricted and the fear of making mistakes prevails.

While trying to move quickly toward our goal, we must cautiously guide our missles at each aspect of our problem. Our missles must be labled adult education, vocational counseling, political education, creative political action, cultural development, lawsuits, and economic independence - aimed at the multiple composition of our race problem.

To meet such a challenge we must establish Freedom Schools, community centers, voters' groups, CORE chapters, etc. with the sole intent of quickly killing the conservative racial octopus by involving the nonviolent masses, moving on their own with field workers acting in the capacity of organizers and advisors, assistiog the masses as they move.

To set up an institution designed with the essential tools to destroy the historical monster of segregation which has many grasps on the

Negro community, we must establish permanent units with multiple functions.

With the hope of putting the forestated principles into action, we are erecting a community center to service four Louisiana parishes which border the state of Mississippi: Pointe Coupee, St. Helena, East Feliciana, and West Feliciana.

FREEDOM SCHOOLS IN MISSISSIPPI, 1964

From the carbon copies of the spring's letters and reports I see what real apprehensions, as well as hopes, the people who dreamed of Freedom Schools had. Out of Charlie Cobb's idea of a situation in which there would be questioning, release from rigid squelching of initiative and expression- -from Charlie Cobb's bitterness about the way the Negro has had to be silent in order to survive in white America, and his vision of the kids' articulateness and reaching for change, meaningful change, in Mississippi--out of his seeing that the kids are ready to see "the link between a rotting shack and a rotting America"- -came the original plan for Freedom Schools in Mississippi. That it could be an idea that people working desperately on voter registration and on keeping alive in the state could take seriously is perhaps evidence of the validity of Charlie Cobb's dream: Mississippi needed more, needs more, than that all Negroes 21 and over shall have the right to vote. The staff in Mississippi understood what Charlie was dreaming because they, too, were daring to dream that what could be done in Mississippi could be deeper, more fundamental, more far-reaching, more revolutionary than voter registration alone: more personal, and in a sense more transforming, than a political program.

The decision to have Freedom Schools in Mississippi, then, seems to have been a decision to enter into every phase of the lives of the people of Mississippi. It seems to have been a decision to set the people free for politics in the only way that people really can become free, and that is totally. It was an important decision for the staff to be making, and so it is not surprising that the curriculum for the proposed schools become everyone's concern. I understand that Lois Chaffee, Dona Moses, Mendy Samstein, and Casey Hayden as well as Noel Day, Jane Stembridge, and Jack Minnis worked on and argued about what should be taught, and what the realities of Mississippi are, and how those realities affect the kids, and how to get the kids to discover themselves as human beings. And then, I understand, Stughton Lynd came in to impose a kind of beautiful order on the torment that the curriculum was becoming-- torment because it was not just curriculum: it was each person on the staff in Mississippi painfully analyzing what the realities of his world were, and asking himself, with what pain I can only sense, what right he had to let the kids of Mississippi know the truth, and what right he had had to keep it from them until now. And because of these sessions, the whole concept of what could be done in Mississippi must have changed.

In a way, the Freedom Schools began to operate in those planning sessions. A section of the curriculum called "Poor whites, poor Negroes and their fears," for example, considers the unity of experience between whites and Negroes, as well as the psychological and political barriers. And out of the discussions that produced this part of the curriculum came, perhaps, the idea of a "White Folks" Project," and the intense economic orientation of what was begun in Research, and Federal Programs, also new projects. And out of work with the people day after day in the Freedom Schools emerged medical concerns, and farm league ideas, and the community building of community centers. It was because the people trying to change Mississippi were asking themselves the real questions about what is wrong with Mississippi that the Summer Project in effect touched every aspect of the lives of the Negroes in Mississippi, and started to touch the lives of the whites.

It was the asking of questions, as I see it, that made the Mississippi Summer Project different from other voter registration projects and other civil rights activities everywhere else in the South. And so it is reasonable that the transformations that occurred--and transformations did occur--out of the Freedom School experience occurred because for the first time in their lives kids were asking questions.

The way the curriculum finally came out was that it was based on the asking of certain questions, questions which kept being asked through the summer, in connection with the kids' interest in their Freedom School teachers (mostly northern, mostly white, mostly still in college), in connection with Negro History, in connection with African culture, in connection even with the academic subjects, as well as in coonection with the study of the realities of Mississippi in the light of Nazi Germany 1935. The so-called "Citizenship Curriculum" set up two sets of questions. The primary set was 1. why are we (teachers and students) in Freedom Schools? 2. what is the Freedom Movement? 3. what alternatives does the Freedom Movement offer us? What was called the secondary set of questions, but what seemed to me the more important, because more personal, set was: 1. what does the majority culture have that we want? 2. what does the majority culture have that we don't want? 3. what do we have that we want to keep?

The answering of these questions, and the continual raising of them in many contexts, may be said perhaps to be what the Freedom Schools were about. This was so because in order to answer anything out of what these questions suggest, it is necessary for the student to confront the question of who he is, and what his world is like, and how he fits into it or is alienated from it.

It was out of the experience of asking these questions that the transformations occurred. At the beginning of the summer, with rare amazing exceptions, the kids who were tentatively exploring us and the Freedom Schools were willing to express about themselves only one thing with honesty and passion, without the characteristic saying of the thing they think the white man wants to hear: that thing was that as soon as they could gather enough money for a ticket they were going off to Chicago, or to California! To leave the state was their ambition, and about it they were certain, even though they had not thought any further than that, even in terms of where the money was to come from , and certainly not in terms of what they would find there and what they would do there. Some sense of "go home to my Lord and be free"--somevague hope of a paradise beyond--seemed to inform their passion for the north, their programless passion.

But by the end of the summer almost all of these kids were planning to stay in Mississippi.

Within the flexible structure of the Freedom School it was natural that a confession of--an insistence on--the desire to race northward lead to a discussion of the condition of the Negro in the North, about which most of the teachers could tell specifically. And then came the news stories about Harlem, and Rochester, and Medford, Massachusetts, and the kids were interested, and worried. But it was not just because the truth about the North began to shatter their dream of it as a paradise that the kids changed their minds. The yearning for the North was, of course, the expression of a need to escape the intolerability of the situation in Mississippi. But the nature of their need to escape was that they really did not know what it was about Mississippi that they hated--or, rather, they felt that what was intolerable for them had somehow to do with the white man, somehow to do with getting only $3.00 a day for 10 hours' work chopping a white man's cotton, somehow to do with the police--but they had not yet articulated, if they knew, the connections among all these things. And they had not, as well, articulated the connections of these things with their experiences of repression at home and in school. And so the very amorphous nature of the enemy was threatening to them.

The experience in the Freedom School was that patterns began to be seen, and patterns were real and could be dealt with. So the kids began to see two things at once: that the North was no real escape, and that the South was not some vague white monster doomed irrationally to crush them. Simultaneously, they began to discover that they themselves could take action against the injustices--the specific injustices and the condition of injustice--which kept them unhappy and impotent.

Through the study of Negro History they began to have a sense of themselves as a people who could produce heroes. They saw in the story of Joseph Cinque of the Amistad a parallel to the kinds of revolts that the Movement, as they began to learn about it, represented. They saw that Joseph Cinque, in leading a mutiny on that slave ship instead of asserting his will to freedom by jumping off the ship into the shark-waiting waters, was saying that freedom is something that belongs to life, not to death, and that a man has responsibility for bringing all his people to freedom, not just for his own escaping. Connections between then and now kept being made--at first by the teachers, very soon by the students: who do you know that is like Joseph Cinque? How is Bob Moses like Moses in the Bible? How is he different? Why did Harriet Tubman go back into the South after she had gotten herself free into the North--and why so many times? And why doesn't Mrs. Hamer stay in the North once she gets there to speak, since she doesn't have a job on that man's plantation any more, and since her life is in so much danger? And what do you think about Fredrick Douglass's talking so straight to the President of the United States? And how does the picture of Jim Forman in the Emancipation Proclamation issue of Ebony suggest that same kind of straight talking? And who do you think the Movement is proving right--Booker T. Washington or W.E.B. duBois? And what comment on your own upbringing is made by the fact that you all know about Booker T. Washington but most of you had never heard of W.E.B. duBois? And why are the changes of gospel songs into Freedom Songs significant? What does "We Shall Overcome" really mean in terms of what we are doing, and what we can do?

Beginning to sense the real potency of organized Negroes in Mississippi, the kids in the Freedom Schools found an immediate area of concern in the Negro schools they attended or had dropped out of: the so- called "public" schools. They had grievances, but had, until drawn into the question-asking, only been able to whine, or to accept passively, or to lash out by dropping out of school or getting themselves expelled. Within the Freedom Schools, especially by comparing the Freedom Schools with the regular schools, they began to become articulate about what was wrong, and the way things should be instead: why don't they do this at our school? was the first question asked, and then there began to be answers, which led to further questions, such as why don't our teachers register to vote, if they presume to teach us about citizenship? and why can't our principal make his own decisions instead of having to follow the orders of the white superintendent? and why do we have no student government, or why doesn't the administration take the existing student government seriously?

This was the main question, which came also out of why there are no art classes, no language classes, why there is no equipment in the science labs, why the library is inadequate and inaccessible, why the classes are overcrowded. The main question was WHY ARE WE NOT TAKEN SERIOUSLY? which is of course the question that the adults were asking about the city and county and state, and the question the Freedom Democratic Party asked--and for which the Party demanded an answer--at the Convention.

The students were taken seriously in the Freedom Schools. They were encouraged to talk, and their talking was listened to. They were assigned to write, and their writing was read with attention to idea and style as well as to grammar. They were encouraged to sing, to dance, to draw, to play, to laugh. They were encouraged to think. And all of this was painful as well as releasing because to be taken seriously requires that one take himself seriously, believe in himself, and that requires confrontation. And so Freedom School was painful for the kids who grew the most.

Tangibly, what was set in motion out of this experience of joY and pain was the thing the Mississippi staff had hoped could happen in Mississippi, but could not totally form. In the spring before the summer, SNCC in Mississippi had tried to organize a Mississippi Student Union, bringing together kids from all over the state. And there was good response, but not on the scale the MSU was seen to achieve out of the Freedom Schools. This summer the kids began to talk boycott of the schools, but to be able to discipline their thinking about boycott so that their action would not just be acting out their frustrations but careful, considered, programmed, revolutionary meaningful action along the lines of the Montgomery bus boycott and African revolutionary action. The kids were able to come together in the middle of the summer, in Meridian, and draw up a series of resolutions which said with terrible clarity what they felt about their world: what a house should be, what a school should be, what a job should be, what a city should be--even what the federal government should be. And they were able to ask why it was that the people did not have a voice, and to assert that their voices would be heard. The seriousness of their concern for a voice is reflected in the final statement of the list of grievances drawn up by the McComb Freedom School:

> We are 12 Pike County high school students. Until we are assured our parents will not suffer reprisals, until we are sure this list of grievances is met with serious

consideration and good will, we will remain anonymous.

The McComb students are sending this list of grievances to the school officials, the senators and the newspapers and the city officals and the President of the United States. Out into the world: look at me- -I am no longer an invisible man.

And back again into themselves. Whoever the Freedom Schools touched they activated into confrontation, with themselves and with the world and back again. On one level, it was the white teacher saying to the Negro girl that nappy hair vs. "good hair" is not a valid distinction: that it is a white man's distinction, and that the queens in Africa--in Senghai, Mail, Ghana--in Ethiopia--had nappy short hair! On another level, it was the Northern Negro student-teacher saying to the kids yearning Northward that he himself had gone to an almost completely (or completly) segregated school, and that his home was in a ghetto. On another, it was a senior, suspended from the split-session summer school for participating in the movement and taking Freedom School academic courses (fully parallel) instead, saying of Robert Frost's "The Road Not Taken" that the man took the road that needed him more: "because it was grassy/and wanted wear/...and that has made all the difference." On another level, it was the white and Negro Freedom School teachers sitting with the adults in the evening classes talking about what kids want and what kids deserve, and hearing the adults express some of their concern for their kids in the forming of a parents' group to support the kids' action against the schools. On still another, it was the junior high school kids in the community coming over in the evening to sit with the adults who were learning their alphabets, one kid to one adult, and both, and the staffs, crying with awe for the beauty and strangeness and naturalness of it. And on all levels, it was the whites, the northerners, listening to the Mississippi Negroes, reading what they wrote, taking them seriously, and learning from them.

Visible results of the Freedom Summer include the kids' drawings on the walls of Freedom Schools and COFO offices all over the state, as well as kids' applications for scholarships (National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students) and even more applications for the Tougaloo Work-Study program, which commits them to staying to work in Mississippi. In addition, there is the real probability that the Negro teachers in the regular schools--the teachers who have to sign an oath not to participate in civil rights activities or try to vote- -have, this first week of school, begun to experience for the first time in their lives the challenge from a student that is not adolescent testing or insolent acting out but serious demanding that in truth there is freedom and that he will have the truth!

Most significantly, the result of the summer's Freedom Schools is seen in the continuation of the Freedom Schools into the fall, winter, spring, summer plans of the Mississippi Project. Some project directors, who had been in Mississippi since 1961 during the slow sometimes depressing always dangerous serious tiring work of voter registration, first thought of the Freedom Schools as a frill, detrimental to the basic effort. At best, they were a front for the real activity. But Freedom Schools were not just, as the same project directors came to concede, a place where kids could be inducted into the Movement, a convenient source of canvassers. They were something else, and in realizing this the dubious project directors were themselves transformed by the Freedom Schools. They were, instead of anything superficial, and will go on to be, the experience--not the place- - in which people, because we needed them, emerged as discussion leaders, as teachers, as organizers, as speakers, as friends, as people. I know this is so because in leaving the Freedom School in Indianola, the county seat of Sunflower County where the Movement had been resisted for three years, and where, when we came in, the people did not know how to cross arm over arm to sing "We Shall Overcome," I learned for the first time in my life that with kids you love to disconnect is to suffer. So the teachers were transformed, too.

The transformation of Mississippi is possible because the transformation of people has begun. And if it can happen in Mississippi, it can happen all over the South. The original hope of the Freedom School plan was that there would be about 1000 students in the state coming to the informal discussion groups and other sessions. It turned out that by the end of the summer the number was closer to 3,000, and that the original age expectation of 16-17-18 year olds had to be revised to include pre- school children and all the way up to 70 year old people, all anxious to learn about how to be Free. The subjects ranged from the originally anticipated Negro History, Mississippi Now, and black-white relations to include typing, foreign languages, and other forms of tutoring. In fact, these aspects of the program were so successful that the continuation of the Freedom Schools into the regular academic year will involve a full-scale program of tutorials and independent study as well as exploration in greater intensity of the problems raised in the summer sessions, and longer range work with art, music, and drama.

To think of kids in Mississippi expressing emotion on paper with crayons and in abstract shapes rather than taking knives to each other; to think of their writing and performing plays about the Negro experience in America rather than just sitting in despairing lethargy within that experience; to think of their organizing and running all by themselves a Mississippi Student Union, whose program is not dances and fund-raising but direct action to alleviate serious grievances; to think, even, of their being willing to come to school after school, day after day, when their whole association with school had been at least uncomfortable and dull and at worst tragically crippling--to think of these things is to think that a total transformation of the young people in an underdeveloped country can take place, and to dare to dream that it can happen all over the South. There are programs now, as well as dreams, and materials, and results to learn from. And it may well be that the very staffs of the Freedom Schools in Louisiana and Georgia, etc., will be the kids who were just this past summer students themselves in the Freedom Schools in Mississippi, and discovered themselves there.

Liz Fusco, Coordinator, COFO Freedom
Schools

Some Poems from the Freedom Schools

I am Mississippi fed,
I am Mississippi bred,
Nothing but a poor, black boy.

I am a Mississippi slave,
I shall be buried in a Mississippi
grave,
Nothing but a poor, dead boy.
Ida Ruth Griffin, 12, Harmony

A Negro Soldier

One day while I was visiting a
certain
City this is what I saw. A Negro
Soldier with a broken arm who
Was wounded in the war.

The wind was blowing from the
North; there was a drizzle of
Rain. He was looking from the
Last place; his arm was in a sling.

The Negro soldier didn't go
Home. He was looking to the east
And to the west. His broken arm
Was in a sling.
Lillei Mae Powell, 11,
Pilgrims' Rest

(Why Did I my Don'ts)

shy did i my don'ts
why did i my dids
what's my didn'ts purpose
is it to fulfill my dids

what isn'ts have i proclaimed
what ises have i pronounced
why can't i do my doings
my couldn'ts do renounce

my wouldn'ts are excuses
my couldn'ts couldn't be helped
my weren'ts were all willful
my words of little help

the haven'ts were just there
my didn'ts did believe
that all my won'ts are daring
my wills to receive
Sandra Harris, 17, Blair
St., Jackson

Midway

I've come this far to freedom
And I won't turn back.
I'm changing to the highway
From my old dirt track.
I'm coming and I'm going
And I'm stretching and I'm growing
And I'll reap what I've been sowing
Or my skin's not black;
I've prayed and slaved and waited
And I've sung my song.
You've slashed me and you've treed
me
And you've everything but freed me,
But in time you'll know you need me
And it won't be long.

Midway (con't)

I've seen daylight breaking high
above the bough,
I've found my destination and I've
made my vow:
So whether you abhor me or deride
me or ignore me,
Mighty mountains loom before me,
And I won't stop now.
Naomi Long Nadgett, Greenwood

NEWS from U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

USDL--6558

FOR RELEASE: A.M. Editions
Wednesday, March 24, 1965

WIRTZ ANNOUNCES ADDITIONAL NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS PROJECTS

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz today announced the approval of six additional Neighborhood Youth Corps projects in five states. The projects have been sent to the governors of the respective states for review.

These six new projects bring the total number of Neighborhood Youth Corps projects to 124 in 40 states and the District of Columbia. These 124 projects will provide work experience opportunities to 83,626 young men and women 16 through 21 years of age at a total cost of $51,404,900. The young people who are enrolled in these projects will be employed in community service jobs which would not otherwise have been performed. They will serve in such positions as: nurses' aides, hospital orderlies, library assistants, landscape assistants, teachers' aides, nursey school attendants, playground attendants and many others.

"Most of the young people to be served by these Neighbrohood Youth Corps programs," Secretary Wirtz said, "are from families where poverty and deprivation have existed for some time. These young boys and girls have been caught in a cycle of poverty and poor education which has extended from generation to generation. These Youth Corps projects are an important step toward breaking this vicious cycle. They will provide young people with the opportunity to participate fully in the life of the Nation and their community."

/

[1965, April?]

"LEGAL PEACE CORPS"

1. Work at the grass-roots level with local civil rights groups.

2. Investigate complaints, prepare investigation reports, help prepare notarized statements for complainants, and advise on the forwarding of complaints to appropriate agencies. Select and train a permanent staff within the community to carry on this work. Bear in mind, complaints written so that the facts are clearly set out and relevant will invariably get much faster action than those that are not. Unquestionably, many valid complaints are ignored because the complainant is unable to communicate his problem.

3. Send a copy of all types of civil rights complains to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington 25, D.C., irrespective of their nature and the parties involved, including those involving discrimination in Federal, state, or local programs.

4. Send a copy of complaints dealing with violations of Federal civil rights law to the Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. Where violence against civil rights workers is anticipated, contact the local and state police (regardless of whether they in fact will take any affirmative action), the local FBI office, and, when appropriate, the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice.

5. Send a copy of complaints involving a program within the state administered by a Federal agency or involving employees to the appropriate agency. Use a copy of the Government Organization Manual for reference /See Appendix for types of programs involved./

6. Send a copy of all complaints to the regional or national offices of civil rights organizations working in the area.

7. Advise on bringing appropriate complaints to the local press and national wire services (but only after getting permission from complainants or their families so as not to bring them additional problems.)

8. Advise on bringing appropriate complaints and reports to the attention of friendly Congressmen, and private groups (e.g., all groups interested in civil rights, national church groups, unions, student groups), but, again, only after getting permission from the complainants or their families.

9. Visit schools, welfare agencies, and other nearby state, local, and Federal offices and attempt to become acquainted with responsible officers and the operation of their programs.

10. Attempt to become acquainted with persons from all groups within the Negro community, including the so-called "Uncle Tom's".

11. Advise persons of their rights, help them fill out forms, and refer them to public and private agencies that can help them with their problems.

12. Become acquainted with Federal programs available to communities so that all possible benefits can be made available to Negroes. /See Appendix; also booklet, "Federal Aids to Communities," prepared by Area Redevelopment Agency of the Department of Commerce./

13. Atempt to assist persons having difficulties with local officials. Sometimes, the problem stems from a failure to fully communicate their needs to these officials. Other times, the limitations of the agency are not fully made known to the party seeking help. In these cases, an intermediary can sometimes bridge this communications gap. An effort in this area will be often frustrating but may also be the most rewarding part of work in the field. Where problems cannot be resolved at the local level, request assistance from the appropriate state agency, and, if it still cannot be resolved, to the appropriate Federal agency. If everyone claims that there is no authority to deal with the particular problem, get the ball rolling to see that such authority is provided. Frustration thus may become the force behind new and ingenious programs.

14. Attempt to encourage Federal and state officials to visit Negro civil rights leaders to learn of the needs of the Negro community and to acquaint these leaders with available programs.

15. Assist in organizing and conducting citizenship classes for potential voters.

16. Subscribe to local newspapers, especially one from the state capital.

17. In general, attempt to resolve problems if at all possible and try to produce a permanent channel of communication between white and Negro leadership so that future misunderstandings can be aired and possible conflicts avoided before they get out of hand.

18. See para. 4 under legal apprenticeship program.

19. See general comments and suggestions.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS RESEARCH WORK

1. Before going to the field, a committee should contact leaders of all the major civil rights organizations, the National Sharecroppers Fund, the American Friends Service Committee, and similar national organizations doing field work in the South to determine which Federal programs (See Appendix) they think are most appropriate for study.

2. The programs to be analyzed should be selected by this committee, after consulting with civil rights groups. Included as criteria for selecting programs should be the following:

a. The extent to which the program, if properly run, will benefit low-income groups, e.g., its relationship to problems of rising unemployment among unskilled agricultural workers.

b. The lack of awareness in Southern Negro communities of the existence of a program which might benefit them.

c. The potential political leverage of a program; i.e., certain programs are either more popular to the existing electorate or more important to the power structure than others. Pressure applied where discrimination is found in these programs may be tactically more advantageous than if applied to relatively "unpopular" programs.

d. Whether any Federal or private alternative is available if a state withdraws entirely from a program under criticism.

3. A researcher located in a given area (which may include more than one state) should study and investigate no more than three Federal programs during the summer, and preferably one program.

4. Researchers should study their programs intensively before going into the field. Materials may be gathered by writing or visiting the Federal agency or agency involved. Ask for annual reports, program statistics for the states to be visited, state plans submitted to the Federal agency (where appropriate), all relevant statutes, program regulations, program handbooks and other informational materials.

5. A researcher should then plan to spend one or two days in Washington, D.C. interviewing Federal officials responsible for the program to clarify uncertainties and possibly obtain contacts with Federal and state officials in the field. While in Washington, arrange to visit F. Peter Libassi, head of the Federal Programs Division of the Civil Rights Commission, for information on the program being studied.

6. Visit Federal officials responsible for the program at the regional (generally in Atlanta) and state levels (generally in the state capital) for whatever information they have which might be useful.

7. Visit officials working for state and local bodies which administer the programs at their respective levels and arrange for repeat interviews. Very frequently, program statistics compiled by the state are the sole source of a breakdown of the program's operation by race, e.g., the vocational education program in Mississippi.

8. Prepare interview outlines and questions and design an over all research plan, sending one copy to the chairman of the research committee for his information and suggestions.

9. After taking the above recommended steps, a researcher should be thoroughly prepared for what should be his basic objective--to determine whether the broad purposes of the program sought by Congress are actually achieved, as seen through the eyes of the intended ultimate beneficiary of the program, and if not, why not.

10. The researcher should conduct extensive interviews with civil rights leaders, law students doing field work in the area, and with Negroes potentially eligible or actually receiving program benefits. Where programs are not available or are administered in a way which discriminates against Negroes, try to determine the source of the problem. Try also to ascertain whether Federal and state administrators have ever attempted to contact Negro leaders regarding the programs.

11. Read the local newspapers, especially ones from the capitals of the states being studied, for information on Federal programs.

12. Prepare a report and recommendations and submit copies to all agencies concerned, the Commission on Civil Rights, and to all other interested persons and groups. Be factual and give accurate source citations.

13. See para. 4 under legal apprenticeship program.

14. See general comments and suggestions.

[1965, April?]

THE CHATTANOOGA AREA LITERACY MOVEMENT

Illiteracy is a basic cause of poverty. The economic opportunity of the illiterate in this day of automation is practically non-existent. Any broad program aimed at improving the economic opportunities of our people should start with a program aimed at eradicating illiteracy.

Accomplishments:

1. Organized in the fall of 1959 as a volunteer movement to combat the local problem of illiteracy (15,000 functional illiterates in Hamilton County, and 30,000 people who cannot read the newspaper with comprehension). Sponsored by the Chattanooga Jaycees, classes began in January of 1960.

2. The movement has enrolled more than 1500 adults in northeast Alabama, northwest Georgia, and southeast Tennessee.

3. We have trained 442 teachers in the Laubach method of reading - a phonetic method aimed at adults. (Two workshops are held each year, one in August, the other in February.)

4. In February, 1964 workshop we trained 30 city school teachers who work with the educationally mentally retarded in the Laubach method, for which they received in-service training credit from the city school system. (These teachers find the Laubach method very effective.)

5. We furnish the city school system with volunteer teachers to work with poor readers (potential dropouts).

6. Inspired by the outstanding success of CALM, the Tennessee Jaycees have adopted literacy as a state-wide project. We are working with the Tennessee Jaycees (117 clubs) in promoting literacy throughout the state.

7. We are counseling and overseeing literacy movements in Cleveland, Athens, Dunlap, Monteagle, Tennessee, and in Rossville, Georgia.

8. In 1964 we have enrolled 539 students, 404 white, 135 Negro. We have had a dropout of 214 students.

9. We have enabled six students to receive citizenship papers.

10. We have taught 27 foreigh-born, Russian, Greek, French, Finnish, Israel, Hungarian, Polish, Chinese, Yugoslavian, Cuban, Colombian, Dutch, and Indian.

11. At present we have 44 classes meeting in schools, community centers and private homes - in the mornings, afternoons, and evenings. We try to suit the convenience of the students and teachers.

12. Two of our former students will this year receive their high school diplomas.

13. The State of Tennessee appropriated $25,000 to set up 18 pilot classes in literacy in February, 1964. There are three classes in Hamilton County. The Chattanooga Area Literacy Movement, through the recommendation of the Superintendent of City Schools, furnished pupils and teachers for two of these classes. This State project will end in

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November, 1964. The students meet twice a week, on Monday and Thursday evenings from 6:30 to 9:00 o'clock. The teachers are paid for three hours of teaching a week; the other two hours are volunteered by the teachers.

14. Students have profited from our classes by obtaining higher salaries, getting better jobs, and starting businesses of their own.

15. We have enabled students to obtain glasses free if they were unable to buy them. (32 pairs)

16. We have created and developed new materials for adults.

18. We have devised a testing and placement program for students to form as nearly homogenious classes as possible.

Goals:

1. To eradicate illiteracy in our area by offering each illiterate an opportunity for education through the 8th grade. To furnish free instruction, free books, and when needed, free transportation to and from classes.

2. To promote and help establish new Literacy Movements in Tennessee and in neighboring states.

3. To establish literacy classes in penal institutions. (90% illiterate)

4. To become the Literacy Center for the southeast United States.
    a. To help organize literacy classes in interested communities
    b. To train teachers for these classes
    c. To advise communities on curriculum and where to obtain materials

5. To work with the Tennessee Department of Welfare by providing teachers and helping set up classes for welfare recipients in our area.

6. To work with the Armed Forces Recruiting Centers with the aim of enrolling their educational rejects in literacy classes.

7. We have been asked to work in an advisory capacity, setting up the curriculum, and training teachers for a proposed pilot retraining project for illiterates. (We receive no financial aid for this)

8. To emphasize to the public and industry the need for upgrading our citizens through education.

CHATTANOOGA AREA LITERACY MOVEMENT
Siskin Memorial Bldg.
526 Vine St.

FIRST LEVEL MATERIALS:	**Price:**	**Can be purchased:**
Applied Mathematics - Boo k I-	.50¢	Chatta. Area Literacy Movement
Operation Alphabet -	1.64	The Nat'l.Assn. of Public School Educators,Washington,DC
Streamlined English-by Dr. Frank Laubach	1.50	New Readers Press Box 131, Syracuse, N. Y.
Writing Book	.40	New Readers Press
SECOND LEVEL MATERIAL:		
Applied Mathematics - Book I (same as above)		
Intermediate Course in Streamlined English	.50	Chatta. Area Literacy Movement
Imaginary Line Handwriting (Beginning Cursive)	.40	Steck Publishing Co. Box 16, Austin, Texas
My Country	.50	Steck Publishing Co.
Readers Digest-Reading Skill Builder,Level 2 Part 1, 2, 3	1.95	Readers Digest Services,Inc. Educational Division Pleasantville, N. Y.
THIRD LEVEL MATERIAL:		
Modern Practice Book in Arithmetic, Book 4	.50	Steck Publishing Co.
Imaginary Line Handwriting (Advanced Cursive)	.40	Steck Publishing Co.
Learning and Writing English	.70	Steck Publishing Co.
Readers Digest-Reading Skill Builder,Level 3 Part 1, 2, 3	1.95	Readers Digest Services, Inc.
FOURTH LEVEL MATERIAL:		
Imaginary Line Handwriting (Advanced Cursive)	.40	Steck Publishing Co.
Modern Practice Book in Arithmetic - Book 5	.50	Steck Publishing Co.
Language - Book 4	.60	Steck Publishing Co.
Readers Digest-Reading Skill Builder,Level 4 Part 1, 2, 3	1.95	Readers Digest Services, Inc.
FIFTH LEVEL MATERIAL:		
Our Nation - Revised Edition	.65	Steck Publishing Co.
Modern Practice Book in Arithmetic, Book 6	.50	Steck Publishing Co.
Language Book 5	.60	Steck Publishing Co.
Readers Digest-Reading Skill Builder,Level 5 Part 1, 2, 3	1.95	Readers Digest Services, Inc.

SIXTH LEVEL MATERIAL:	Price	Can be purchased
Modern Practice Book in Airthmetic-Book 7	.50	Steck Publishing Co.
Language Book 6	.60	Steck Publishing Co.
The Story of Our America-Text-Workbook Edition	1.35	Noble and Noble, Publishers 67 Irving Place New York, N. Y.
Readers Digest-Reading Skill Builder, Level 6 Part 1, 2, 3	1.95	Readers Digest Services, Inc.
SEVENTH LEVEL MATERIAL:		
Modern Practice in Arithmetic-Book 8	.50	Steck Publishing Co.
Language Book 7	.60	Steck Publishing Co.
Readers Digest-Reading Skill Builder, Advanced Part 1, 2, 3	1.95	Readers Digest Services, Inc.

Note:

Reading Readiness Charts can be purchased from New Readers Press, Box 131, Syracuse, N. Y. 13210

New Readers Press catalog can be obtained by writing them for this, as can be the catalog from Steck Publishing Co.

[1965]

Council of Federated Organizations
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi
Press Phone: 385-3276

FREEDOM SCHOOL DATA:

a) Background on Freedom Schools: The Freedom Schools were proposed late in 1963 by Charles Cobb, a Howard University student until he joined the SNCC staff and "a gifted creative writer," according to Freedom School Director Professor Staughton Lynd. That "help from outside Mississippi is needed if the Negro youngster were to have any chance of access to a larger world," was an obvious fact, according to Lynd, after preliminary studies of the Mississippi educational system. In Mississippi: The Closed Society, James Silver noted that the per capita expenditure of the Mississippi local school boards for the white child is almost four times the figure for the Negro child. More than the statistics, the limited subject matter available for study to Mississippi Negro students, the fear of dismissal that restrains their teachers from exploring controversial topics demonstrated that if Mississippi's Negroes were to take part in an academic process it would have to be in a context supplemental to the schooling available through the state.

b) Freedom Schools in Operation: As of July 26, there were 41 functioning Freedom Schools in twenty communities across the state with an enrollment of 2,135 students--twice the figure projected in planning for the summer. There are approximately 175 teaching full-time in the Freedom Schools, with recruitment of 50 to 100 more in process.

The typical Freedom School has an enrollment of 25 to 100 and a staff of five to six teachers, and is held in a church basement or sometimes the church itself, often using the outdoor area as well. Typically, the morning will be taken up with a "core curriculum" built around Negro History and citizenship. The late morning or afternoon is taken up with special classes (such as French or typing--both very popular) or projects (such as drama or the school newspaper.) In the evening classes are held for adults or teenagers who work during the day.

The idea of the school is centered on discussion of the group. One suggested guide distributed by COFO to Freedom School teachers noted, "In the matter of classroom procedure, questioning is the vital tool. It is meaningless to flood the student with information he cannot understand; questioning is the path to enlightenment. It requires a great deal of skill and tact to pose the question that will stimulate but not offend, lead to unself-consciousness and the desire to express thought....The value of the Freedom Schools will derive mainly from what the teachers are able to elicit from the students in terms of comprehension and expression of their experiences."

At a time when the nation's educators have become concerned--and stymied--by bringing to children of the non-verbal "culturally deprived" community the ability to formulate questions and articulate perceptions, the daily pedagogical revolutions that are the basis of any success in a Freedom School classroom become overwhelming upon considering that the students are Mississippi Negroes--possibly the single most deprived group in the nation--and the teachers are the culturally alien products of the much-maligned liberal arts undergraduate education. An indication of what is happening among the students and their young teachers in the Freedom Schools is given by a single line of COFO advice given to the teachers: "The formal classroom approach is to be avoided; the teacher is encouraged to use all the resources of his imagination."

According to Director Lynd, the Freedom Schools may be dealt with in the context of three general situations: a) rural areas; b) urban areas where the civil rights movement has been strong; c) urban areas where the movement has been weak. "In the first and third situations," analyzes Lynd, "the Freedom Schools have been most successful, not just in numbers, but in what is going on there."

In the rural areas where there is little recreation or diversion available to the Negro community, the Freedom School becomes the center of teen-age social activities, according to Lynd. Lynd draws upon the Holmes County and Carthage Freedom Schools as examples of this rural success. When the Freedom School staff arrived in Carthage, the entire Negro community was assembled at the church to greet them; when, two days later, the staff was evicted from its school, the community again appeared with pick-up trucks to help move the library to a new school site. As this is being written, the Carthage community, with the help of summer volunteers and a National Council of Churches minister, is building its own community center which will be staffed by civil rights workers and local volunteers.

An example of the second situation, the urban success, is the Hattiesburg Freedom School system, which Lynd refers to as the "Mecca of the Freedom School world." In Hattiesburg there are more than 600 students in five schools. Each teacher has been told to find a person from the community to be trained to take over his teaching job at the end of the summer. Much of the second session in Hattiesburg will be devoted to the training of local Freedom School teachers. "Here, as in Canton," states Lynd, "there can be no doubt that the success of the schools stemmed from the intensive civil rights campaign in the community during the months of late winter and spring."

In Gulfport and Greenville, urban environments with alternative attractions, the movement has not been strong enough in the past to counteract traditional time-passing activities. Lynd notes, however, that the generalization has exceptions. Holly Springs, an urban area in which the movement has not been strong in the past, has a highly successful Freedom School.

It should also be noted that in Holly Springs, Carthage, and Shaw, the Freedom Schools are competing against the regular public schools which are currently in session as public schools close in early spring to allow students to chop cotton.

In Mississippi's stronghold of organized terror, the Southwest, the McComb Freedom School has proven the political value of the schools as an instrument for building confidence in the Negro community when canvassing is impractical. Lynd cites the instance of Miss Joyce Brown's poem concerning the Freedom School held at a bombed home which moved the community to provide a meeting place for the school. "Thus," notes Lynd, "the presence of a Freedom School helped to loosen the hard knot of fear and to organize the Negro community." There are 108 students at the McComb Freedom School.

c) The Future of the Freedom Schools: The Freedom Schools will continue beyond the end of the Summer Project in August. Freedom Schools in several areas are already running jointly with the regular public schoolssession. The Freedom Schools offer subjects --such as foreign languages--not offered in the regular schools, and students are attracted to the informal questioning spirit of the Freedom Schools and academics based around their experiences as Mississippi Negroes. In situations like McComb, the Freedom School has proven its value to the overall COFO political program as an organizing instrument. Also, among the various COFO programs, the Freedom School project is the one which holds out a particular hope of communication with the white community. In at least two situations, Vicksburg and Holly Springs, white children have attended for short periods. Another factor in the decision to continue the Freedom Schools is the possibility turned probability that the Mississippi legislature will offer private school legislation designed to sidestep public school integration (already ordered for the fall of 1964 in Jackson, Biloxi, and Leake County). One is faced by situations such as that in Issaquena County where there are no Negro public schools, and children must be transported into other counties. The backwardness of Mississippi's educational system in the context of racial discrimination is demonstrated by the fact that in many areas the impact of the 1954 Supreme Court decision that separate cannot be equal was to have separate schools erected for the first time; the step previous to school segregation is concluding that Negro children should be educated. The rural hardcore area of Issaquena County is an example of a prolonged holdout. A final but not secondary factor is the "widespread apprehension among Mississippi Negroes as to what will happen to them when the Summer Project volunteers leave." Staughton Lynd adds, "We want to be able to tell them that the program will not end, that momentum cumulated during the summer months will not be permitted to slack off."

The long-range Freedom School program will probably be carried on through evening classes in local community centers. "Already in many communities Freedom School and Community Center programs are combined and often in the same building," according to Lynd. One source of teachers for the continuing Freedom School program will be volunteers who decide to stay beyond the summer; if only one in five stayed, fifty teachers would remain in the state. Another source would be Southern Negro students coming in under the work-study program which provides them with a one-year scholarship to Tougaloo College after one year's full-time work for SNCC. Other teachers would come through the local communities, under programs of training such as that which has already begun in Hattiesburg. Teachers could also be provided from the ranks of full-time SNCC staff members; in areas such as McComb where the movement can't register American citizens as voters, civil rights workers can teach in Freedom Schools. There is no doubt but that, in Professor Lynd's words, "It is a political decision for any parent to let his child come to a Freedom School."

The Freedom School program can develop as an aid in enabling Mississippi Negro students to make the transition from a Mississippi Negro high school to higher education. Standardized tests will be administered to the most promising Freedom School students under the direction of the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB) in mid-August. Evaluation of these scores and other data by the Natinnal Scholarship Service Fund for Negro Students will lead some of the Freedom School students to a program involving a) a transitional educational experience during the summer after high school, b) a reduced load during the freshman year at college, and c) financial aid. Others can be helped by the already-existing work-study program.

d) *Free Southern Theater:* As the second Freedom School session (August 3-21) begins, a tour of the Freedom Schools throughout the state is scheduled for the Free Southern theater production of *In White America*. The Free Southern Theater was organized early this year by SNCC with the assistance of COFO and Tougaloo College as an attempt to "stimulate thought and a new awareness among Negroes in the deep South," and "will work toward the establishment of permanent stock and repertory companies, with mobile touring units, in major population centers throughout the South, staging plays that reflect the struggles of the American Negro...before Negro and, in time, integrated audiences," according to a Free Southern Theater prospectus. An apprenticeship program is planned which will send a number of promising participants to New York for more intensive study. The company will include both professional and amateur participants.

The development of the Free Southern Theater was sparked by the "cultural desert" resulting from the closed society's restriction of the patterns of reflective and creative thought.

Each performance of *In White America* will be accompanied by theater workshops in the Freedom Schools designed to introduce students to the experience of theater through participation. As the classroom methods of the Freedom School are revolutionary in the context of traditional American patterns of education, so the Free Southern theater brings a new concept of drama to these Mississippi students. Dr. Lynd comments that the aim of the Theater "is the creation of a fresh theatrical style which will combine the highest standards of craftsmanship with a more intimate audience rapport than modern theater usually achieves."

Segregated schools, controlled text books, lack of discussion of controversial topics, the nature of the mass media in Mississippi demand the development of a cultural program, to be viewed in the context of education, among an entire people.

Among the objectives listed for the Free Southern Theater by its originators are "to acquaint Southern peoples with a breadth of experience with the theater and related art forms; to liberate and explore the creative talent and potential that is here as well as to promote the production of art; to bring in artists from outside the state as well as to provide the opportunity for local people with creative ability to have experience with the theater; to emphasize the universality of the problems of the Negro people; to strengthen communication between Southern Negroes; to assert that self knowledge and creativity are the foundations of human dignity."

Among the sponsors of the Free Southern Theater are singer Harry Belafonte, authors James Baldwin and Langston Hughes, performers Ossie Davis, Ruby Lee, and Theodore Bikel, and Lincoln Kirstein, general director of the New York City Ballet.

The proposal for the Free Southern Theater originated with SNCC workers Doris Derby, Gilbert Moses, and John O'Neal, and Tougaloo drama instructor William Hutchinson.

e) **Mississippi Summer Caravan of Music:** Approximately 25 performing artists, including Pete Seeger, the Chad Mitchell Trio, Theodore Bikel, and SNCC's Freedom Singers, will have toured the Mississippi Summer Project Freedom Schools and Community Centers before the close of the summer. During the day they will teach in Freedom School workshops, and perform in community concerts in the evening. Communities throughout the state have already been visited by the Caravan.

The Caravan is sponsored by the New York Council of Performing Artists (Gil Turner, Chairman), and is directed by Bob Cohen at the Mississippi Summer Project Headquarters.

f) **Excerpts from Freedom School Newspapers:** The first ones to insist upon connecting the Freedom Schools to the opening of the closed society of segregated Mississippi are the young students of the Freedom Schools. The average author of a Freedom School newspaper article is between 13 and 15 years of age.

The cover of the first issue of the McComb Freedom School's "Freedom Journal" depicts a Negro in chains with a scroll below him reading, "Am I not a man and a brother?" One girl, in the same paper remarks, "...too long others have done our speaking for us...." Her mother is a domestic who fears for what will happen to the family due to her child's attendance at the Freedom School. One 15 year old student there remarked that the Freedom School "enables me to know that I can get along with the whites and they can get along with me without feeling inferior to each other."

Two young students in the Holly Springs Freedom School describe their home town: "The working conditions are bad. The wages are very low. The amount paid for plowing a tractor all day is three dollars. . . .The white man buys most of the supplies used for the annual crops, but the Negro contributes all the labor. In the fall of the year when the crop is harvested and the cotton is sold to market, the white man gives the Negro what he thinks he needs, without showing the Negro a record of the income the white man has collected for the year. This process of farming has become a custom. This way of livelihood is not much different from slavery."

A student describes her life in the "Benton County Freedom Train:" "We work eight to nine hours each day and are paid daily after work is over. We get only $3.00 per day. . .and. . .chop cotton 8½ hours to 9 hours each day. . . .The man whom we work for is responsible for having fresh cold water handy in the field for the workers to drink. The whites also fail to take us to the store in time to eat dinner. . . .When it's harvest Negroes pick cotton by hand at $2.00 for a hundred pounds and some places $3.00 per hundred."

In the Mt. Zion Freedom School's "Freedom Press," a girl states she comes to the Freedom School because "I want to become a part of history also."

Joyce Brown, the 15 year old author of "The House of Liberty" (attached) will be a senior next year at McComb's Negro Burgland High School. When she was 12 years of age she was doing voter registration canvassing when Bob Moses, director of the Mississippi Summer Project, first began voter activities in Mississippi for SNCC in 1961.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE by the
Freedom School Students of
St. John's Methodist Church,
Palmer's Crossing, Hattiesburg, Miss.

In this course of human events, it has become necessary for the Negro people to break away from the customs which have made it very difficult for The Negro to get his God-given rights. We, as citizens of Mississippi, do hereby state that all people should have the right to petition, to assemble, and to use public places. We also have the right to life, liberty, and to seek happiness.

The government has no right to make or to change laws without the consent of the people. No government has the right to take the law into its own hands. All people as citizens have the right to impeach the government when their rights are being taken away.

All voters elect persons to the government. Everyone must vote to elect the person of his choice; so we hereby state that all persons of twenty-one years of age, whether black, white, or yellow, have the right to elect the persons of their choice; and if these persons do not carry out the will of the people, they have the right to alter or abolish the government.

The Negro does not have the right to petition the government for a redress of these grievances:

For equal opportunity.
For better schools and equipment.
For better recreation facilities.
For more public libraries.
For schools for the mentally ill.
For more and better senior colleges.
For better roads in Negro communities.
For training schools in the State of Mississippi.
For more Negro policemen.
For more guarantee of a fair circuit clerk.
For integration in colleges and schools.

The government has made it possible for the white man to have a mock trial in the case of a Negro's death.
The government has refused to make laws for the public good.
The government has used police brutality.
The government has imposed taxes upon us without representation.
The government has refused to give Negroes the right to go into public places.
The government has marked our registration forms unfairly.

We, therefore, the Negroes of Mississippi assembled, appeal to the government of the state, that no man is free until all men are free. We do hereby declare independence from the unjust laws of Mississippi which conflict with the United States Constitution.

THE HOUSE OF LIBERTY

I came not for fortune, nor for fame,
I seek not to add glory to an unknown name;
I did not come under the shadow of night,
I came by day to fight for what's right.
I shan't let fear, my monstrous foe,
Conquer my soul with threat and woe.
Here I have come and Here I shall stay,
And no amount of fear, my determination can sway.

I asked for your churches, and you turned me down,
But I'll do my work if I have to do it on the ground;
You will not speak for fear of being heard,
So you crawl in your shell and say, "Do not disturb."
You think because you've turned me away,
You've protected yourself for another day.

But tomorrow surely must come,
And your enemy will still be there with the rising sun;
He'll be there tomorrow as all tomorrows in the past,
And he'll follow you into the future if you let him pass.
You've turned me down to humor him,
Ah! Your fate is sad and grim,
For even tho' your help I ask,
Even without it, I'll finish my task.

In a bombed house I have to teach my school,
Because I believe all men should live by the Golden Rule.
To a bombed house your children must come,
Because of your fear of a bomb,
And because you've let your fear conquer your soul,
In this bombed house thses minds I must try to mold;
I must try to teach them to stand tall and be a man
When you their parents have cowered down and refused to take a stand.

Joyce Brown
McComb Freedom School

[1965]

The following RESOLUTION was presented to the Board by the Superintendent who recommended its adoption:

RESOLUTION

WHERAS, the Board of Public Instruction of Madison County, Florida, did on the 17th day of August, A. D. 1956, by Resolution adopt certain rules and regulations pursuant to Chapter 31380, Laws of Florida, 1956, referred to as the Pupil Assignment Law: and

WHEREAS, it is deemed advisable to supplement said rules and regulations as hereinafter set forth;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE BOARD OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION OF MADISON COUNTY, FLORIDA:

1. Any assignment or reassignment of any child entering or enrolled in the public schools of Madison County, Florida, for the school year 1965-66 and subsequent years shall be made without regard to race, color or national origin.

2. County-wide registration will be held during the last full calendar week of April, 1965 and during the like week of each year thereafter. All pupils shall register at the school they are presently attending, even though he or she will be promoted to a school of higher classification. During the preceding week, a letter will be sent by the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Madison County, Florida, (delivery to be effected by giving the letter to each child enrolled in the Madison County Public Schools with appropriate instructions for delivery to parent or guardian or to the parents or guardians of each child, who, according to the school records, will attend the public schools of Madison County, Florida, during the 1965-66 school term and during each school term thereafter), which letter will be substantially in the form below, which form is hereby made a part of this resolution.

"Dear Parent or Guardian:

In order to facilitate the fall opening of school, we have a procedure known as Spring Registration which takes place during the last full calendar week of April 19____. At that time, a Pupil Assignment Card is completed at the school for each pupil enrolled.

While it is the function of the School Administration to recommend assignments, a parent's preference of schools will be fairly considered. You are herewith advised that you are being afforded a reasonable and conscious opportunity to apply for admission to any school for which your child is eligible without regard to race, color or national origin and to have that choice fairly considered by the Board of Public Instruction. If you wish to exercise your right or preference, you must go to the school your child is attending at the time of the Spring Registration and sign a Parent School Preference Card during the period of said last full calendar week in April.

The Pupil Assignment Law provides for numerous criteria in the individual assignments of pupils, such as attendance area, transportation facilities, uniform testing, available facilities, scholastic aptitude, and numerous other factors, except race.

Should the School Administration recommend assignment of your child to a school other than the one you have requested, you will be notified by letter prior to the fall opening of school. In that event, you have the right to request, in writing, an appearance before the Board of Public Instruction to have your preference further considered. If such a request for hearing is received, you will be notified of the time and place of the hearing.

Application for Reassignment may be made at any time when a change of residence address or other material change in circumstances arises."

3. The parent or guardian of any pupil desiring reassignment for the school year 1965-66 and subsequent school years from the school which the child is attending during the school year 1964-65 and subsequent prior years, shall report to the school where his or her child, or ward, is at that time presently enrolled, between the hours of 8:30 o'clock A. M. and 3:30 o'clock P. M. on any day during registration week as set forth above, and request in writing a reassignment to the school of his or her choice.

4. The Board of Public Instruction of Madison County, Florida on all applications for assignment and reassignment of pupils may consider the achievement score of the applicant for assighment or reassignment, as compared to the average of the achievement scores of the class in the school to which he seeks transfer, provided, if said criteria be utilized by the Board the same shall be uniformly applied to all pupils in Madison County public school system seeking assignment or reassignment, and provided further that racial factors do not enter into said assignment or reassignment.

5. The Board of Public Instruction of Madison County, Florida, in the consideration of all applications for assignment or reassignment shall not supplement its available school transportation service.

6. In the consideration of all applications for assignment or reassignment, the Board may consider the capacity and pupil-load of the school to which the applicant seeks transfer and preference may be given by the Board first to children continuing an existing course of education in the school to which transfer is sought and thereafter to children who reside nearest to the school to which transfer is sought.

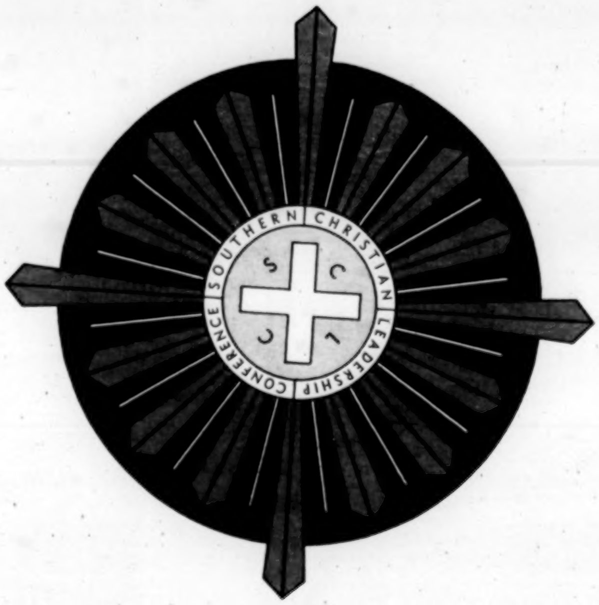
7. In the event of any conflict between the provisions of this resolution and the provisions of the said resolution of this Board of August 17, 1956, then the provisions of this resolution shall control.

8. A copy of these rules and regulations shall be supplied to each principal in the County, shall be published in the local newspaper and the Superintendent shall supply a copy to any person who requests it.

9. These rules and regulations shall be in full force and effect immediately upon adoption by the Board.

A motion was offered by Mr. McLeod and seconded by Mr. Townsend to approve above Resolution. The motion was unanimously carried.

n.d.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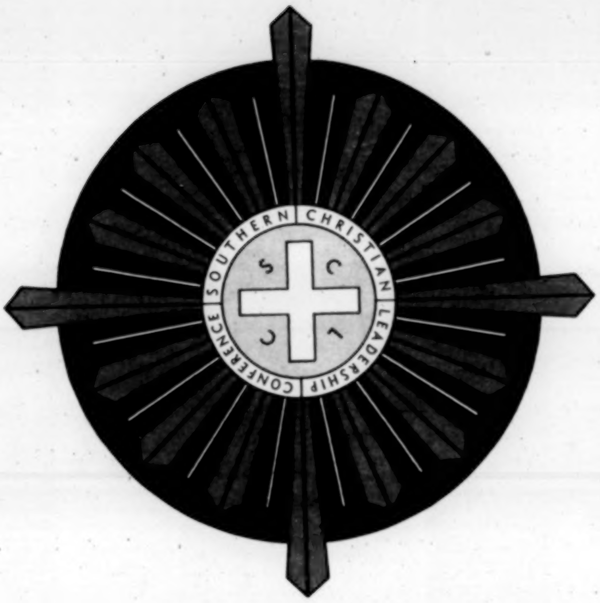
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Birth of SCLC

On January 10, 1957, more than 100 Southern eaders gathered in Atlanta, Georgia, to share and discuss their mutual problems of the Southern struggle. By unanimous agreement, the body voted to form a permanent organization that would serve as a coordinating agency for local protest centers that were utilizing the technique and philosophy of nonviolence in creative protest. Two months later, close on the heels of the successful Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott, SCLC came into being, in New Orleans, Louisiana. Martin Luther King, Jr., was elected president.

Structure of SCLC

Affiliate organizations all across the South make up the body of the Conference. The making and execution of basic policy is the responsibility of the Executive Board, geographically representative of the entire South. Of the thirty-three board members, twenty-four are elected by the Conference and nine by the Board. Every affiliate may have from one to five voting delegates at any deliberative session of the Conference, depending upon the type of financial affiliation. The annual meeting of the Conference is held in the early fall and the Executive Board meets in the Spring. Policy decisions are handled by an Administrative Committee between meetings of the Conference and the Board. SCLC maintains a modest but versatile staff at its home office in Atlanta, Georgia.

Membership in SCLC

SCLC is not a membership organization *per se*. As indicated, affiliate groups and organizations constitute the actual membership. In turn, individuals belong to the affiliates (churches, civic organizations, fraternal groups, etc.). The minimum affiliate fee is $25.00 per annum entitling the group represented to one voting delegate in all deliberative sessions. An affiliate may have as many as five (5) voting delegates ($125.00), but regardless of amount given, this is maximum number of delegates allowed. Affiliation requires an application in writing to national office that indicates general structure and purposes of group seeking affiliation. All affiliates are confirmed by the Executive Board or Administrative Committee. Upon confirmation, affiliate certificates and suitable credentials are forwarded to member organization indicating SCLC's services are immediately available. The SCLC Newsletter and other printed material relevant to the social struggle are forwarded to the membership of the affiliate group periodically.

SCLC—A Nonsectarian Agency

From its inception, SCLC has been nonsectarian in character. Conference supporters are people of all faiths, religions and creeds. The word 'Christian' in SCLC's name is natural and unique to the social structure of the Negro community in the South. The Negro church is his only forum, owned, operated and controlled by him; it affords the broadest opportunity for social intercourse; it is generally the headquarters of the Negro's struggle for full citizenship; the pastor has been the community leader and champion of the Negro's civil liberties. Most of the protest centers in the South are clergy-led, thus accounting for the high incidence of ministers who make up the leadership of the Conference. Laymen too, play a significant role, several serving on the Board and holding top offices. SCLC welcomes the good wishes and support of any person or group of persons who have as their ultimate goal actualizing democracy in America through peaceful and nonviolent means.

Aims and Purposes of SCLC

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has the basic aim of achieving full citizenship rights, equality, and the integration of the Negro in all aspects of American life. SCLC is a service agency to facilitate coordinated action of local community groups within the frame of their indigenous organizations and natural leadership. SCLC activity revolves around two main focal points: the use of nonviolent philosophy as a means of creative protest; and securing the right of the ballot for every citizen.

Philosophy of SCLC

The basic tenents of Hebraic-Christian tradition coupled with the Ghandian concept of *satyagraha* — truth force — is at the heart of SCLC's philosophy. Christian nonviolence actively resists evil in any form. It never seeks to humiliate the opponent, only to win him. Suffering is accepted without retaliation. Internal violence of the spirit is as much to be rejected as external physical violence. At the center of nonviolence is redemptive love. Creatively

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used, the philosophy of nonviolence can restore the broken community in America. SCLC is convinced that nonviolence is the most potent force available to an oppressed people in their struggle for freedom and dignity.

SCLC and Nonviolent Mass Direct Action

SCLC believes that the American dilemma in race relations can best and most quickly be resolved through the action of thousands of people, committed to the philosophy of nonviolence, who will physically identify themselves in a just and moral struggle. It is not enough to be intellectually dissatisfied with an evil system. The true nonviolent resister presents his physical body as an instrument to defeat the system. Through nonviolent mass direct action, the evil system is creatively dramatized in order that the conscience of the community may grapple with the rightness or wrongness of the issue at hand.

SCLC and Leadership Training

In its bold new program, SCLC has undertaken one of the difficult tasks so vital to the present-day struggle in the South. The Leadership Training Program is directed at the organization of communities at the 'grass-roots' level. It is believed that the great success of the Negro community's struggle for full citizenship will be determined by the training of this second-line leadership. Leadership Training embraces the work of the Citizenship Schools and the Correspondence Institute. Both include in their course of studies such subjects as: *Registration and Voting; Social Protest; Understanding Politics; Use of the Boycott; How to Picket; The Nature of Prejudice*, etc.

SCLC's Citizenship Schools

The Citizenship School is the direct result of one phase of the Leadership Training Program. Interested persons, who have a general knowledge of reading and writing, are trained intensively in the skills of adult education using subject matter relevant to the social struggle. They return to their individual communities as instructors and set up a Citizenship School that the 'grass-roots' people may be trained for full participation in civic life. Periodically, the instructors return to the training center for refresher courses to keep them abreast of significant changes and to further develop their skills.

SCLC and Voter-Registration

The right of the ballot is basic to the exercise of full citizenship rights. All across the South, subtle and flagrant obstacles confront the Negro when he seeks to register and vote. Poll taxes, long form questionnaires, harassment, economic reprisal, and sometimes death, meet those who dare to seek this exercise of the ballot. In areas where there is little or no attempt to block the voting attempts of the Negro, apathy generally is deeply etched upon the habits of the community. SCLC with its specialized staff works on both fronts: aiding local communities through every means available to secure the right to vote (e.g. filing complaints with the Civil Rights Commission) and arousing interest through voter-registration workshops to point up the importance of the ballot. Periodically, SCLC, upon invitation conducts a voter-registration drive to enhance a community's opportunity to free itself from economic and political servitude. SCLC believes that the most important step the Negro can take is that short walk to the voting booth.

SCLC and Civil Disobedience

SCLC sees civil disobedience as a natural consequence of nonviolence when the resister is confronted by unjust and immoral laws. This does not imply that SCLC advocates either anarchy or lawlessness. The Conference firmly believes that all people have a moral responsibility to obey laws that are just. It recognizes, however, that there also are unjust laws. From a purely moral point of view, an unjust law is one that is out of harmony with the moral law of the universe, or, as the religionist would say, out of harmony with the Law of God. More concretely, an unjust law is one in which the minority is compelled to observe a code which is not binding on the majority. An unjust law is one in which people are required to obey a code that they had no part in making because they were denied the right to vote. In the face of such obvious inequality, where difference is made legal, the nonviolent resister has no alternative but to disobey the unjust law. In disobeying such a law, he does so peacefully, openly and nonviolently. Most important, he *willingly* accepts the penalty for breaking the law. This distinguishes SCLC's position on civil disobedience from the 'uncivil disobedience' of the racist opposition in the South. In the face of laws they consider unjust, they seek to defy, evade, and circumvent the law, BUT they are *unwilling* to accept the penalty for breaking the law. The end result of their defiance is anarchy and disrespect for the law. SCLC, on the other hand, believes that civil disobedience involves the highest respect for the law. He who openly disobeys a law that conscience tells him is unjust and willingly accepts the penalty is giving evidence that he so respects the law that he belongs in jail until it is changed.

Source of SCLC's Funds

SCLC's budget is supported by mass rallies, individual and organizational pledges, direct mailing fund appeals, and affiliate fees. Some portion of the budget is realized through the personal appearances of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other members of the Conference. Under its bold new program, SCLC launches in 1961 its 'Dollars For Freedom' campaign which is again directed at the 'grass roots' population of America. More recently, special fund-raising projects in the form of benefits featuring outstanding artists of show business, have added to the financial support needed to carry on the work throughout the South.

SCLC and the Sit-ins

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference views the Sit-In Movement of southern college students as the most important development in the southern struggle. The Conference's record evidences that at every opportunity, it has done everything within its power and resources to aid and abet the students in developing their skills in nonviolent protest. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the coordinating organization of the student movement, was born as a result of a conference called by SCLC at Raleigh, North Carolina, in the spring of 1960 at the height of the Sit-Ins. It continues to serve in an advisory capacity through its professional staff and its president, Martin Luther King, Jr., symbol of the students' nonviolent mass attack on segregation. Some of the most significant victories in the Sit-In Movement of southern college students have come as a result of the leadership and guidance of SCLC affiliates, e.g., Nashville Christian Leadership Council, Nashville, Tenn., Petersburg Improvement Association, Petersburg, Va., etc.

SCLC and Segregation

SCLC is firmly opposed to segregation in any form that it takes and pledges itself to work unrelentingly to rid every vestige of its scars from our nation through nonviolent means. Segregation is an evil and its presence in our nation has blighted our larger destiny as a leader in world affairs. Segregation does as much harm to the *segregator* as it does to the *segregated*. The *segregated* develops a false sense of inferiority and the *segregator* develops a false sense of superiority, both contrary to the American ideal of democracy. America must rid herself of segregation not alone because it is politically expedient, but because it is morally right!

SCLC and Constructive Program

SCLC's basic program fosters nonviolent resistance to all forms of racial injustice, including state and local laws and practices, even when this means going to jail; and imaginative, bold constructive action to end the demoralization caused by the legacy of slavery and segregation—inferior schools, slums, and second-class citizenship. Thus, the Conference works on two fronts. On the one hand, it resists continuously the system of segregation which is the basic cause of lagging standards; on the other hand, it works constructively to improve the standards themselves. There MUST be a balance between attacking the causes and healing the effects of segregation.

SCLC and the Beloved Community

The ultimate aim of SCLC is to foster and create the 'beloved community' in America where brotherhood is a reality. It rejects any doctrine of black supremacy for this merely substitutes one kind of tyranny for another. The Conference does not foster moving the Negro from a position of disadvantage to one of advantage for this would thereby subvert justice. SCLC works for integration. Our ultimate goal is genuine intergroup and interpersonal living — *integration*. Only through nonviolence can reconciliation and the creation of the beloved community be effected. The international focus on America and her internal problems against the dread prospect of a hot war, demand our seeking this end.

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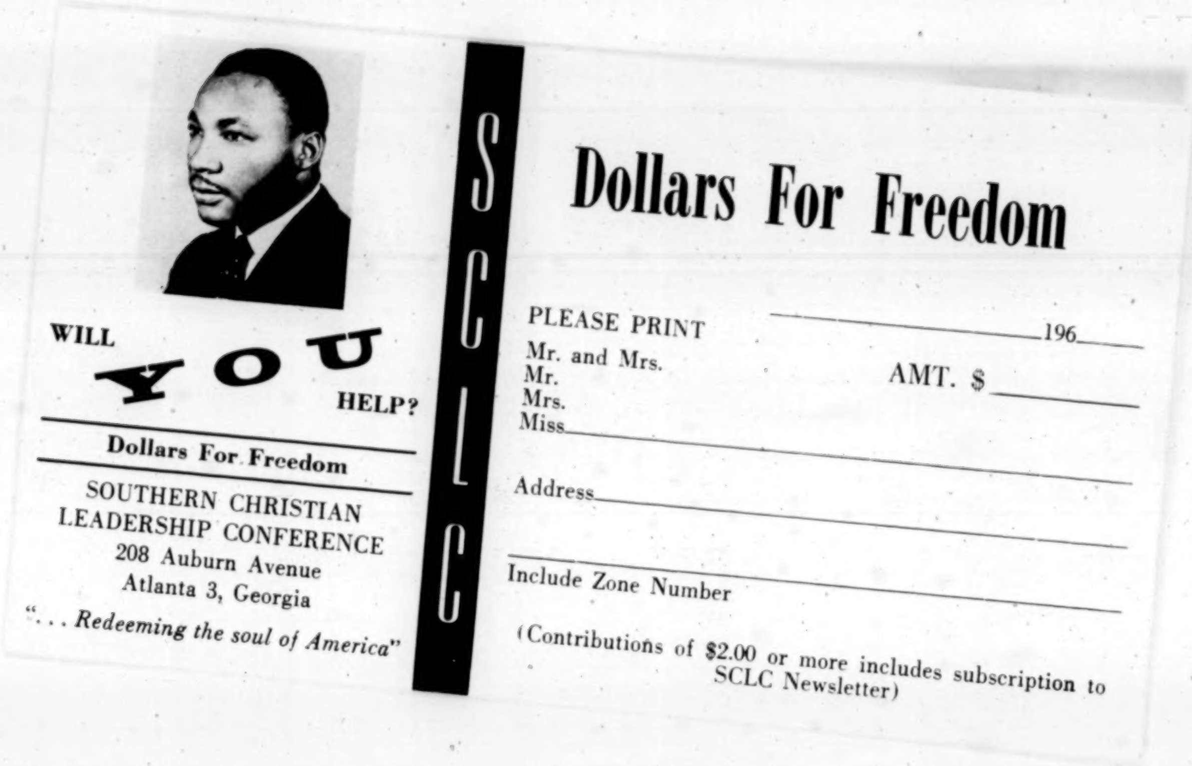

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N.d.

NEW WAYS WITH THE

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

TENNESSEANS have a heritage of fair and friendly relations between the races. This increases our opportunity as well as our obligation, to build together a future which will provide for the fullest personal development for all of us.

We hope for better educational opportunity for all our children. We wish our citizens to share in the advantages which the expansion of industry with its new job opportunities brings to the state.

We seek for all our people those things which make life rich and free.

the council is:

A voluntary, non-political, state-wide organization of Tennesseans of all races and faiths, living in cities, and small communities engaging in all kinds of occupations. There are active membership groups in Memphis, Nashville, Oak Ridge, Knoxville and Chattanooga, and a scattered membership in fourteen other communities. Membership is open to all persons who subscribe to its objectives.

objectives are:

To serve as a rallying point for persons who strive for intelligence, tolerance, and fair play in race relations.

To encourage and support individuals and governmental agencies dedicated to the maintenance of law and order in the implementation of the decisions of our courts.

To foster an environment in which citizens of all races and creeds may live together in decency and dignity, free from discriminatory practices.

activities and program:

Members are encouraged to inform themselves and others as to discriminatory practices obtaining in their own communities. Individually and with other members and organizations they move toward appropriate changes. Information and assistance may be requested from the state office. At the annual state-wide membership meeting reports are made and initiated on problems of wide interest. For example—housing, hospital facilities, voting registration.

The Tennessee Council offers you an opportunity to enrich your own life with new interests and new friends, and to join others in removing injustices and indignities under which many of our fellow citizens are now forced to live. This is an opportunity for Tennesseans to create for themselves, their children and grand children the kind of state they desire.

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2011 Grand Avenue
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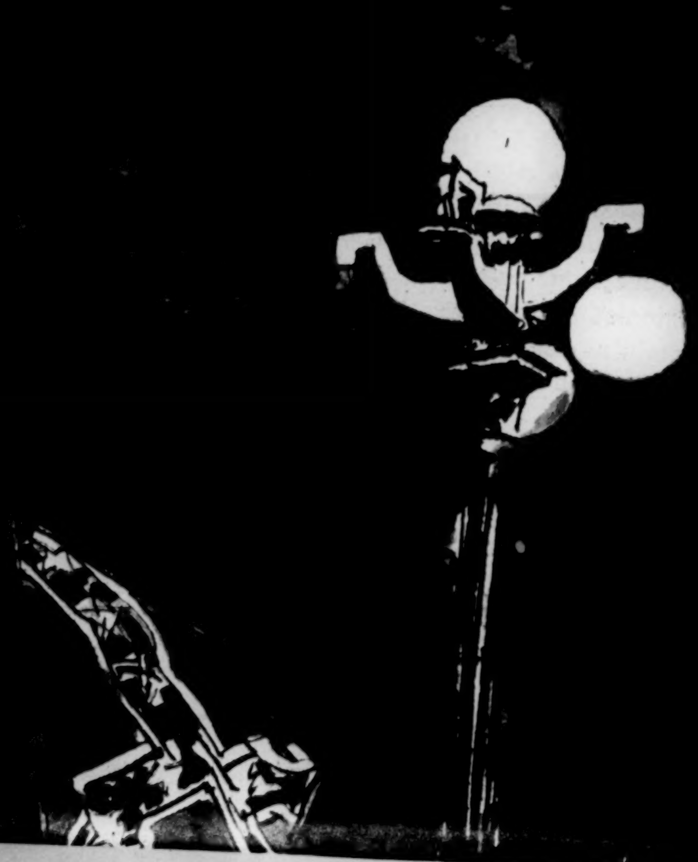
A MASSACRE AT OLE MISS



ed a massacre at Ole Miss

BY GEORGE B. LEONARD,
T. GEORGE HARRIS and
CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

BETWEEN NOON and midnight of September 30, 1962, this nation came within one man's nod of a state-sized civil war. The riot that exploded at the University of Mississippi in Oxford brought death to two men and injuries to hundreds. But it was a pep rally compared with what almost happened.

A group of Mississippi leaders had been secretly planning to form a wall of unarmed bodies that would not yield until knocked down and trod upon by Federals. Many segregationists were prepared to go to jail. Many were ready to fight with fists, rocks and clubs. Some resolved to stand until shot down. Others planned to defy the orders of their leaders and conceal pistols on their persons.

"In retrospect, I'm thankful that 5,000 to 10,000—maybe 15,000 to 20,000—fellow Mississippians didn't go there and get killed," said Dr. M. Ney Williams, 40, a director of the Citizens' Council and adviser to Gov. Ross Barnett in the crisis. This earnest segregationist may have overstated, but he is one of a small group who knew the situation's real potential. No one who understood Mississippi's "wall-of-flesh" strategy estimates that less than "hundreds" would have been killed had the plan been carried out.

What the segregationists did not know is this: While Barnett was encouraging their efforts, he was—throughout the four days before the riot—secretly suggesting schemes to Attorney General Robert Kennedy that would allow Negro James Meredith to enter Ole Miss.

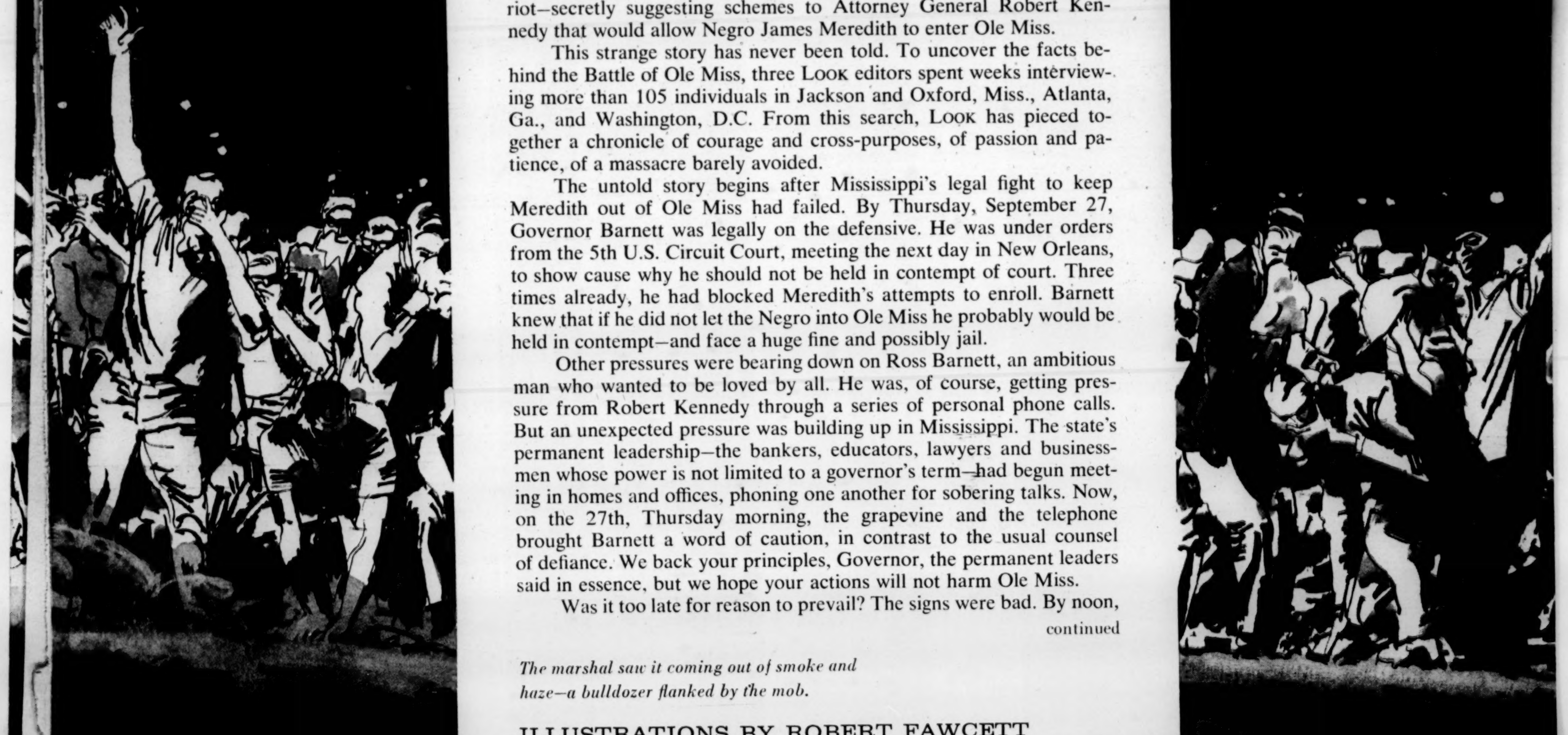
This strange story has never been told. To uncover the facts behind the Battle of Ole Miss, three LOOK editors spent weeks interviewing more than 105 individuals in Jackson and Oxford, Miss., Atlanta, Ga., and Washington, D.C. From this search, LOOK has pieced together a chronicle of courage and cross-purposes, of passion and patience, of a massacre barely avoided.

The untold story begins after Mississippi's legal fight to keep Meredith out of Ole Miss had failed. By Thursday, September 27, Governor Barnett was legally on the defensive. He was under orders from the 5th U.S. Circuit Court, meeting the next day in New Orleans, to show cause why he should not be held in contempt of court. Three times already, he had blocked Meredith's attempts to enroll. Barnett knew that if he did not let the Negro into Ole Miss he probably would be held in contempt—and face a huge fine and possibly jail.

Other pressures were bearing down on Ross Barnett, an ambitious man who wanted to be loved by all. He was, of course, getting pressure from Robert Kennedy through a series of personal phone calls. But an unexpected pressure was building up in Mississippi. The state's permanent leadership—the bankers, educators, lawyers and businessmen whose power is not limited to a governor's term—had begun meeting in homes and offices, phoning one another for sobering talks. Now, on the 27th, Thursday morning, the grapevine and the telephone brought Barnett a word of caution, in contrast to the usual counsel of defiance. We back your principles, Governor, the permanent leaders said in essence, but we hope your actions will not harm Ole Miss.

Was it too late for reason to prevail? The signs were bad. By noon,

continued



The marshal saw it coming out of smoke and haze—a bulldozer flanked by the mob.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ROBERT FAWCETT

Ross Barnett's plan: All the U.S. marshals would draw their guns, and he could then surrender to avoid bloodshed.

a great force had gathered at Ole Miss. Barnett and Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson were there. Near the university's East Gate, some 250 state troopers and county sheriffs were lined up, surrounded and infiltrated by a restless crowd of more than 2,000 students and others. All were waiting for James Meredith and whatever U. S. marshals he might have with him. Here was Mississippi's "wall of flesh."

In this dangerous impasse, Robert Kennedy awaited a call from Ross Barnett, who, through a representative earlier that day, had suggested a way out. The call did not come. Now, at 2:50 p.m., Washington time, Kennedy took the initiative and put a call through to Barnett.

"Hello," said Kennedy.

"Hello, General. How are you?" Barnett said hospitably.

The two got right down to the business of the Governor's plan. Both understood its purpose: to allow Barnett to be overwhelmed by the Federals while crying "Never" for the segregationists' benefit.

The plan called for Barnett and Johnson to stand at the university's gate, backed up by unarmed state patrolmen. Kennedy would have Chief U. S. Marshal James McShane and 25 to 30 marshals bring Meredith to the gate. Barnett would refuse to let Meredith in. At this point, McShane would draw his gun, and the other marshals would slap their hands on their holsters. Barnett would then step aside and allow Meredith to register. The Mississippi highway patrol would maintain law and order.

In his talk with Kennedy, the Governor worried about how the scene would look to "a big crowd." If only one man drew his gun, Barnett felt that he could not back down. So Kennedy reluctantly agreed to have all the marshals draw their guns. Under Federal guns, Ross Barnett could surrender to prevent bloodshed.

Kennedy knew his own duty—to uphold the courts and to do everything in his power to avoid bloodshed. He did not wish to use Federal troops against, as he put it, "my fellow Americans." And, for the sake of a long-term solution, he wanted to leave law enforcement in state and local hands.

The plan, however bizarre, would accomplish these purposes. The Attorney General set about making plans to send Meredith and an escort of marshals down to Oxford from their base at the Naval Air Station near Memphis, Tenn.

But an hour later, Barnett called back and asked for a postponement until Saturday the 29th. He seemed shaky and unsure of his control over his people. He put Lieutenant Governor Johnson on. Johnson spoke worriedly of "intense citizens," sheriffs and deputies not directly under state control. It might take time to "move them." Everything was held in suspense until Barnett phoned again. Be there at 5 p.m., Mississippi time, he told Kennedy. It was then 2:20 at Oxford. Barnett repeatedly promised there would be no violence.

Thirteen green U. S. border-patrol sedans glided down Highway 55, the new expressway running south from Memphis. Twelve contained a total of more than two dozen marshals. They had unloaded pistols and had been briefed on their role in the coming charade. The other car was driven by border patrolman Charles Chamblee of New Orleans. With him in the front seat was Chief Marshal McShane, his rugged face tight and determined.

In back, James Meredith, cool as always, sat next to John Doar, 40, of the U. S. Department of Justice. Meredith wore the armor of the new Negro's determination to ignore personal risk. The NAACP had selected him for legal backing from among eleven students ready to apply to Ole Miss. Looking at Meredith, Doar thought here is a man who can stand almost any amount of pressure.

As the convoy rolled on, Robert Kennedy phoned Ross Barnett. Kennedy wanted specific assurances that Barnett would maintain order after Meredith got on campus. Barnett's answers were disturbing. He spoke generally of keeping order "all over the state. . . . We always do that." It was then 3:35 p.m. in Oxford.

At that point, Kennedy could not possibly realize the Governor's dilemma. Barnett had set forces in motion he could not control. The brigade at the gate didn't know that he was negotiating surrender with "the enemy." Their job, as many saw it, was to stop the Federal marshals even at the cost of their lives. But they were confused as to how they would fight. Barnett feared the "hotheads" would call the turn.

Judge Russell D. Moore, III, a blocky ex-marine in command at Oxford for the Governor, had originally disarmed all highway patrolmen and sheriffs. "We didn't want any of our officers to be incited into drawing a pistol and shooting someone," he said later. In its purest form, Mississippi strategy called for passive resistance. But Moore got word that the Federals were bringing in "the goon squad," equipped with billies and gas. So he broke out helmets, night sticks and gas masks for the highway patrol, and let his sheriffs carry blackjacks, keep their gas guns handy and bring in police dogs. Moore later said he was confident that the disciplined patrolmen would have accepted an order to give way if the Federals had drawn guns.

Oxford Sheriff Joe Ford knew, however, that the visiting sheriffs would be harder to control. "If the marshals had come with their guns drawn, they might have got by the patrol," he said later, "but when they got to the sheriffs, they would have had to use them." Then, too, at least one deputy carried a hidden pistol. "We're not going to just stand up here," another said, "and let that nigger in." Both troopers and sheriffs had their regular weapons locked in car trunks—near at hand. No matter what Barnett said, the crowd's emotion would have set off violence. "It would," Moore said later, "have been a donnybrook."

At 4:35 p.m., Oxford time, Barnett phoned Kennedy again. The Governor was, he said, worried. He was nervous. He felt unable to control the crowd. The way things were going, he thought a hundred people were liable to be killed, and that would "ruin all of us." It would, he said, be embarrassing to him.

"I don't know if it would be *embarrassing*," Kennedy said. "That would not be the feeling." He hurriedly ended the conversation and ordered the convoy to turn back. It was then just 30 miles from Oxford.

THE NEXT DAY, Friday, September 28, in New Orleans, the Circuit Court gave Barnett until 11 a.m. Tuesday to purge himself of contempt of court. This meant, among other things, allowing Meredith to register. Otherwise, Barnett would be fined $10,000 a day and jailed.

The Governor had his deadline. But Robert Kennedy had a worse one. Getting Meredith into Ole Miss would be difficult, perhaps dangerous. But arresting the Governor of Mississippi in his state capitol! This would not only be regrettable, but immeasurably more dangerous. Kennedy imagined the mob around the capitol building—troopers, sheriffs, "hotheads" and racists from all over. Two days before, ex-General Edwin Walker had spoken over a Shreveport (La.) radio station, calling for 10,000 volunteers from every state to come to the aid of Ross Barnett. Robert Kennedy knew he would have to do everything in his power to get Meredith into Ole Miss by 11 a.m. Tuesday.

That Friday afternoon, he met with five military leaders headed by Gen. Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, who, like most of the others, had worked on the Little Rock paratroop operation under President Eisenhower. They considered using—if necessary—two battalions of MP's, a battle group from the 2nd Infantry Division at Fort Benning, Ga., and logistic support.

Saturday, September 29. A lovely early-autumn day in Washing-

continued

The senior faced the mob, arms outspread.
"Here's the deal!" he shouted.

ton. Robert Kennedy was in his office by 10 a.m., surrounded by the small group of Justice Department officials who, informally, had become the "Mississippi task force." They included wiry, brilliant Burke Marshall, 40, head of the Civil Rights Division; Deputy Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, 40, a big-boned law scholar; and Edwin Guthman, 43, Kennedy's assistant for public information.

At 11:50, the Attorney General got a call from the Governor's mansion. He was not expecting any change in the situation, and none was forthcoming. Kennedy put down the phone and looked grimly at the men around him.

"We'd better get moving," he said, "with the military."

He picked up the phone and, at 12:15, reached President Kennedy at the White House. The President told him to come over. Before leaving, Robert Kennedy shook his head. "Maybe we waited too long."

"No," Guthman replied. "The result would have been the same, and the record is clear that we've done everything to avoid this step."

Kennedy nodded. His face was somber and sad.

At the White House, the President, with his brother and Marshall, got to work on his television address (tentatively set for Sunday night), on military planning, and drafted a proclamation federalizing the Mississippi National Guard. Meanwhile, Governor Barnett was on the phone again. He had a new twist. He proposed that, on Monday morning, he, Johnson, the troopers and sheriffs stand defiantly at the entrance to Ole Miss. While they waited, Meredith would be sneaked into Jackson, where facilities would be set up to register him. A "surprised" Barnett would complain bitterly of Federal trickery. But on Tuesday, he would allow Meredith to come to Ole Miss. He promised the President that the highway patrol would maintain law and order.

All Saturday afternoon, the men in Washington considered the proposal. In a 7 p.m. telephone call, the President himself and Governor Barnett agreed to this plan. The Governor assured him that Meredith would be safely on the campus by Tuesday morning. So the President held back his proclamation and canceled the TV time set aside for his speech.

Robert Kennedy and Burke Marshall returned to the Justice Department. Kennedy went home around 10. Just after he left, the phone rang. It was Barnett. "Well, here we go again," Ed Guthman thought wearily as he heard Nick Katzenbach tell the operator he could reach the Attorney General at home.

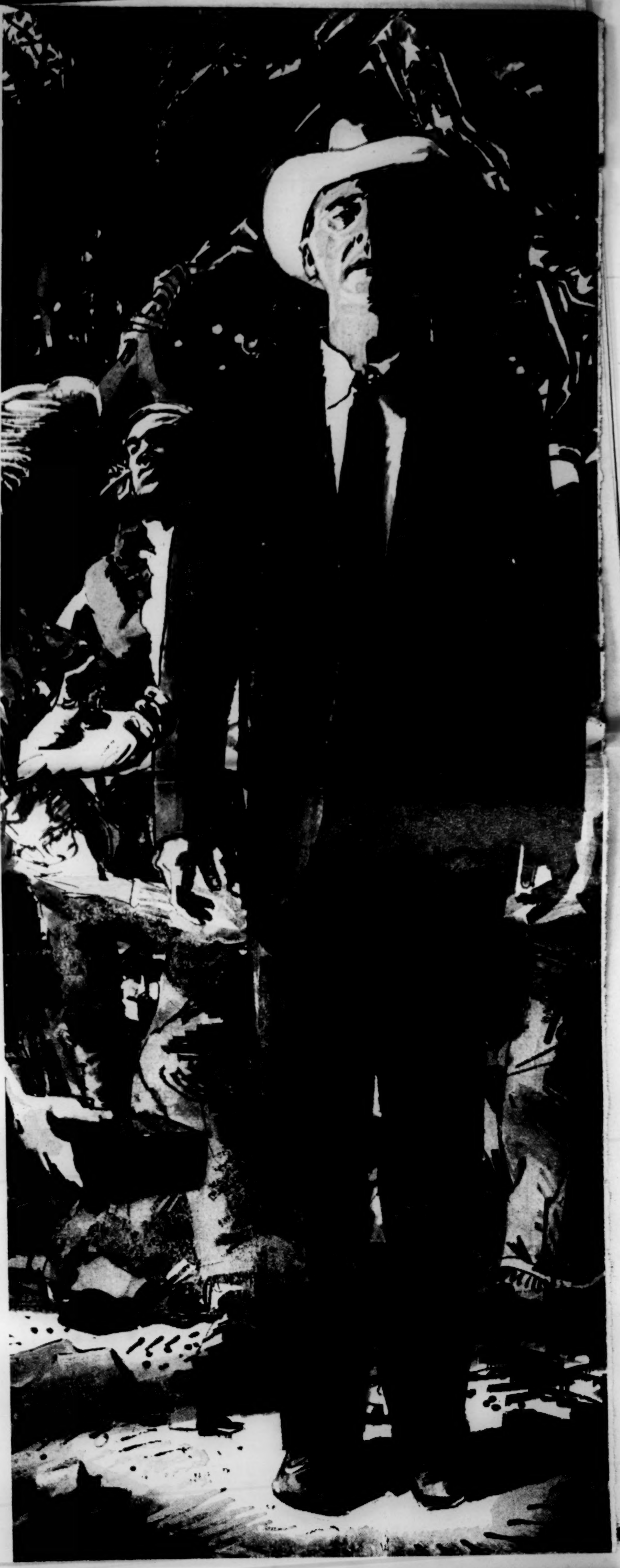
Guthman was right. The Governor called off the plan. Robert Kennedy's anger rose; this seemed a clear breach of an agreement between the Governor and the President of the United States. But the two men ended the conversation amiably, with the understanding that the Federals would arrive with Meredith at Oxford Monday morning—in force. The Governor said he would call again Sunday morning, at 11, Washington time.

There is a special loneliness in the White House late on a night of crisis. John F. Kennedy sat at the long table in the Indian Treaty Room, hunched over a piece of paper. Assistant Attorney General Norbert A. Schlei sat next to him. They were alone. The President took a pen and signed the proclamation federalizing the Mississippi National Guard. Before writing the date, he hesitated. "Is it past midnight?" he asked. Schlei checked his watch. "It's just 20 seconds past 12."

At Jackson's municipal stadium, about an hour earlier, Ross Barnett stood at the peak of his glory. It was half time in the night football game between Ole Miss and Kentucky. The Rebels led 7 to 0. Some 41,000 spectators sensed the electricity in the air. Hundreds of Confederate flags waved defiantly.

Ross Barnett stood on the field, buoyed by the high-pitched clamor, smiling because he felt the warmth and love of 41,000 people. He paused before a microphone. The crowd fell silent. Barnett's face was sculptured by the stadium lights. The silence heightened. Barnett raised one arm, his fist clenched in command and defiance.

It was one of those rare moments of historical suspense that were to occur several times in the next 27 hours. A variation of only two or three words in what he said would have radically altered the flow of



Ex-General Walker stood near the monument. His white Western hat gave off a ghostly glow.

Robert Kennedy warned Barnett that the President would go on TV and tell all

events. A few measured words of reason would have deflected tragedy. One phrase such as "repel the invaders" would have caused much worse tragedy on the following day.

The crowd waited. "I love Mississippi," Barnett said. The crowd did not roar; it screamed. "I love her people." Another scream. His voice was resonant, throbbing with emotion. "I love our customs." The scream was almost hysterical. Every Mississippian knew what "our customs" meant. Barnett never went beyond this point. He heightened the people's hysteria, but did not tell them what to do.

In the second half, a reporter came to Governor Barnett's box. He had word that the President had federalized the Mississippi National Guard, and asked if the Governor would care to comment. The Governor said no. Events, he knew, were closing in from both directions.

Second Lt. Donnie G. Bowman, a big, easy-going Texan, stretched and looked at his men dozing in the canvas seats of the darkened C-130 troop transport. He had been in flight over an hour. The 23-year-old platoon leader was one of 452 men of the 503rd MP Battalion pulled out of Fort Bragg, N. C., as part of a "Task Force Alpha."

That Saturday afternoon, while watching the Notre Dame-Oklahoma game, Bowman had been phoned to report to company headquarters. His wife Karlyn drove him there, with their eight-week-old daughter on the seat between them. Bowman, a member of the Army's STRAC alert force, was accustomed to sudden orders.

As Bowman watched his 56-man platoon loading into a squat C-130, he was given an unopened crate of riot shotguns. He began to suspect where he might be going.

Other planes and cars were on the move Saturday night. One car was a white compact on Highway 51 between Jackson and Oxford. In it sat a tall, erect man in a white Texas hat. He had been given a ticket to the Ole Miss-Kentucky game, but, hearing that action was developing fast at Oxford, had returned it and driven north with friends. The white car arrived in Oxford near midnight, and ex-General Edwin Walker, using an assumed name, checked into the Mansel Motel.

SUNDAY MORNING, September 30. Another beautiful day in Mississippi and Washington. Robert Kennedy and most of his Mississippi task force were at work by 9 a.m. Their deadline pressed them hard. Racial agitators from many states were converging on Oxford. Kennedy considered putting Meredith on campus that day. He knew that most of those coming to fight the Government did not expect the action until Monday or Tuesday.

The marshals at Memphis had been roused at dawn and told to be ready to load on planes by noon, just in case. Meredith, who had spent Saturday at Dillard University in New Orleans, was flying to Memphis in a border-patrol Cessna 310. They glided down to the Naval Air Station airport while C-130 transports brought in more troops.

Shortly before Meredith landed, Kennedy had another call from Barnett. The Governor suggested a new plan, basically his Thursday scheme, but more grandiose. On Monday morning, October 1, he would wait at the university gate, backed by a phalanx of state troopers, who would be backed by sheriffs, who would be backed by citizens and students. Meredith should arrive with a large Army force. The Governor would read a proclamation barring him from Ole Miss. Then, Kennedy's men should draw their guns. Barnett would, he said, step aside.

Kennedy could hardly believe his ears. He felt his indignation rising, but he spoke to Barnett in a cold, controlled tone. Barnett was responsible, Kennedy said, for more than his own political future. He had a responsibility to his state and the nation.

Kennedy then shifted to a new tack. Unless the Governor cooperated, he said, and helped maintain law and order while Meredith went on campus, the President would go on television and tell the country that Barnett had broken his word. To prove it, the President would tell all about the behind-scenes dickering.

This had a devastating effect. The Governor's resistance seemed to melt away. Again and again, Barnett asked that the President say nothing on TV that would unveil the nature of the secret phone calls.

Kennedy suggested that Meredith be flown onto the campus by helicopter on Monday, while U. S. marshals and state troopers, working together, controlled the crowd. Barnett, whose supporters still had plans for that day, voiced a fear that on Monday hundreds of people would be killed. He spoke of Mississippi's mood and of the hundreds of agitators on their way from other states. Because of Monday's danger, the two agreed that Meredith would be brought in that very day before dark. Kennedy also stipulated that Meredith should be safely on the campus *before* the President's speech (now scheduled for 5:30, Mississippi time). Barnett was to send Col. T. B. Birdsong, head of the highway patrol, up to Oxford, to help get Meredith on the campus. Two more phone calls over the next couple of hours confirmed the arrangements. Kennedy was repeatedly assured that order would be upheld.

At noon, no one on the flight from Atlanta for Jackson could help noticing the huge man with the bushy red beard and untrimmed red mustache. There was something jolly about him. He exuded the confidence and humor that come from fame—or from a deep love and appreciation of life. And he was hungry. The stewardess brought him a cola and a couple of tiny sandwiches. Amused, she tried to guess his job and destination. "Oh, I know," she drawled, "you're going down to the nigger thing."

The bearded man smiled painfully. He turned to his companion, chubby little photographer Sammy Schulman, and said in French, "These people. It'll take them a hundred years to start forgetting."

The stewardess walked away. Paul Guihard, half English, half French reporter for *Agence France-Presse,* later made a note for what was to be his last assignment. He scribbled: "Hostess: 'about that nigger.' "

Meredith ate lunch calmly at the Naval Air Station cafeteria. His companion, John Doar, was on the phone to receive orders from the Justice Department: Be ready to take off with Meredith by 3:30. Later came the order to be over Oxford at 5:50. Circle until ordered to land.

Doar could hear the engines of four transports that would take the first 170 marshals to Oxford. A convoy of 30 U. S. border-patrol cars with two-way radios was ready to take 60 more men to Ole Miss.

In the executive mansion in Jackson, four somber men were commissioned by the Governor to go to Oxford as his representatives. They were: George M. Yarbrough, president pro tem of the senate and the state's third-ranking officer; County Judge Russell Moore, who had already been in command of the brigade at the campus; State Representative C. B. (Buddie) Newman and State Senator John C. McLaurin. The Governor gave Senator Yarbrough, head of the committee, an official order "to do all things necessary that the peace and security of the people of the State of Mississippi are fully protected."

The group, as Moore understood it, was to set up for Monday the same forces that had been on hand on Thursday. "We thought we might all be killed," McLaurin said later. Newman quickly made out a will, got the others to witness it.

When they left the mansion that day, they thought they had plenty of time. "We were going up there to get the defenses prepared," McLaurin explained afterwards. The group understood that the marshals and Meredith would arrive on Monday.

Yarbrough called the highway patrol to have it ready at Oxford. Judge Moore used the patrol radio to call 70 of the state's 82 sheriffs to bring deputies and meet him at Oxford courthouse at 10:30 that night. Three fire trucks, all high-pressure pumpers, were ready to rush to Oxford. "With those hoses," McLaurin knew, "you can knock a man down at 200 feet."

Yarbrough took a light plane to his huge cattle farm at Red Banks in northern Mississippi. The other three planned to fly to Oxford about sundown. McLaurin first drove to his home in Brandon, a Jackson suburb, and went out into the yard to say good-bye to his four-year-old

continued

son. All four planned to meet on the Oxford campus at 6:30.

Upon landing at Jackson, Paul Guihard and Sammy Schulman rented a white car and drove to the Citizens' Council meeting then in progress in front of the Governor's mansion. A crowd of some 2,000 was in a festive mood. Women volunteers brought in sandwiches and coffee. Students cheered and joked with the crowd. WRBC, the Rebel Broadcasting Company, played Mississippi fight songs, which blared from car and transistor radios; the announcer periodically called upon everyone to blow car horns. John R. Wright, handsome young undertaker and chairman of the Citizens' Council membership committee, bellowed a grim rumor on an electronic bull horn: The marshals were on their way to Jackson to arrest the Governor. "Reliable sources" had brought the rumor at dawn, and spy reports from Memphis said the planes were on the way. (Actually, they were headed for Oxford.) Wright called for a wall of flesh around the mansion to protect their Governor.

Paul Guihard plunged into the crowd. Schulman had warned him that racists could be deadly to newsmen, but the big man felt entirely safe. He was the kind of man everyone likes at first sight.

In fact, when Guihard pressed his way into the Citizens' Council office, racist Louis W. Hollis took half an hour, in the midst of a bedlam of activity, to give Guihard a private interview. He's on our side, Hollis thought, unable to conceive that any man worth trusting and liking could disagree on segregation. Guihard dictated his last story to his agency in French over the Citizens' Council telephone. "The crowd laughed and sang under the warm autumn sun," he said, "and it was apparent it hadn't the vaguest idea of the enormity of its actions. . . ."

A few minutes after Paul Guihard disappeared into the crowd at Jackson, a Jetstar from Washington touched down at the Oxford airport. The Justice Department task force, Nick Katzenbach in charge, stepped out. Katzenbach telephoned the Attorney General. The operation was still on.

Between the airport and the campus, the convoy of marshals led by Katzenbach met the state-patrol head, Col. T. B. Birdsong. Katzenbach and Chief Marshal McShane got out to exchange pleasantries. Much of the Government's hope for that night lay with the elderly colonel's steadfastness and ability.

The convoy—seven olive-drab trucks—rolled on. A marshal with a smile as broad as his shoulders rode the running board of the third truck. Clarence Albert (Al) Butler, 33, was one of four group leaders. With practiced eyes, he judged the mood and intent of the crowd that lined both sides of the road.

"You'll be sorry," a young man shouted. Butler smiled. "Nigger lover," another yelled. Butler smiled. Compared with other mobs he had seen, this one did not seem so bad. Some people even applauded. Maybe it was sarcastic, but they applauded.

Ahead, Butler spied a boy of about five wearing a cowboy hat. Butler, not liking the look of fear on the child's face, waved and called, "Hi, Cowboy." Cowboy laughed and waved back.

Highway patrolmen stood guard at the Sorority Row entrance to the university. Obeying Birdsong's orders, they let the marshals through. The trucks rolled past stately white sorority houses, then swung around a grove that sloped gently up to the classic white-columned Lyceum. This was the university's administration building, the marshals' first objective. The only sign of life was an occasional squirrel gathering acorns in streaks of sun and shadow on the grass of the grove. Butler was dazzled by the beauty and stillness of the place.

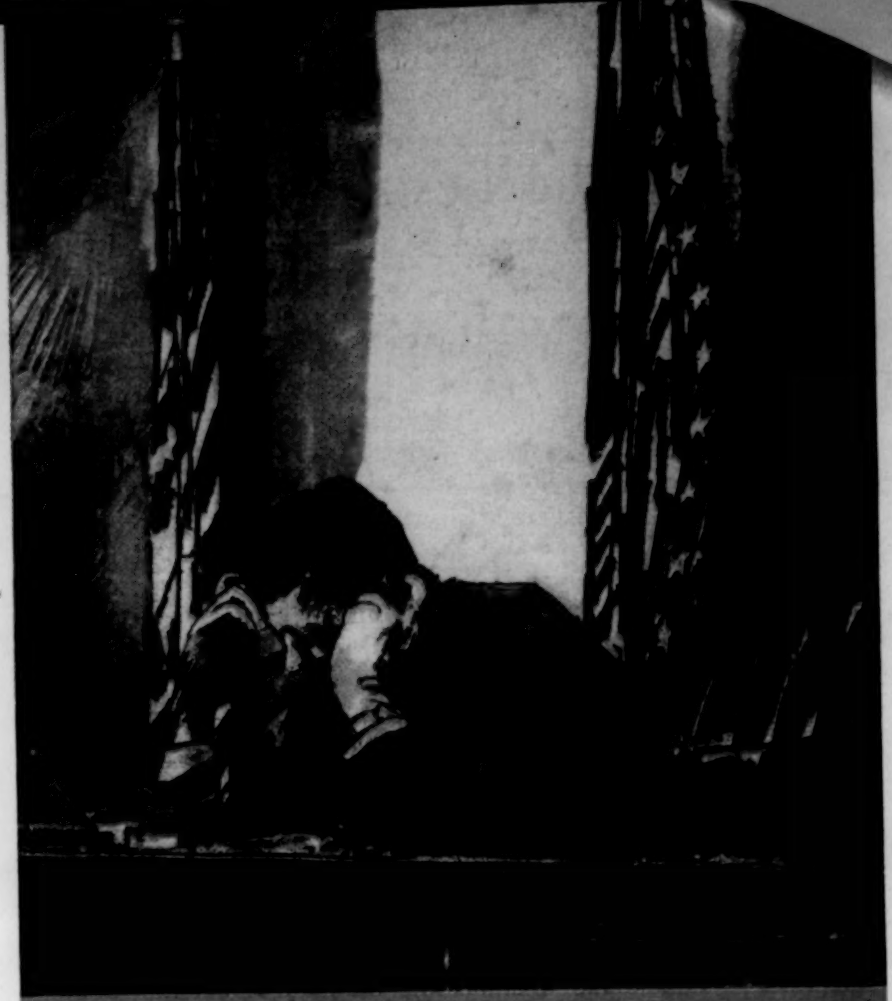
At 4:15 p.m., the marshals dismounted and formed a cordon around the Lyceum. Butler's group of 48 held the area directly in the front, facing the grove. Butler paced up and down in the street before his men. A crowd gathered. Within a half hour, Butler estimated the number at around 500, almost all students. The first shots fired were verbal, and Butler was a main target.

"Marshal, where is your wife tonight? Home with a nigger?"

Butler's broad grin quickly earned him the name "Smiley."

"You have a nigger mistress, Smiley. You have nigger children."

Nick Katzenbach quickly set up a phone line from the Lyceum to Robert Kennedy's office in Washington and another to the White House.



President Kennedy urged the Governor to get the state troopers back to Ole Miss

He told the Attorney General that Meredith could now come onto the campus, preferably via plane to the airport, then by car from there.

The airport. It was like a bad dream. The waiting Katzenbach looked up at the twilight sky to see three almost identical light planes circling. Which was Meredith's? The first, a blue and white Cessna 310, landed. Katzenbach and Guthman ran toward it. Not their man. They turned and ran to the next plane. It was Meredith. With the help of Birdsong, they drove him onto the campus without incident and took him to his room in Baxter Hall.

UNKNOWN to Katzenbach and Guthman, the blue and white plane they had approached contained three of the Governor's group: Moore, McLaurin and Newman. They were to meet Yarbrough on campus. These men, upon first flying into the Oxford airport traffic pattern, had stared in shock at the military planes and trucks on the ground. "It's completely occupied," State Senator John McLaurin said. He thought, "Bobby and Jack jumped the gun." He did not know that Governor Barnett had made a deal with Robert Kennedy.

The Governor's men debated taking off again. Fear rose when Katzenbach and Guthman ran out to their plane, peered in the window —and turned away in disappointment. Moore expected, he said, "search and seizure."

"We got through the Federal lines untouched," McLaurin reported when he recounted the day's events.

The three met Yarbrough at the Alumni House at 6:30 and phoned Governor Barnett. They reported the early invasion, but, McLaurin later said, "apparently he knew about it already."

When they got word that Meredith was safely on campus, Robert Kennedy and Burke Marshall drove to the White House. The President's office was crowded with TV equipment and technicians. The speech had been delayed to 10 p.m., Washington time, to be sure Meredith was first safely on the campus. Robert Kennedy and Marshall met the President and several of his assistants in the Cabinet Room.

All agreed on the content and tone of the proposed address to the nation. Robert Kennedy suggested adding an appeal to the students of Ole Miss. The reports coming over the phone from the Lyceum were still fairly reassuring.

Standing in front of the Lyceum, however, Marshal Al Butler was

continued

"Governor," a friend cried, "tell them you haven't surrendered."

beginning to worry. Just as darkness fell, he was hit on the left leg with a poorly made Molotov cocktail, a soda bottle filled with lighter fluid. The fuse went out when the bottle smashed on the pavement. A few minutes later, an empty bottle hit his left arm.

The crowd swelled to 1,000, then to over 2,000. Students flipped lighted cigarettes onto the canvas tops of the Army trucks parked in front of the Lyceum. One truck was set aflame by a burning piece of paper. The driver put out the fire.

The Mississippi state troopers stood, widely spaced, between the marshals and the mob. When Butler asked the troopers to move the crowd back, they did. But members of the mob began slipping through the line of Mississippi lawmen.

The verbiage thrown at the marshals now reached the limits of obscenity. Butler was particularly shocked to hear foul epithets from the lips of pretty young girls in the crowd. Butler kept smiling. He would be thankful, he thought, if words were all he had to contend with. Nor did he particularly mind the spittle aimed at him, or the coins thrown by jeering mob members.

"Here, Marshal, pick these up. . . . Smiley will pick 'em up."

The mob edged forward. Pieces of pipe, brick and cinder block, along with the usual bottles, crashed against the steps of the Lyceum and occasionally bruised or cut a marshal. Shortly after seven, Butler and another group leader, Don Forsht, asked permission to use tear gas.

"Hold it off for a while," Chief Marshal McShane said, "and maybe things will ease up."

DOWN IN Jackson before 7 p.m., Ross Barnett finished a surrender statement and had it read over the phone for Robert Kennedy's approval: "My heart still says 'Never,' but my calm judgment abhors the bloodshed that will follow. . . . Mississippi will continue to fight the Meredith case and all similar cases through the courts. . . ."

Gloom spread through the Governor's mansion. Most of the men there, unaware of Barnett's negotiations with the Kennedys, had spent the day making plans for a Monday confrontation with the Federals. Among others, the inner circle included George Godwin, Jackson advertising man who handled the Governor's press releases during the crisis; Dr. M. Ney Williams of the Citizens' Council; William Simmons, racist intellectual and the Council's full-time staff brain; and Fred Beard, TV station manager who was arranging television facilities for Monday. Beard had worked out the words he hoped Barnett would deliver Monday at the Ole Miss gate: "We do not submit to the illegality of your take-over. We are a peaceable people. We will not take up arms against the Federal Government. If you move over us, you will move over us by pushing us aside."

Barnett's surrender statement on the radio chilled the Citizens' Council members, still patiently forming a wall of flesh around the mansion. In the Council office, Executive Director Louis Hollis, 62, could not believe the radio report. He ran across the street to the mansion and burst in upon Barnett. "Governor, everybody thinks you've surrendered," he cried, tears in his eyes. "Everybody in the office is crying. You've got to tell them you haven't surrendered."

Oxford. Inside the Lyceum, Nick Katzenbach was desperately trying to reestablish the highway-patrol roadblocks withdrawn from the entrances to the university at 6:30. Colonel Birdsong courteously refused Katzenbach's pleas. He said he had only about 25 patrol cars, with two men each. The men were unarmed and couldn't do much good. "How about the deputy sheriffs?" Katzenbach suggested. Birdsong said he had no control over them. The Colonel offered to send "some" men to the gates, if Katzenbach would dispatch a larger number of marshals to accompany them. Katzenbach said he couldn't spare them.

While this debate seesawed, "outsiders" already were streaming in through the unguarded gates. This small stream was to become a flood before midnight. Some of the newcomers were Mississippians who had heard of the marshals' arrival. Others were agitators from as far away as Los Angeles. Many of them had figured on a Monday or Tuesday battle, but now moved directly into action.

Senator Yarbrough, a man of awesome presence, led his group to the Lyceum. "Who's in charge?" they demanded. John Doar took them to Katzenbach, McShane and Guthman. South met North.

The man in between was Colonel Birdsong. He pleaded with Katzenbach to tell Yarbrough that he had not given the marshals police protection. "I've been telling these people that all I've done is escort you onto the campus," Birdsong said. "Will you please clarify this?"

Yarbrough stepped up to Katzenbach. "You've occupied it, and now you can just have it," he said bluntly, insisting that what happened from then on was the responsibility of the Federal Government. "I want to avoid bloodshed," Yarbrough said, "and to do so, we must withdraw the highway patrol."

"I have the same interest, that is, to provide law and order," responded Katzenbach, eager to avoid a clash. "But while Federal marshals are here, this in no way displaces the state authority. All law-enforcement officers must cooperate to maintain law and order. I want to be very clear about the fact that I think the withdrawal of the state troopers will not avoid violence, but is the one decisive thing that will lead to violence."

Yarbrough said that was not his judgment, and bluntly insisted he would withdraw the patrol. It was just a question of when. Soon, the argument turned on whether he would pull them out at eight or nine.

At 7:40, Robert Kennedy came on the open line. He ordered Katzenbach to inform Yarbrough that, if he didn't keep the patrol on hand, the President, then about to go on television, would tell the whole world what had happened. Yarbrough, unaware of the Governor's deals, was unimpressed. Kennedy reached the Governor's mansion in Jackson on another phone. Minutes later, Yarbrough got a call from Jackson. He answered in glum monosyllables, turned to Katzenbach and said that he would not pull out the state patrol.

At Katzenbach's urging, the Senator went out to talk to the crowd. They thought him a marshal and booed. "I don't like this any more than you do," he said. "I'm Senator George Yarbrough, and I represent the Governor. I'm on your side. I live just 40 miles from here at Red Banks." The crowd quieted down. "We don't want any violence. Get back off the street and, if you will, go back to your dormitories."

"We want Ross!" yelled the crowd.

"All right," Yarbrough responded. "If y'all get off this street, I'll go see if I can get the Governor to come up here." As he turned back to the Lyceum, he noticed that the highway patrolmen "began to get

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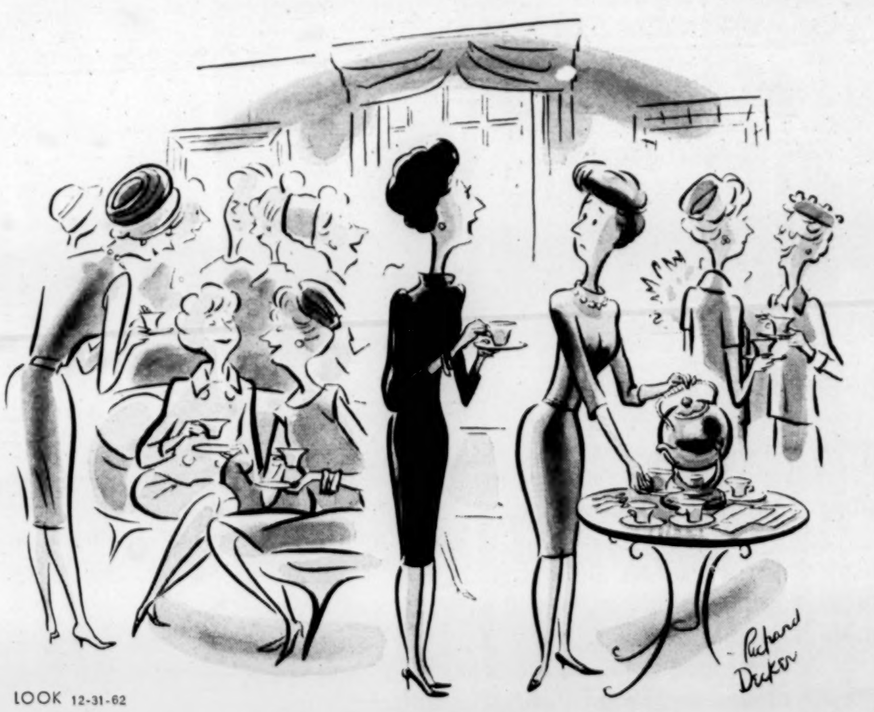

"I know we were invited to tea, Gertrude, but goodness, it is tea."

Senator Yarbrough feared the Governor would be arrested

more earnest than they had been before." The troopers, he later said, were moving the crowd back across the street toward the trees.

Inside, Yarbrough told Doar he would phone Barnett to come and quiet the students. "But first," he said, "I want assurances that the Governor will not be arrested." Doar called Kennedy, handed the receiver to Yarbrough. "I don't think it's best," said Kennedy, "for the Governor to come up there now." Even if Barnett's presence did quiet the students, it would also draw hundreds more into the fight.

Chief Marshal McShane looked at the mob and sensed danger. He thought the state troopers were unable or unwilling to move the crowd back. Some troopers seemed mixed with the crowd as far back as the fourth or fifth rank. About the time Yarbrough reentered the Lyceum, McShane saw a two-foot length of pipe arch over the crowd and strike a marshal's helmet. He shouted "Gas!"—the order for gas masks. As the marshals put on their masks, the crowd fell back for a moment.

Just then, a bottle hit Al Butler on the arm. A milky liquid sprayed on his hand, then ran under his sleeve. Hours later, Butler realized that acid was searing his flesh.

"Fire!"

McShane's command was almost lost in the roar of the mob. The marshals near the center of the line fired first. Ragged salvos followed from right, then left. The cartridges in the marshals' guns emitted a blast of raw tear gas over a range of 35 feet. Wax wadding in the cartridges struck several people, who thought they had been hit by projectiles. Several gas canisters thrown by hand also hit people, including state troopers who were directly in the line of fire.

It was 7:58 p.m. in Oxford. The Battle of Ole Miss was on.

NICK KATZENBACH rushed to the phone and asked for the Attorney General. "Bob," Katzenbach said, "I'm very sorry to report that we've had to fire tear gas. I'm very unhappy about it, but we had no choice."

Robert Kennedy, in the Cabinet Room, took the news with deep regret. "I think I should really go tell the President about it," he said. "He's just going on the air."

Kennedy rushed toward the President's office to give him the news. But it was too late. The TV cameras already were in action.

Angry state troopers straggled back crying and retching from the gas. Two had been hit by canisters; one, Welby Brunt, almost died. Yarbrough squelched a rumor that Birdsong had been killed.

When some patrolmen went for their guns, Yarbrough knew it was "getting ready to get rough." He ordered the guns locked back in the trunks. Though he sympathized with the troopers, he knew better than to allow gunplay to start. He resented having to keep the patrolmen in the gassed area. At his Alumni House headquarters, he phoned the Governor's mansion and agreed that he, McLaurin, Newman and Moore should pull out. (They reported back to Jackson about 11 p.m.)

They kept coming back. Even after barrages of tear gas, the crowd surged back, throwing stones, bricks, chunks of concrete. Marshals with long riot experience had not seen a mob like this. McShane's men did not realize that, as the more reasonable students withdrew, they were replaced by outsiders, fresh and ready for a new charge.

Reporter Fred Powledge of the Atlanta *Journal* was trapped in an automobile between the marshals and the mob. Powledge had been slugged earlier. The crowd was on the prowl for reporters.

Now, crouched down in the car, he tried to figure what to do next. If he ran toward the marshals, they would think he was attacking them, and he would be plugged with tear gas. But if he went toward the mob, he would be a dead rat in a gang of cats.

He slumped lower in the seat and switched on the car radio. The President was speaking, addressing himself to the students of Ole Miss:

"The eyes of the nation and all the world are upon you and upon all of us. And the honor of your university—and state—are in the balance . . . ."

Pomp! Pomp! Pomp! Three tear-gas guns went off.

". . . I am certain the great majority of the students will uphold that honor. . . ."

A volley of stones whistled over the car.

". . . There is, in short, no reason why the books on this case cannot now be quickly and quietly closed in the manner directed by the Court. . . ."

A cloud of tear gas floated over the car. Powledge, in spite of his own predicament, felt sorry for the President.

The feeling was short-lived. He heard a voice behind him: "Let's get that son of a bitch in the car." There seemed to be no escape. Just then, three marshals rushed toward him. The first jumped up in the air and fired over the top of the car. Powledge saw "a beautiful burst of smoke" billowing over his attackers. Someone yelled, "Kennedy is a son of a bitch." The crowd fell back.

Paul Guihard and Sammy Schulman were approaching Oxford when the President ended his speech. "Oh, hell," Guihard said, "the story's all over, but we might as well go up and clean it up."

The ride from Jackson had been a strange one. The road was crowded with cars bearing Confederate flags and Barnett bumper stickers; most headed north. Neither Guihard nor Schulman realized their significance. Guihard, in a mellow mood, started talking about his past life—his desire to become an actor, his early newspapering days, his ambitions as a playwright. As a modern writer, Guihard might have scoffed at the idea of a man reviewing his life just before death.

At Oxford, the pair found that the story was far from over. They heard battle sounds as they parked their car near the far end of the grove. Friendly students told them to hide their cameras, since "some bums up there are smashing them."

"I'll see what's doing," Guihard told Schulman, "and see you back here at the car in an hour then."

At that moment, the mob suddenly rushed toward them, away from the marshals. Guihard walked straight into the crowd. Some ten minutes later, he stood near a girls' dormitory, diagonally across the grove. An assassin stood close behind him and fired a .38 pistol. The bullet pierced Paul Guihard's back and entered his heart.

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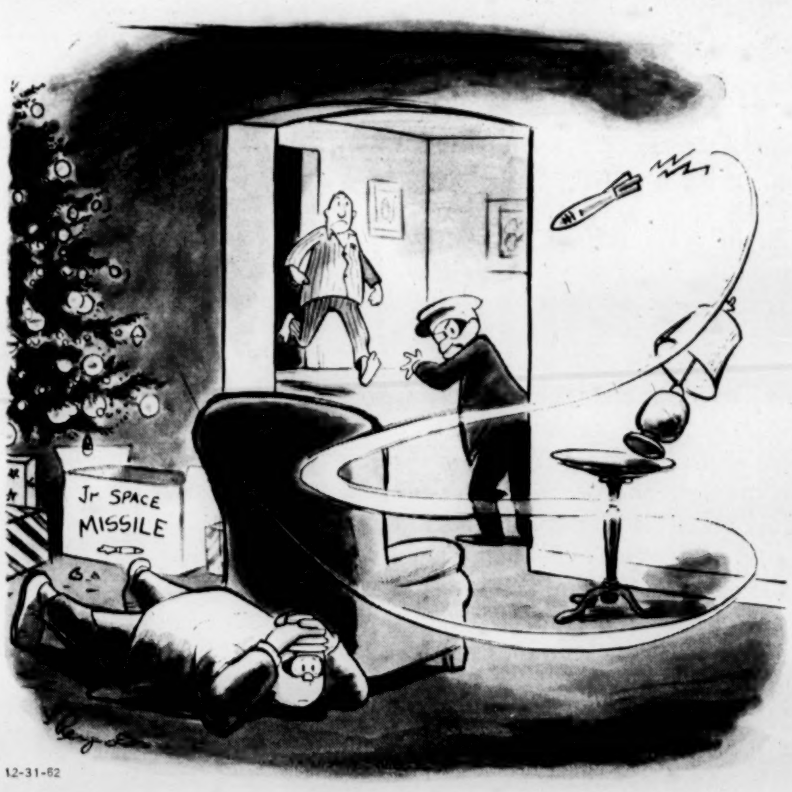

LOOK 12-31-62

"I told you not to fool around with anything under the tree."

Wounded marshals lay on the floor all up and down the hall

Lt. Donnie Bowman of the 503rd MP's viewed the President's telecast in the officers' club at the Naval Air Station at Memphis. Told that the crisis was over, Bowman returned to his quarters and crawled tiredly into bed. In minutes, he was asleep.

"We want a leader! We want a leader!"

A crowd of students and outsiders milled about the Confederate statue at the foot of the grove, 170 yards from the Lyceum. Small bands rushed in several directions. Some ran to get bricks from the construction site of the new science building. One rolled a wheelbarrow load. But no one seemed able to take charge and lead the attacks.

At 9 p.m., a great cheer went up. The state troopers were pulling out. A long line of patrol cars curved around the grove and past the Confederate monument. Fred Powledge started his car and fell in line behind the last patrol car. He decided that, if anyone tried to stop him, he would run over him slowly. One rioter leaned toward the car to see who was trying to escape. Powledge shifted into low, nudged the rioter with his fender. The man fell back. Powledge was free.

"We have a leader," the crowd exulted. A tall, erect figure stood near the monument. His dark suit made him almost invisible up to the neck, but his white Western hat gave off a ghostly glow in the gloom.

"General Walker's here!" People raced to spread the news. The ex-General mounted the base of the monument. The crowd fell silent.

"I want to compliment you all on the protest you make tonight," he said. "You have a right to protest under the Constitution." This night, he said, was the long way around to Cuba. He told the crowd they had been sold out by the man who brought the marshals onto the campus, Colonel Birdsong.

Father Duncan Gray, Jr., rector of St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Oxford, tried to climb onto the monument to rebut Walker. He was pulled down and propelled to the edge of the mob. A huge sheriff shepherded him to safety. Walker climbed off the monument and, surrounded by the crowd, walked slowly toward the Lyceum.

RADIO, TV and telephone carried the riot news back to the executive mansion in Jackson. By 9 o'clock, the Governor's militant advisers saw a new hope. Maybe the rioters could drive the marshals out. Outside reinforcements, the advisers guessed, might tip the balance.

Some prayed for guidance. Some demanded that Barnett act. He could issue a call to battle. He could announce that he was on his way to Oxford. Any such move, they knew, would summon thousands of angry, armed Mississippians to the campus. A great many might be killed? They would die in a just war, and their bloody shirts would warn the country of the onrushing Kennedy dictatorship. Some of Barnett's men were ready to rush to Oxford and sacrifice their own lives.

Against the fervor for bloodshed, one man fought with equal fervor for reason. He was brilliant, red-haired Thomas Watkins, 52, corporation lawyer and for years a friend of Barnett. He was the man among the Governor's advisers most trusted by the state's business leadership, and through him, many had sent their cautions against destructive tactics. Now, he served the whole state. Passionately, he argued reason's case before a wavering judge—Ross Barnett.

Watkins won. Again, a massacre was barely averted.

"Your men are pulling out," Nick Katzenbach told Colonel Birdsong in the Lyceum. "Get them back."

"Your information must be wrong," Birdsong said. "They are not leaving." His men had been badly gassed, he said, and it was hard to control them.

"If they want to get away from the gas," Katzenbach said, "let them go down to the entrances and set up roadblocks."

"They can't do that. And now that they've been gassed, I'm not sure that they are willing to." Birdsong seemed honestly surprised that the troopers had left. Most of the patrol cars regrouped just off campus; others waited at strategic spots.

For the next few hours, the patrolmen held a series of debates over their car radios. Several troopers said the mob should be controlled. Others replied sarcastically that the students should demonstrate. One patrol car 20 miles out reported intercepting a convoy of 20 to 30 cars, with about four men in each, headed for Oxford to help the students. Some troopers favored stopping the convoy; others were opposed. The convoy was not stopped. Some patrol cars reported "a large number of civilians" entering the campus on foot from cars abandoned on Route 6. One trooper radioed in that a chartered bus with some 50 armed men aboard was heading for the campus via Route 6.

When President Kennedy heard that the state patrol had pulled out, he phoned Governor Barnett to get the men back. The Governor agreed. Later, Burke Marshall told Tom Watkins that the patrol was not returning.

"I can't believe it," Watkins said.

"They're not there, Tom."

"We'll get them back."

Worse shocks were to hit the White House. *The marshals were running out of tear gas.* Katzenbach told Robert Kennedy that only five or ten minutes' supply was left. And Marshal Graham E. Same of Indianapolis had been shot in the neck. His condition was critical.

At about this time, the battle came to a halt briefly. Father Wofford Smith, Episcopal chaplain of the university, rushed up to the marshals waving a white handkerchief. Father Smith had heard that the marshals had wounded a student with a shotgun. Inside the Lyceum, he found that the marshals had no shotguns.

The scene there horrified him. Wounded marshals lay on the floor all up and down the hall. As the chaplain stood there half dazed, he got an urgent call to go outside. Some of the students were asking for a peace conference. Father Smith tells the story:

"A marshal led me out the front door of the Lyceum and down the front steps. I walked in front waving a handkerchief and shouting as loudly as I could to the crowd, which, at this point, was a great mob. They threw rocks, glass and cursed violently and shouted, and the marshal took a flashlight and walked beside me out into the street, shining the light on my clerical collar. And the mob momentarily ceased its activities of throwing things and formed a line running north and south near the front of the circle. I called out, 'You said you wanted to talk. I'm here to talk.' And the marshal kept shouting, 'Here's your

continued

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LOOK 12-31-62

"I'm at the corner of Telephone and Telephone."

The guardsmen ran a gantlet of bricks and Molotov cocktails

priest. He will talk to you.' And the marshals also shouted to them to stay back and let one man come forward. At this point, a young student, apparently a freshman, because his head had been shaved, stepped forward. I asked him, 'Son, what is your name?' He said, 'I'd rather not say.' I said, 'I don't blame you. You people said you wanted to talk. We must talk this situation out. This situation has reached proportions that I'm sure you don't wish as a student of this university.' And I pled with him not to bring any more shame upon the school. He said that he could not help but agree, although this was the only way that they had to display their disapproval with the fact that the Court and the marshals had forced the enrollment of a Negro in the school. He said he did not feel that he was in a position to negotiate because he was only a freshman, at which point the marshal shouted out through the crowd, 'Send us a senior.' A boy walked forward to our group and identified himself as a senior. I asked him if he played football. He said yes. Then I knew that he was one of the boys on the team, having recognized him from the night before, down in Jackson. He said that he was there to demonstrate and to protest. Then I asked him if he would cooperate and break this up. He said that this was the only way they had to demonstrate, and I said, 'Well, why are you attacking these men at this point?' He said, 'Because we want to get Meredith,' and I said, 'To my knowledge, Meredith is not in this building.' I told him they had no right to attack these innocent marshals, that they were policemen just like the policemen in any hometown. The senior did say that he would talk to the mob, which he did."

The senior faced the mob, arms outspread.

"Here's the deal," he shouted. "Here's the deal. The marshals will quit using tear gas if we'll stop throwing rocks and bricks."

Silence, then a loud voice from deep within the mob: "Give us the nigger and we'll quit."

Someone let fly with a brick. This was followed by a broadside of stones, bricks and bottles. The marshals fired a barrage of tear gas. The battle was on again.

Tear gas fast was running out. But U. S. border patrolman Charles Chamblee was en route from the airport with fresh supplies. He drove a green border-patrol car and led a rented van full of tear gas. The two vehicles came onto the campus at breakneck speed, crashing through roadblocks set by the rioters.

"Truck! Truck! Truck!" the mob shouted along the road curving up to the Lyceum. From both sides, stones and bricks crashed against the van. It made it. Twice more that night, Chamblee ran the gantlet. Stopped once by state troopers, he used his club to beat them out of the way. Every time the marshals were almost out of gas, Chamblee miraculously appeared, his battered van filled with fresh supplies.

EX-GENERAL WALKER had been one of those scrambling back from the tear-gas barrage that ended the peace conference. Now, he stood near the rear of the mob, stock still, hands at his sides, tie askew. Rioters rushed up to him, asking his advice and moral support. Walker answered in an even voice, his eyes fixed straight ahead.

"Sir, that minister with the marshals—he wasn't for us, was he?"

"No, he was against us. They all are. They're all selling us out."

Some of the students had tears in their eyes—not just from the tear gas. They likened themselves to the Hungarian Freedom Fighters. They believed they were fighting tyranny. For weeks, they had known only one side of the controversy. They had courage.

Bullets began to splatter against the Lyceum. Anyone appearing at a window drew fire. The marshals crouched behind the trucks in front of the Lyceum. Some asked permission to return fire with their pistols. The request was phoned to the White House. Permission denied.

Strangely, only a few rioters attacked Baxter Hall, which was far more vulnerable than the Lyceum. Only 24 marshals guarded it, and its only sure communication with the Lyceum was the radio in a border-patrol car parked outside. But the marshals at Baxter had secret permission to use pistols as a last resort. Meredith was there.

Katzenbach held off asking for troops as long as he could. Before 10 p.m., as the gunfire became intense, he told Robert Kennedy they had better get the Army. Then, Katzenbach phoned the National Guard armory in Oxford and asked Capt. Murray Falkner, nephew of the late novelist William Faulkner, to bring his men to the Lyceum.

Al Butler gasped for breath. "Mr. Katzenbach," he said, "that's not a riot out there anymore. It's an armed insurrection."

At 10:45, Butler saw the lights of four jeeps and three trucks coming up toward the grove. It was Falkner, running a gantlet of brickbats, Molotov cocktails and roadblocks. His 55 Mississippi guardsmen tried unsuccessfully to fend off the volleys of bricks and bottles. A Molotov cocktail hit Falkner's jeep, but did not go off. Falkner raised his left arm to shield his face; a brick struck the arm, breaking two bones. By the time they reached the Lyceum, 13 guardsmen were wounded. Six vehicles had broken windshields. One jeep collected six bullet holes.

Those guardsmen who could stand joined the marshals on the left front of the Lyceum. Untrained in riot control, with no ammunition, no tear gas and only 15 bayonets, they had to take everything the mob could deliver. Earlier, most of the guardsmen had sympathized with the rioters. In ten minutes, sympathy vanished.

Five minutes before Falkner's men arrived, the rioters had brought a stolen fire truck up into the grove and had tried to shoot water at the marshals. A tear-gas foray beat the mob back, and a marshal fired four bullets into the hose to reduce the water pressure.

At 10:53, Al Butler heard a motor start up somewhere beyond the lower end of the grove. He heard the clank of treads. A wild Rebel yell soared up. Butler waited to see what horror was on its way.

He saw it coming out of the smoke and haze—a bulldozer, accompanied by almost the entire mob, headed straight for the Lyceum. Butler waved a signal. The marshals charged, firing all the way. An overwhelming cloud of gas enveloped the machine, and rioters fell back, cursing and vomiting. Two marshals leaped up on the bulldozer and pulled the driver off.

Butler started to disable the bulldozer, but left it to meet an attack on the right flank. Another rioter mounted the machine, aimed it toward the marshals and jumped off. It struck a tree. Finally, Marshal Carl Ryan of Indianapolis moved the machine close to the Federal line and turned it about to face the rioters with its lights on.

Butler had hardly returned to the front of the Lyceum when he heard another wild Rebel yell. The fire truck came roaring up through the grove and swung left in a dizzy circle. On the truck's second pass, Butler grabbed the handrail and swung aboard. It veered left and sent him rolling head over heels for some 20 yards. On the third pass, two marshals shot the truck's tires. They grabbed the driver, a thin young

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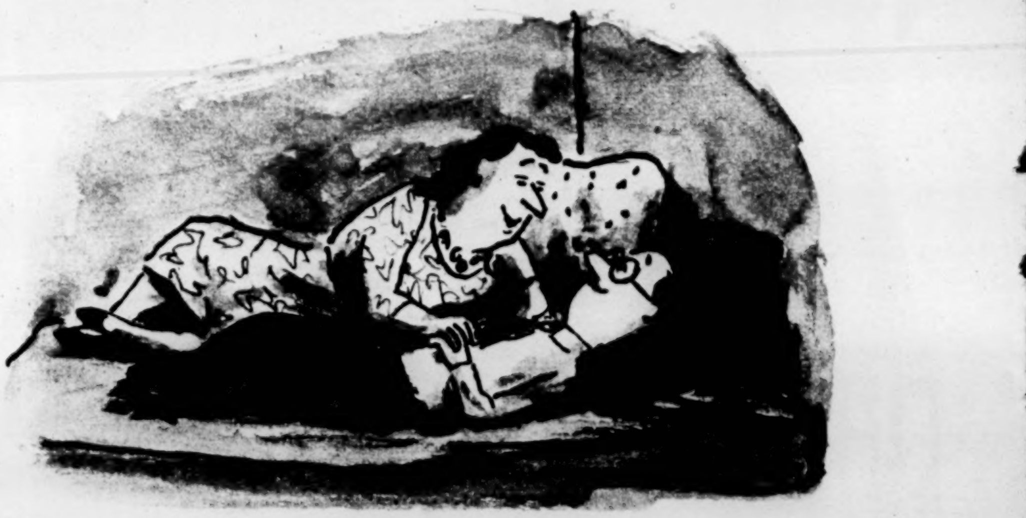

LOOK 12-31-62

"If anyone tried to take you away from me, I'd scratch their eyes out."

The President felt frustration, concern and horror

man dressed in a white sailor suit, and dragged him away.

Down in Jackson, Governor Barnett strove to prove he had not surrendered. "I will never yield a single inch in my determination to win the fight we are all engaged in," he declared in his last press release that night. "I call on all Mississippians to keep the faith and courage. We will never surrender." But he had sent Lieutenant Governor Johnson to Oxford, as a less inflammatory substitute for himself. Johnson quickly ordered the highway patrol back in action. He stationed them on roadblocks, where, by his estimate, they stopped 600 or 800 cars loaded with armed riders. "If we hadn't done that," he believes, "there wouldn't have been a marshal left that night."

THE RIOTERS burned their first car, a professor's station wagon, as a fiery roadblock. The entire north side of the grove was bathed in an eerie light. The crowd fell silent. The lull was a godsend to the marshals, who again were almost out of tear gas.

As the rioters stood there holding bricks and stones, the horn of the burning automobile started blowing. For ten minutes, it wailed, as if the car were crying out in agony. Shivering, many dropped their bricks and began drifting away. By midnight, most students had returned to dormitories or fraternity houses, shaken by what they had done.

The outsiders took over the fight. Hidden snipers increased their fire. One lay in a flower bed on the northeast border of the grove and emptied his .22 rifle at the Lyceum. Miraculously, no marshals were killed. At least five cars were burning at one time. Some 200 more Mississippi guardsmen made a heroic entry through roadblocks, brick barrages, gunfire, plus—this time—a wall of flaming gasoline. But they, like Captain Falkner's group, were not equipped or trained for riot control and had little effect.

Several hundred yards to the southeast, Ray Gunter, 23, an Oxford juke-box repairman, watched the fight. Quietly, he slumped forward, a .38 bullet in his forehead. He died on the way to the hospital.

Nick Katzenbach spent more and more time on the phone, asking, "Where's the Army?" Repeatedly, he was told the troops were "twenty minutes away." The big delay actually was a multitude of small delays. The great Army wheels were slow to start.

In the White House, the President, the Attorney General and Burke Marshall moved from telephone to telephone, from the President's office to the Cabinet Room. They felt frustration, along with concern and horror. Angrily, the President told the Army to get moving.

Lieutenant Bowman's helicopter seemed to creep through the night sky. It was 12:30 a.m., Monday, before Bowman reached Oxford; the last helicopter did not touch down until after one. There were more delays in the confusion and dark. Maj. Gen. Charles E. Billingslea was on hand to supervise the Army forces. President Kennedy reached him by radio at 1:35 and relayed word to move "forthwith."

At 2:04, four gray Navy buses stopped just inside the Sorority Row entrance of the campus. Donnie Bowman led his men, grim and tight-lipped, out of the first and second buses. The marshals there told the MP's the buses could never make it through the mob. The men would have to march in. A small knot of onlookers ominously heckled the soldiers: "You'll get hurt up there." A state patrolman turned his powerful flashlight into the eyes of one of Bowman's five Negro soldiers and said, "What you doing down here, nigger?"

The soldiers fixed bayonets on their loaded rifles. About every fifth man carried a loaded riot shotgun. The MP's slipped on gas masks and moved into wedge formation. In silence, they began the half-mile march to the Lyceum, past the dimly lit sorority houses and ghostly trees. The only sound was the shuffle of boots and the grunt of breath through gas masks.

From nowhere, a volley of bricks and rocks hit them. *Ambush.* Molotov cocktails exploded just in front of them. The soldiers marched through the flames. A Molotov cocktail shattered against an MP's helmet, but failed to ignite. Gasoline trickled down his face and shirt. Several men were knocked down. Others picked them up and dragged them on. "Take it, men, just take it," said Lt. Col. John Flanagan, the commander of the 503rd MP Battalion.

Bowman couldn't believe it. He was being assaulted by fellow Americans, fellow Southerners. He swung his platoon around the overturned, flaming hulks of several cars. As the soldiers—still in formation, bayonets at ready—hove into sight, the marshals cheered.

General Billingslea had followed the MP's to the Lyceum in a border-patrol sedan. He reported to Nick Katzenbach, who told him the President wanted him on the open line. The General's voice, on the phone that had brought so much bad news, led the President and his brother to sense that the battle was ending, though, actually, it had many hours to go. They knew the nation had experienced one of the most tragic riots in its history. They did not know—and will not know until they read this story—how narrowly they had averted civil war.

Forty-five minutes later, the President went to bed, made a last check on his bedside phone, and slept. It was 5:30 a.m. in Washington.

EPILOGUE

In Jackson, gleaming new buildings and modern schools thrust up toward a blue Mississippi sky. After a hundred years in economic eclipse Mississippi can glimpse a future of progress and prosperity. But the climate of the heart changes slowly. Few Northerners know how much courage it takes in Mississippi to move against the wind.

Some men tried. We call these men the "permanent leadership," not politicians, but bankers, lawyers, businessmen, educators. They believe in segregation and fear incursions of Federal power. But they are unwilling to let their communities be wrecked in the race struggle. Though Barnett never let them in on the dangerous wall-of-flesh strategy, the permanent leaders saw the danger of inflamed public passion. In the days before the riot, they made several moves: They silenced an inflammatory TV commentator. They talked reason and restraint with the editors of Jackson's nervous newspapers. Their timely cautions to the Governor helped (unknown to them) nudge him into secret negotiations with Robert Kennedy. Two days after the riot 128 of them made a public stand for law and order: "Violence at any point in our beloved State must not be permitted to further arise."

It took courage to make the statement. The tragedy is that the permanent leaders could not speak out before the riot. Now, in their quiet and substantial way, they are working to repair the state's torn fabric. Many wonder whether they can get the job done in time to avoid new tragedy. END

IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF LOOK

WHERE WE STAND

AS WE ENTER 1963

An exclusive article by

PRESIDENT KENNEDY

plus

WE ARE WINNING THE COLD WAR

By JOHN GUNTHER

and articles on BERLIN · REVOLT AGAINST RURAL RULE

HEART SURGERY · 100 YEARS AFTER EMANCIPATION

CORE
SOUTHERN
REGIONAL

Regional Office Projects - Housing

[ca. 1959, June 30]

FAIR HOUSING PRACTICES CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES

In analyzing reports from the five states which enacted Fair Housing Laws in 1959, Frances Levenson, director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, points out that no single blueprint will guarantee a successful campaign in every locality. However, the following general guidelines are offered:

- A broadly-based coordinating committee, with a highly competent person chosen to assume executive responsibility for day-in, day-out direction of the campaign.
- Extensive preliminary study to draft a bill designed to meet the factual and practical demands of the community. The coverage should be the broadest which seems possible of passage. Meeting of minds among supporting groups is essential.
- Planned strategy to gain bipartisan sponsorship and public commitment by the political power structure.
- Marshalling of facts on the housing situation in the state or locality, and widespread presentation to the public.
- The philosophical, moral and legal arguments supporting fair housing legislation should be broadcast.
- Active involvement of state and local church bodies.
- Editorial support in the press.
- A constant barrage of personally-written mail to members of the legislature.
- Direct, personal contact with key legislators.

NCDH staff and board technicians are available for consultation and advice on all aspects of the campaign for a Fair Housing Practices Law. The NCDH Legal Committee, composed of some of the nation's leading civil rights lawyers and legislative draftsmen, have pioneered in the preparation of this type of statute.

(Texts of existing FPH laws and model bills, memoranda on constitutionality, and various campaign literature are available from NCDH.)

(OVER)

State Div on C.R.
State House, Trenton, N.J.

SCOREBOARD

Laws Affecting Discrimination in Housing as of June 30, 1959 (Rev. 4/20/61)

	STATE	Public housing	Publicly-aided and or urban renewal	FHA & VA	Private housing	Lending institutions	Advertising	Enforcement by special state agency
1.	California	X	X	X				
2.	Colorado	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3.	Connecticut	X	X	X	X			X
4.	Indiana	X	X					
5.	Massachusetts	X	X	X	X	X		X
6.	Michigan	X						
7.	Minnesota	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
>8.	New Jersey	X	✓	X	/	X		X
9.	New York	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
10.	Oregon	X	X	X	X		X	X
11.	Pennsylvania	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
12.	Rhode Island	X						X
13.	Washington	X	X	X		X	X	X
14.	Wisconsin	X	X					

Extent of private housing coverage:

Colo.	All except owner-occupied premises.
Conn.	All housing sold or leased in developments of five or more.
Mass.	All apartments in multiple dwellings and houses sold in developments of 10 or more.
Ore.	Confined to prohibiting persons engaged in the business of selling or leasing real estate from discriminating.

Note: Illinois prohibits restrictive covenants in redevelopment housing.

OR 3-5120

City Measures

OR 3-5120

Thirty-two cities have laws or resolutions affecting discrimination in housing. They apply as follows:

New York City — This ordinance covers the leasing of all apartments in multiple dwellings (three or more units) and the sale of houses in developments of 10 or more. Enforced by the city's Commission on Intergroup Relations. Wa 4-4540

Pittsburgh — This ordinance covers sales or rentals by persons who own or control five or more units anywhere in the city, and all activities of real estate operators and lending institutions. Also covers vacant building lots. Enforced by Pittsburgh's Commission on Human Relations.

Public Housing — Twenty-seven cities have provisions applying to this area: Phoenix, Ariz.; Fresno, Richmond, and San Francisco, Cal.; Hartford, Conn.; Wilmington, Del.; Washington, D. C.; Chicago, Ill.; South Bend, Ind.; Baltimore, Md.; Boston, Mass.; Pontiac and Superior Township, Mich.; Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.; St. Louis, Mo.; Omaha, Neb.; Newark, N. J.; Cleveland and Toledo, Ohio; Chester, Delaware County, Erie, and Philadelphia, Pa.; Providence, R. I.; Pasco, Wash.; and Superior, Wisc.

Publicly-assisted and/or urban redevelopment — Nine cities have provisions applying to this area: Los Angeles, Sacramento, and San Francisco, Cal.; Hartford, Conn.; Superior Township, Mich.; Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.; and Cincinnati and Cleveland, Ohio, Des Moines, Iowa -

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The ~~rpblem~~ problem of police brutality has long been with us. While figures are few, it is quite apparent that Negroes have faced mistreatment by the police ever since Emancipation. ~~While the~~ Although problem is an old one, both North and South, it has been in the relatively recent past that organized efforts have been made to deal with it. In the South, an old benchmark of brutality - both private and public - the annual lynchings compiled by

is no longer published; nonetheless occasional lynchings continue.

1 In the North, police malpractice takes various forms, the most flagrant of which is brutality. However, There are such actions as illegal ~~detention~~ arrest - especially mass arrests on suspicion(Washington, D.C. went through a particularly bad seige of this last year), illegal search - entering of premises without a search warrant, undue ~~detention//~~ and improper detention - keeping people at the station house without a formal charge or without being speedily taken before a judge.

As I have noted, such practices are not new. Perhaps our increased concern is as we begin to deal with the immediate problems of ~~segregation //~~ discrimination - housing, employment, public accomodations - this deeper problem becomes bared. In areas of The north and west as dispersed as Boston and Seattle, Los Angeles and Rochester, Philadelphia and Chicago, CORE and other groups are meeting with this problem.

2 It is elementary CORE procedure to begin with seeking out the facts. In order to deal with this problem in any form we need accurate, documentary(sworn affadavits, if possible) evidence of mistreatment - with witnesses if at all possible. Before going further, I must note that most mistreatment, especially brutality, takes place in a situation where there are few if any witnesses, at least who might be willing to help us. Nonetheless, as much uncontroverted evidence as possible must be gathered. Tactically it would be good if we can find evidence which indicates that brutalization ~~effects~~ is practiced on both Negroes and whites(especially vulnerable in some areas are

union people). ① over

Once information has been collected - other groups such as the Civil Liberties Union, NAACP, Urban League, etc. may be useful sources - I would recommend an effort to present this to the city leadership, either the police chief or the mayor. This first effort could well be "off the record." over ② You must come to such a meeting not only with grievances which are well-documented but in addition with a firm plan for the future.

Such a plan might include several of the following points. a. Where past cases indicate clear police misbehavior adequate disciplinary action must be taken. b. For the future, a formal procedure for dealing with citizen complaints should be established. The best ~~to our knowledge~~ is the program in Philadelphia where citizen complaints of alleged police mistreatment are heard by an independent, non-police, Advisory Board. (Much has been written about this Board and they publish annual reports and their rules of procedure; this would be the paradigm. The Civil Liberties Union of America has become a clearing house for information on such Boards). Basic to any procedure is a public hearing, the right to counsel of his own choice for the complainant (and for the police officers), the enforcement of the rules of evidence at such a procedure to protect all parties, and hearing before an impartial board. It must be clear that what we seek is not the harassment of the police but the enforcement of the law with proper respect for the rights of citizens.

As part of a ~~more~~ long-range solution is the matter of police recruitment and training. Some work is now being done on better recruitment procedures~~, a good source on this, and indeed on the whole matter is volume V, JUSTICE, United States Commission on Civil RightsReport for 1962~~. On police training much work has been done by the National Conference on Christians and Jews, expecially their summer "Police Community Relations Institutes" held at Michigan State University; lengthy annual reports are issued and available. The best course I have seen is the one used in

Philadelphia, prepared by Applied Psychological Services.

Basic to the whole problem is a firm policy AND PRACTICE of the police hierachy that mistreatment of citizens will not be tolerated. It is not necessary to adequate police work, in fact it is a detrement; one can even cite J. Edgar Hoover on this point.

Of importance for citizens is knowledge of their rights. These vary from state to state but certain factors are constant. (You might consider urging the publication of a pamphlet similar to that issued by the Attorney General of Massachusetts, "If You Are Arrested", which explains in simple terms a citizens rights). Citizens may not be physically mistreated; police may only use sufficient force to effect a legitimate arrest. Persons may not be arrested except when seen committing a crime or where there is probable cause to believe the individual has committed a felony. Otherwise, an arrest order is necessary. A person's property or premises may not be searched without a warrant unless directly connected with the apprehension of a suspect. Once a person is arrested he must be brought before a magistrate speedily (the precise time has not be specified but it is a matter of hours), he may not be compelled to testify against himself, nor may a confession be coerced. The right to counsel is generally recognized.

To summarize: If police malpractice is a problem in your community, first collect the information, in as documentary manner as possible. Make clear your demands. Just settlement of previous complaints and adequte procedures to deal with future situations. Such procedures should include hearings before impartial citizen boards. Police recrutment and training - especially in human relations - need examination and improvement. Firm top level policy must be designed to discourage and indeed prevent police mistreatment of citizens. Citizens must know of and insist upon their rights.

A brief note on a northern instance of the use of direct action in this area. Culminating a series of instances of police brutality, a particularly onerous illegal search and subsequent beating(involving Black Muslims) triggered mass protests in Rochester, N.Y. Most dramatic was a sit-in at the police headquarters - to be distinguished from arrest! As a result of a five day sit-in numerous concessions were made by the police and city authorities, including the introduction of legislation now pending before the city council to establish a citizens review board.

REAL ESTATE CONFIDENTIAL

by Daniel M. Friedenberg

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I.

The most striking fact about New York in the last decade is the realty boom. Wherever one goes--in the heart of old Manhattan or the farther outskirts of the Bronx and Staten Island--construction is seen. Craters yawn in what were pleasant meadows, metallic booms and tiers of steel loom against the sky, overhead bridges span entire sidewalks with scaffolding and the pressure hammer constantly gnaws at the vitals of the pavement. It would seem that nothing is spared in this massive demolition and rebuilding. Old trees and young buildings enter the same insatiable maw; for neither leafy elms nor elegant Park Avenue structures can withstand the path of progress as conceived by builders.

It must bewilder the senses of the spectator, this awesome chopping down and regurgitation of concrete and steel. Why are stately edifices barely thirty years old uprooted for squat ribbon-windowed office structures? Why are new massive apartment houses crowded jowl to jowl, blocking out air and light, when even the atrophied organs of the city dweller still feel joy at a shaft of sunshine? And, most of all, where do the tenants come from to fill the wave on wave of new apartments and office buildings? With rents frozen at approximately $20-30 in the older houses, while the new apartments charge an average closer to $60 per room for lower ceilings and cheap partitions; with older commercial space renting at an average of about $3 per square foot while the newer office buildings demand almost double--what is behind this boom?

The author of this article has participated in the postwar building frenzy from its inception. He has watched its legitimate start, when the city woke from a depression lethargy and war immobility, to erect new housing for the generation of war brides and new offices equipped with air-conditioning, acoustical ceilings and fluorescent lighting. He has seen the maturity of the boom, as shifts in racial population have altered the residential character of whole boroughs and the needs of expanding business have integrated many out-of-town companies into the financial web of the metropolis. And he has now begun to observe a repetition of the overbuilding of the 1920s in which, like fabled Midas whose touch turned everything to gold, the city will throttle itself.

To understand why the builders have had such a field day in New York City and continue to build without reference to actual space needs, skyrocketing land values and ever higher construction costs, the economic background must be examined. Building is a favored industry, comparable in some respects to oil drilling from the point of view of accelerated depreciation, and stock market speculation in so far as capital gains are concerned. The tax structure is deliberately keyed to subsidize the rich and acquisitive, who then find themselves compelled by the very logic of this favoritism to expand and expand again without reference to the market needs; and let the devil take the hindmost!

The factors that stand behind this favoritism can be simply enumerated: land appreciation, the leasehold device, tax-free accelerated depreciation, new complex methods of financing, the development of the syndicate, juggling of space measurement, "escalation" clauses and maintenance charges, and the use of capital gains. This study will concern itself primarily with private enterprise and not public housing nor the very genuine efforts of organizations like the United Housing Corporation, the non-profit group run by Abraham Kazan, whose efforts have accomplished more in building decent apartments for the middle class in New York City than all the speculative builders put together.

II.

LAND--It is undoubtedly true that many of the old American fortunes originated in land speculation. The Astors, Goelets, Rhinelanders and Schermerhorns profited by the tremendous expansion of New York City in the early part of the nineteenth century. A possibly apocryphal story illustrates the technique. John Jacob Astor offered to sell a Wall Street lot for $8,000 in 1810. A buyer, surprised at the low price, promptly appeared.

"Yes, you are astonished," Astor was reported to have said. "But see what I intend to do with the eight thousand dollars. That Wall Street lot, it is true, will be worth twelve thousand dollars in a few years. But I shall take the eight thousand dollars and buy eighty lots above Canal Street and by the time your one lot is worth twelve thousand dollars, my eighty lots will be worth eighty thousand dollars."

In our time, however, the big money in real estate rarely enters land speculation. The leisurely approach, waiting five to ten years for land appreciation, does not fit the tempo of modern life. Only the very rich, mindful neither of temporary losses nor income taxes, can afford this outlook. The government has taken the position that since buildings age, a certain part of their cost may be allowed as a tax-free deduction each year. This is known as depreciation. But the tax authorities refuse to allow depreciation on land itself, following the sound theory that land cannot wear out. As a result, investment in land for the sake of future appreciation is limited either to very small endeavors or to the extremely powerful who think in terms of generations rather than of their annual tax return.

Certain old estates still follow this approach: the Astors and Goelets are still with us. The Astor Estate, for example, anticipated the development of Park Avenue as a financial community and purchased several large plots between 46th and 59th Streets in the 1940s. The Aramco Building, constructed by the Uris Brothers as the first large postwar building, was erected on Astor land. The Goelet Estate acquired the blockfront on the south side of 42nd Street between Lexington and 3rd Avenues, on which the Galbreath interests erected the Socony Mobil Building. And, in a continuing process, the Astors are now investing in land to the East of Park Avenue in the 50s, while the Goelet heirs have acquired a large plot directly facing the Lincoln Square project.

No special genius is required to foresee such developments. The future of Park Avenue above Grand Central was clearly understood by most old-time investors, as is the future value of land in areas directly abutting the present midtown nexus. It is still possible to buy land located in proximity to Lincoln Square for about $35 a foot, which should certainly triple in value within the decade. But only the very rich can afford to make such investments, for they require enormous outlays of cash, rarely can be mortgaged to a significant extent and usually show a carrying loss.

Sometimes, of course, land speculation does produce fabulous profits. From the small truck farmer whose lot on Staten Island happens to sit adjacent to the bridge now being built over the Narrows to Brooklyn, to the Bronx junk dealer whose yard abuts the junction of the Hutchinson River Parkway with the Cross Bronx Expressway, we are all familiar with such luck. But there are other examples in which more than blind chance is involved. In one case (the specific location and exact details shall remain nameless for obvious reasons), a speculator netted a cool million dollars in cash for six months of control. A large plot in a key part of Manhattan remained covered with rundown buildings for many years. A speculator bought one part of the plot for $600,000. He held on for almost a decade and then, in disgust, sold at a loss of $200,000 to another speculator who suddenly appeared. One month later a tremendous development was announced for the entire area, which required the acquisition of the part of the plot in question. The man who had stepped in for $400,000 insisted on and received a price of $1,400,000! Even the most charitable spirit has doubts as to the background of this transaction.

LEASING-- While the old estates specialize in buying land and leasing it after an appreciation in value, it is the "new money" which concentrates on the acquisition of these leases. Men like the Uris Bros., Erwin Wolfson and the Tishmans have skyrocketed into multimillionaires within short years by realizing the unique advantages of leased land or what is called a leasehold.

While no depreciation is allowed on land, both the leasehold rent for the land and the depreciation on the building itself are tax deductible when a building is constructed on a leasehold. The overwhelming advantage of the leasehold (until 1958*) was that the person leasing could depreciate or write off the entire building cost during the first term of the lease, usually 21 years. The government further allowed accelerated depreciation, meaning that the largest part of the cost could be written off in the early years. Under the 200% declining balance method, for example, the depreciation allowance can be doubled (hence 200%). If a leasehold runs for 21 years, the annual depreciation allowance is thus almost 5%--that is to say, the period of years of the leasehold divided into one hundred per cent--which when doubled, means that the builder receives close to 10% of his money tax-free each year in the early years!

Nor is this all. Depreciation is allowed against the entire building cost whereas the builder invests at the maximum about one-third of the total cost, the rest being covered by a mortgage or mortgages. In effect, the builder thus receives an annual tax-free return of up to 30%; since 10% is tax-free and the equity or actual cash investment of the builder is only one-third, the total tax-free amount is enlarged three times. And this is before figuring his actual profit from renting!

It can readily be understood why New York City is rebuilding at such a frantic rate. The builder makes a profit "coming and going": from the government as accelerated tax-free depreciation; and into his pocket as normal profit from rent collection.

The leasehold is fantastically profitable, but there is still another method to increase the return over and above both depreciation allowance and rent income. This is known as the collapsible corporation, a device only recently authorized. In essence, the government allows a builder to liquidate his corporation after holding a piece of property for three years and a day, and then taxes him only 25% on his capital gains. He thus escapes double taxation, first on the normal profit and then on dividends.

A certain Mr. X., to take an actual example, built an apartment house in the East 50s several years ago. He set up a new corporation for a $60 fee. He borrowed what seemed 65% of the money for the job from an insurance company, but in reality the mortgage represented over 80% of the cost; his architect and engineer supported the inflated estimate for otherwise they would not get his next job. Then, with only a 20% investment of his money, he sought and received double depreciation on the completed structure, in this particular case running even higher since he broke the building down by what is called the "components" method and depreciated the elevators, roof, air conditioning, etc., at a still faster rate. Just recently he sold the apartment at a high profit to a syndicate, liquidating his corporation in order to pay a single capital gains tax. The result is that he received an annual tax-free return of over 30%, his investment, in effect, being returned in three years through the depreciation alone, above and beside the profit from rent, and then sold at another high additional profit subject only to a tax of 25%!

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* The law has been changed on this point, but the problem can be solved, in the majority of cases, by other methods too complicated to describe here.

If the speculator can manage to build in his individual name or that of a partnership, the profits are again enhanced, since he can apply the depreciation against his own total income, which is usually taxed higher than the corporate level. Erwin Wolfson, for example, leased land from Columbia University on a short term lease and constructed 100 Church Street. Assuming a 5% accelerated depreciation factor (very conservative under the circumstances) on a $10 million construction job, Mr. Wolfson had a legitimate tax-free deduction averaging somewhat less than one-half million dollars annually to apply against his personal income tax for the next few years. As the principal owner of Diesel Construction Company, the largest construction company in New York City, and the sponsor of Grand Central City, which will be the largest office structure in the world (now renamed Pan Am Building for its principal tenant), Erwin Wolfson presumably found this deduction of use.

FEE BUILDING-- The classical method of construction is to buy the land outright, called the fee simple, and then build. Its disadvantage is that the builder has money invested in the land as well, a non-depreciable item. This is to a degree compensated for by the fact that mortgages tend to give more money to fee builders than leasehold builders, feeling their investment to be more secure with the former. The variations by which speculators have achieved success with this method are as infinite as the cunning of the human mind. Sam Rudin, an old-time builder whose development of Washington Square North sparked the postwar boom in Greenwich Village, decided to erect a mammoth office building. He bought a plot, now called 80 Pine Street, and projected a structure of almost 900,000 square feet. But he was unable to get financing, because the area was somewhat east of the financial district and the mortgagees had doubts as to its success. The Chase Manhattan Bank, which had sold him the plot, was concerned. They did not want to get back the land. Furthermore, since the First National City Bank and the Hanover Bank had announced plans to move a major part of their operations to the midtown area, the Rockefellers wanted 80 Pine Street to reinforce their tremendous investment in the Chase Manhattan Plaza, only two blocks away. The upshot was that Chase Manhattan rented enough space in 80 Pine Street to enable Mr. Rudin to acquire financing.

Very often the builders end up working for the mortgagees. The Tishmans at 666 Fifth Avenue and the Minskoffs at 575 Lexington Avenue--second generation builders both, whose families have been identified with midtown construction for 50 years --were staggering under the load of the tremendous equities involved. The Prudential Insurance Company, which had indicated an interest in providing mortgage money, obligingly bought the two buildings before they were completed and leased them back to the builders. The result is that the Tishmans and Minskoffs make large sums operating the buildings which belong, however, to the Prudential Insurance Company.

There is as much skullduggery behind many of these deals as in the most sinister novels; and far more is at stake. One reads that gunmen can be hired to murder individuals for a few thousand dollars; those on the inside of realty laugh at such petty antes. Several years ago, for example, a large financial institution was approached by a speculative builder who thought the institution might be interested in letting him develop a property which it owned. The builder asked his structural engineer to draw preliminary plans for a new building. The engineer, rich in his own right, was a partner in one of the largest realty syndicates. The next week a very important man, of the same social background as the president of the financial institution, arranged a meeting through which the realty syndicate got the job. The speculator with the original idea was left out in the cold, and it was not until several years later, when his structural engineer fired a draftsman, that the truth came out.

Another case of the ruthlessness pervading this struggle for money is one involving a principal corner in downtown Manhattan. An investment builder was going to build on an inside plot when it struck him that a large insurance company, occupying the adjacent corner building, was in need of additional space. He reasoned that by combining his plot with the other, he would create a better structure and satisfy the growing needs of the insurance company as well. But the insurance company refused to sell, offering to lease instead. The deal was arranged but problems arose because of the difficulty of mortgaging a combined fee simple and leasehold. The insurance company refused to sign the lease, though it kept on assuring the investment builder it would honor its commitment. The latter, getting deeper and deeper, without money and unable to arrange temporary relief because of the unsigned leasehold, was eventually forced to sell out at a loss to the insurance company, which then used the same plans and proceeded to erect the structure. This building, when fully rented, will net close to $400,000 per year in profit!

Perhaps the most startling case of banditry in the history of New York City real estate occurred very recently. A tremendous apartment project, occupying a magnificent location in the center of Manhattan's East Side, has just been completed. Its history is unusual. Several years ago one of the City's most prominent builders decided to go ahead with this project. He spent a large sum for the land. By the time he sought financing the money market, in one of its perennial swings, had become very tight. No matter what the builder did, he was unable to raise money.

Finally this builder turned in despair to that private market of vultures that always wheel in the financial air, looking for dying victims. These are the very rich men who for a price save propositions by investing a certain sum of money, taking back a large interest. He found one such gentleman who was willing to give aid. The terms were that the new party would lend $3 million for a short period of time, until a package deal of financing could be arranged, and in return receive 50% interest in the mammoth job.

The new participant thereupon approached his banks and borrowed $3 million at 6% interest. This new equity money enabled the job to proceed. The money market soon loosened up and financing was arranged. The terms of this new financing were so liberal that $2 million of the $3 million was returned to the gentleman who had stepped in. To sum up, the new partner thus obtained a 50% interest in one of the largest apartment building projects in the history of New York for what amounted to 6% interest on $3 million for several months and 6% interest on $1 million for three years (his real equity money). The total interest will amount to some $200,000 and for this money he has obtained a permanent position in a magnificent project which should return his $1 million equity in short years and then show one-third of a million dollars annual return thereafter!

INTRICATE FINANCING--The above deals are comparatively simple. A piece of property is bought or leased and a building is constructed subject to a normal mortgage. The only widely known exception to this rule was the bond issuances that took place during the construction frenzy of the late 1920s. At that time it was common practice to issue bonds instead of mortgages, because more money could be obtained through this method. With the arrival of the depression, most of these bond issues collapsed in value. Certain very smart individuals thereupon proceeded to buy up the defunct bonds at a few cents on the dollar, until they obtained control of the properties against which the bonds had been issued. Some of the "older money" in real estate came about through this technique which, of course, was thoroughly legitimate according to the laws. The Salmon Building, 500 Fifth Avenue, at the northwest corner of 42nd Street, was acquired, for example, by means of this technique.

It took, however, that amazing manipulator of modern times, William Zeckendorf, to improve to its highest degree the procedure of squeezing money from buildings. This wizard decided in the early 1950s that the typical financial operations of real estate men were amateurish. They divided property into equity, the cash they put in, and that money contributed by the mortgagee. Mr. Zeckendorf reasoned that realty could be regarded much like other forms of modern corporate ownership, that is, merchandised in separate units comparable to common stock, preferred stock and debentures. Thus, he reasoned, an improved property is a unit consisting of many parts: it is land on which a building has been erected; the building itself; the operating value due from rent income; and the additional mortgage value of the rents isolated from the building. He was the first person properly to understand that the land could be sold to one party, the building to another, the operating lease to a third, and that even another mortgage position could be hewed from the rent income separate from the operating lease.

The first building to which he applied this technique was 2 Park Avenue. The structure had a value, according to traditional standards, of something less than $10 million. The primary step was to sell an operating lease on the entire property for $5 million, composed of $1.5 million cash and $3.5 million lease mortgage. This was reasonable because the building tossed off about $1 million which, even with the very heavy carrying charges of $600,000 on the new lease mortgage, meant that the investors received about $400,000 annually or an 8% return. Then Zeckendorf went to a mortgage company and borrowed $6,750,000 at 4½%. In a short time the rents went up, serving as additional security against the property, and Zeckendorf borrowed in the form of a second mortgage an additional $2,250,000. He thus received a total of $14 million for a property that was estimated as worth less than $10 million--and still held the fee, on which he turned down an additional offer of another million dollars!

In effect, what Zeckendorf did was to wring fifty per cent more money out of the building by dividing it into parts--fee, operating lease and separate fee mortgages. He perfected and even elaborated this technique in the subsequent purchases of the Graybar and Chrysler Buildings, as well as the Equitable Building at 120 Broadway. A peculiar refinement of the Chrysler-Graybar purchase was that the owning corporation he was going to acquire had several million dollars in its bank account. This money he needed for the purchase. Operating through a new corporation he borrowed money from other sources to close the transaction and then immediately withdrew the money from the bank account he had now acquired to pay off his borrowing; in a sense he thus bought the building with the building's own money.

The labyrinthine mind of Mr. Zeckendorf is at present engaged in a project which will make even this earlier financing seem childish. Anxious to enlarge the facilities of his Drake Hotel, he is now closing the following proposition. As the first step, he will sell the Drake to a syndicate that will give him \$4½ million cash over a present \$4½ million mortgage. He will simultaneously lease back the hotel for a long term and also agree to use the money received to build the addition. The syndicate likewise will agree to lend him another \$1 million so that he can proceed with construction, as well as permit him to increase the mortgage by an additional \$2 million in order to assure him all the money required for the job. The return to the syndicate (it is reported in the trade) will be guaranteed at approximately 12%, with the rent being reduced in proportion to the reduction of the mortgage. At the end of ten years Mr. Zeckendorf will have a six months' option to buy back the entire enlarged property for \$8½ million over any mortgages then outstanding.

The terms of this type of financing stagger the imagination and are even difficult for experienced realty people to follow. The basis is a continuing market, one which will get better and better. But conservative men with many years of background shudder to think what will happen to buildings laden with top-heavy mortgages and demanding leases if ever there is a downward dip in our booming economy.

SYNDICATES--What has made this rickety structure of building and expansion possible is the syndicate.* The syndicate is merely a group of people who get together and form a partnership, participating in the profits according to their proportionate interest in the total deal. The attraction of the syndicate is its tax position. The corporation is subject to double taxation, first on normal income and then on dividends. But an individual or a partnership is subject only to one tax, the return received directly by the participant. Furthermore, the depreciation on the property, which is a tax-free item, goes to the corporation and not the stockholders when a property is held in corporate form, while it goes tax-free directly into the pockets of the individuals in a syndicate.

This simple equation has transformed New York real estate. Since properties are judged according to their return to the investors, the effect has been quite simply to double values. A building valued at \$5 million to a corporation is now worth \$10 million to a syndicate. Furthermore, since at each sale a new depreciation allowance is set up based on the new selling price, by raising prices the syndicates in practice add tax-free dollars to the income of their investors. A building formerly worth \$5 million might be close to the end of its depreciation deduction. When bought for \$10 million, the entire difference (minus land value, which is non-depreciable) is credited as additional depreciation. The syndicates then take this depreciation in one of the accelerated forms: presuming, in the above example, that \$4 million is additional new depreciation at 4%, or \$160,000 tax-free money, they take the 150% declining balance method (or 1½ times) and pull out \$240,000 instead, all of which goes tax-free into the pockets of the participants.

Building after building, hotel after hotel, apartment after apartment, has fallen to the scythe of the syndicates. As buildings get older their depreciation runs out and the owners are forced to sell. When the syndicator offers almost double money for what the owner thought the property was worth, the urge to liquidate becomes irresistible. And the process feeds on itself. The syndicates have been offering between 10-12% annual profit, part of this tax-free, and the better they do the more money pours into their portfolios. The consequence is that values of New York real estate have soared so high, the market has been picked as clean of purchases as the dead carcass of a cow by ants. This is part of a vicious cycle, because builders feel compelled to erect new structures, knowing that even if they rent only with some degree of success, they can immediately sell at a profit. The whole swollen apparatus of leasehold building, accelerated depreciation, capital gains tax and syndicate operation forces a wild spiral of building and speculation which must load weight on weight until the realty market may collapse in a horrible shambles.

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* The new Real Estate Investment Trust Act extends the syndicate method on an even vaster scope.

III.

Real estate is subject to other tricks beside tax juggling. It is the perfect medium for the huckster mentality because the cheaper the product the higher the return. Cost of construction has risen to the point that a speculative formula has evolved to substitute tinsel for quality. The result has standardized building to the point that one can identify speculative structures merely at a glance.

It is so obvious that builders cover every inch of land with construction that when rare exceptions occur, like the Lever Building between 53rd and 54th Streets on Park Avenue, and the Seagram Building a block to the south, the news hits the front pages of the newspapers. The fact that crowding massive structures over narrow streets ruins the esthetic effect of architecture is of no importance, because the builders are concerned not with esthetics but with the rent received per square foot. This itself is legitimate in our economy, but when the ultimate desire is only the profit as divorced from architectural value and the municipal interest, we have gone a step in monetary perversion beyond all known previous civilizations. The so-called Babylonian or ziggurat effect is merely an extension of this maximum land use on the vertical level, whereby the builder conforms to the city code by the use of setbacks every three stories. A recent adaptation, the block base and tower, has become popular not because the builders underwent some weird conversion to artistic values, but rather because of the rising costs of roofing material and plumbing for the numerous setbacks.

A corollary of the 100% land usage and maximum setbacks is the application of glamor to the public parts of the structure. The typical speculator builds a fancy lobby, usually including an abstract mobile or ceramic design as a sop to "modern architecture"--Noguchi is the favorite for this today. The curtain wall facade is made of precast stainless steel cubes or hexagonals, cream plastic plates or aluminum members anodized in silver or gold. These skin treatments are "modern" too: and also cost less than the traditional brick and limestone. The fact that the thinly veneered facades leak like a sieve is irrelevant since the tenants will have already moved in on long-term leases by the time this is apparent. The elevators are the newest gimmick, playing soft semi-classical music with their operatorless controls that save the builder up to $.25 per square foot in labor cost.

The lobby, facade and elevators are the center of glamor application. Where the speculator recoups is in the mechanical equipment and, in particular, air conditioning. The difference between a good and bad air-conditioning installation runs as much as $3 per square foot in a modern office building and, since the average structure today is over 300,000 square feet, this item along can save the builder almost $1 million. An adequate air-conditioning system should have zone controls for each face of the building and separate zone controls for the upper and lower parts. It should have air diffusers sufficient to handle each specific area, yet capable of throttling or "balancing." The system must have return ducts for the stale air, extended not only into the different zones but also into the areas subdivided by masonry or ceiling-high metal partitions. And, what is extremely important in the spring and autumn seasons, where there are wide oscillations of temperature in the same day, the installation should be equipped with what is called "100%

fresh air," or oversized entry ducts, that permit the air to be completely replaced by new fresh air in a short period of time.

A defective air-conditioning system is eminently suited to the purposes of present-day builders because it is something the prospective tenant will not see. One cannot tell the difference between good and bad air flow merely by looking at plans. When more sophisticated tenants call in engineers to review the design of the air conditioning, the builder usually adapts or improves the system for the executive area, still ending up with a large saving on the unimproved clerical areas.

It might be added that the speculators themselves are not solely at fault, since many aspects of the elevator and air-conditioning industries are virtual monopolies. Cost have been pushed so high the builder reacts in natural fashion because of the competition. For a speculator to construct office space according to good standards, he would be forced to rent at a figure much higher than his competition. But again, the question of "fair return" is relevant since most builders feel that a job is losing money if they do not "get their money out" in six or seven years, which means a 14% or 17% profit before taking advantage of the accelerated depreciation deduction.

ALLIED with the continued cheapening of mechanical equipment is the new popular theory of large office areas. By a sort of hypnosis unrelated to reality, many tenants have been convinced that tremendous floors are more amenable to modern office layout. This hallucination is fostered by the Madison Avenue publicists who have been hired by almost all the top-notch speculative builders. Objective studies indicate that between 12,000 and 20,000 square feet is the ideal layout space for big firms. It is to the builder's interest, however, to convince tenants that huge floor areas are ideal because the larger the cube construction, the cheaper it is to build. The land acquisition is only a minor part of the total cost picture, yet due to the peculiarities of the city code, one can build proportionately more space the bigger the plot. Two stairways as fire exits and one fire tower air shaft are needed in a small building as well as a large. The bigger the floors, the less toilets per square foot are installed and the less sun load is confronted by air-conditioning. Also, it is just as easy to build a large building as a small building, since the same number of trades are involved. The success of the campaign on the part of builders to convince tenants of the necessity to rent tremendous floors is one of the most striking phenomena of real estate today.

The speculator not only saves on tax techniques and cheap construction, but on renting and maintenance methods. The Real Estate Board of New York, a non-governmental association dominated by the larger realty interests, changed its method of computing square footage in 1953. Up to that date, tenants did not pay for corridors, toilets, air conditioning fan rooms located outside the premises, slop sink closets and electric and telephone rooms. Today, the tenant is required to pay for everything on a single-occupancy floor except the stairs, fire tower shaft and space occupied by the elevators. In effect, this means that the landlord receives between 7% and 12% more rent for the same space. Since few buildings are constructed on exact right angles and straight lines, the architect usually works hand in hand with the builder, giving him "the benefit of the doubt" on angles when the structure is not built flush with the lot line: for example, on a 8" skew over 200 lineal feet, the landlord would pick up almost 70 square feet (averaging the skew is 4" or one-third foot times 200 feet). Assuming two walls skewed in a thirty story building, the landlord would then pick up over 4,000 square feet! And we are starting on the assumption that the landlord indicates the correct footage to begin with.....

Another method by which landlords receive rent for useless square footage is by calculating as rentable area the enclosures of the peripheral air conditioning, a practice universally accepted. Most of these enclosures stick almost two feet into the premises. Assuming a building of 20,000 square feet on a floor or 200' by 100', there are 600 lineal feet of exterior walls. This means that the tenant pays for 1,200 square feet additional on each floor! It has been calculated by those in the know that the really shrewd operators, who combine all of these methods, receive a bonus amounting close to 20% over traditional measurements. Since the average equity runs less than one-third of the building cost, it is not hard to see why so much money pours into New York construction today.

But the tricks are not limited to space measurement. A standard item of modern leasing is the inclusion of the so-called "escalation clause" which provides that all increases in labor and maintenance costs, as well as taxes, are paid ;by tenants in proportion as their occupancy or rent is to the total occupancy or rent of the entire structure. Originally created to solve the problem of inflation on long-term leases, this clause has become a bonanza in the hands of ruthless landlords. The technique is simple. Certain common cost items are delayed during the first or base year and then applied later so that they fall into escalated items. The net effect is to increase the rent or landlord profit. For example, a very expensive matter in modern buildings is elevator maintenance. The large elevator companies charge about $2,500 per cab annually. What the speculator does is withhold awarding the contract for elevator maintenance during the first year the new building is open. Thereupon he hires the company and charges the entire amount to the tenant! In the case of a building containing 15 elevators and some 400,000 square feet, this contract would run about $37,500 annually. The landlord would thus pick up as extra rent a bonus of almost $.10 per square foot.

The escalation clause has been extended to include everything from uniforms and broken windows to toilet paper and soap. The side possibilities are almost too obvious to mention. The landlord needs soap, toilet paper, hand-tailored suits as well. And sometimes he has a dull-witted nephew who then appears as a new mechanic or central control inspector....

ONE OF THE BIGGEST extras in office maintenance is the cleaning contractor. In former times, owners built up their own crew of cleaning women, who worked on an average between 1600 and 1800 square feet an hour. Except for the few remaining owners of integrity--or fools, according to one's terms--this has long since been discarded. Today high pressure cleaning contractors employ crews of women who are forced to cover between 2200 and 2500 square feet an hour. The results are lamentable because it is impossible to clean properly at this speed. But who can catch the landlord in a lease violation? "Clean" is a general word, meaning something to one party and another to the next. When the tenant occupies the space on a 20-year lease, there is little he can do. But this is not all. The maintenance companies also specialize in "extras," floor waxing, venetian blind cleaning, polishing furniture and desks, replacing fluorescent tubes and ballasts. By arrangement, the owner of the building "participates" in these extras, creating a handy side income. If an occasional tenant protests the high prices, the landlord points out "there is nothing he can do" and furthermore shows the tenant that competitive prices are the same--which they are, since the various cleaning contractors have their own private agreements not to raid each other.

The tie-in between the cleaning contractors and the unions is an old story in this industry. Similar tie-ins exist between the large realty management companies and the superintendents. In one tragic case that recently occurred, an honest superintendent of a newly completed office building was fired by the management company because he tried to service the tenants according to decent standards. He went to the owner of the structure and was berated by him because he did not work for the benefit of the building! The poor honest man was ignorant of the fact that the owner received a "piece" of the money made by cutting standards and charging extras.

One of the newest ways to gouge tenants is known as "rent inclusion," referring to the including of electrical charges in the base rent. The practice was at first a reasonable reaction by realty owners to the elimination of electrical submetering in New York City. In essence, it meant that the owner, through the use of an independent consultant, would establish the cost of electricity and add it to the bill of the tenant. Since the tenant would have to pay the same retail rate to Consolidated Edison Company, it did not hurt him, whereas the owner received the advantage of the larger or wholesale rate.

Human rapacity being what it is, "inclusion" soon developed into a new racket. Although the average tenant uses between $.16 and $.20 worth of electricity per square foot, many owners charged a flat fee of $.25, pocketing the difference. When this malpractice was revealed, the owners then changed their tactics. Measurements of electricity is a difficult process since it involves many fluctuating factors such as line loss, demand charges, seasonal use variations, etc. The owners then made private deals with so-called "independent consultants" on a percentage basis, kicking back a portion of what they received in return for how high the consultant could push the charge. Since the alternative for the tenant was to run his own electrical lines all the way down the building in order to tie-in with the main service, he was at the mercy of unscrupulous landlords. This vicious practice often leads to a net additional rent of between $.05 and $.10 per square foot which, even after the booty is divided between the consultant and landlord, throws thousands of dollars extra income into the profit column.

REAL ESTATE management is singularly adapted to multiple corporations in common ownership. Since each corporation is only taxed 30% up to the first $25,000 profit, every new building job is organized under a separate corporate entity in order to avoid the full 52% tax at the lowest step. Another common method of "thinning" taxes is by means of creating a management corporation distinct from ownership. Suppose a builder has completed a structure. He can operate the building directly, hire a management company or set up his own separate management. With the last method, he can then charge the ownership corporation a commission for operating the property and deliberately juggle the rent, salaries and benefits to fall into the most favorable tax position. This device is usually employed when the builder has relatives he must put on the payroll; in effect, it means that the government is paying their salaries for the most part.

Another popular aspect of real estate is its fat expense account allowance. The purchase, sale, rent and general investigation of property is a category so large in its implications that almost any and every expense is legitimate. If one wants to check realty in southern California during the cold part of the winter, and the approach is carefully documented with letters to brokers, etc., this is a legitimate tax deduction. If a syndicate considers buying a property in Venezuela, a trip to that country is only in the line of business, with all sundry expenses allowed. When a potential tenant wants to see the latest show on Broadway or stay overnight at the best hotel or be provided with the consolations of a call girl, these are all reasonable accommodations to the problem of realty advancement. It is only part and parcel of business that expensive Christmas presents must be sent to one's clientele; and some of these presents, like homing pigeons, have a remarkable talent for returning home. Twenty-three-foot Cadillacs with television and telephones, including ship-to-shore yacht connections, are owned by certain well-known titans of realty. How can they do business without being able to contact their colleagues at a moment's notice?

One amusing aspect of the expense account is the expansion of New York realty interests in Florida. This has an obvious background. Suppose an apartment builder in Manhattan wants to spend his vacation at Miami Beach, Boca Raton or the Keys. If he builds or buys a hotel or apartment house in the city of his choice, it is inhuman of the government to expect him to have all the rooms fully rented for the entire season. The fact that one large hotel or apartment suite stays vacant merely reflects the vagaries of renting. Then again, this same owner must see that his business is going on satisfactorily. It is only logical that he fly down several times during the winter in order to check his affairs. And the transport, meeting with clients at night clubs, restaurant bills, etc., are fairly regarded as legitimate business expenses....

A last aspect of holding real estate bears notice. If an individual invests in the stock market, he must pay a normal tax on dividends. The Internal Revenue Department has decided, however, that after a realty corporation has paid a tax on regular business profits, it is entitled to a tax credit of 85% on additional profits if this money is invested elsewhere. The remaining 15% is then taxed at the regular 52% rate, which means in effect that if a realty corporation goes into the stock market with its undistributed profits, it pays a total tax of less than 8% (that is, 52% of 15%) on what it then makes. Since a like investment of this money in realty over again would be taxed the full 52%, the result is that dividends from the stock market are only hit by the Internal Revenue Department at one-sixth the same rate, or less than 8% instead of 52%!

Let us take an example. Suppose a realty outfit has made $100,000 after taxes. If it takes this money and reinvests it in another proposition, the profit is again subject to full tax at the 52% rate. On the other hand, if the corporation invests the money in the stock market and collects dividends at 5%, or $5,000 on the $100,000, it then pays approximately 8% of this $5,000 as taxes, leaving it over $4,500 after taxes. At the same time the money is fully liquid, since the stocks can be sold within twenty-four hours. In a market like that of the last years, where stock values have shot up, this is particularly significant because a sale then would only be subject to capital gains or a total of 25% tax on the rise in value of the stocks. Instead of being "frozen in" with their money, as the trade terms corporate realty holdings, investment can be made at minimum taxes both on dividend income and sale profits.

IV.

In trying to analyze the social consequences of the favorable treatment afforded to building, the first thought to strike even the most superficial observer is the resulting architectural mediocrity. In truth, speculative builders with a high sense of product can rarely survive, as the history of Fred F. French at Tudor City well documents. Speculators, obsessed by the gold lodestar, tend to "mortgage out" or reduce the money stuck in a job to the minimum, and then add structure on structure in a dizzy pyramid until the slightest breeze of vacancy may blow it over. This leads to a frantic chase for the cheapest methods, which is evidenced by the mechanical repetition of building patterns. The Uris Bros. have a style: colored bakelite disks behind aluminum fins. The Tishmans have a style: microscopic enlargement of a fly's eye, pasted on concrete blocks. Erwin Wolfson has a style: loft construction of the 1920s, built ten times larger. And New York City might be renamed Rothville for the architectural firm of Emery Roth & Sons, whose monotonous variations on Speculator Style have dotted Third Avenue and Park Avenue with squat boxes. The difference between Levittown and Rothville is only size.

Several of the new buildings, created as home offices for billion-dollar concerns, escape this general pall. The main problem even for these worthy structures is their setting. Leonardo da Vinci observed centuries ago that a building should rise in height only one-half the distance of the free span of space before it, but Municipal Code is based on the exact reverse. For a short time New Yorkers can look from the east side of Sixth Avenue and 52nd Street across a vacant plot, recently purchased by Uris Bros., toward a group formed by the RCA building, the Time-Life Building and the Equitable Life Building. When the Uris Bros.--the largest single builders of office space in the city today--add another of their hulking masses to this vacant lot, the mighty tableau will be drowned in the total effect.*

But the practical results of the present boom provoke more than merely esthetic objections. New York City is strangling itself. By mass transit 40,000 persons can be transported on the same amount of roadway that will only carry 1600 persons in private cars: or 25 times as many. But buses and the railroads, which the municipal and state governments refuse to subsidize for the public good, have become so expensive, that cars--on an average carrying less than two persons apiece--are used more and more. And the focal points of traffic are two small Manhattan zones: from Bowling Green on Broadway to Fulton Street in the downtown area, and the Park-Sixth Avenue complex in midtown. Since the prime rule of building is location first, last and always, the concentration becomes worse with each passing year. Permitting the construction of Pan Am Building--due north of Grand Central Station--which will dump 25,000 additional persons in the heart of midtown, is an act of municipal madness.

THE RISING COST of land has led to a type of economic ghettoization which is the antithesis of democracy. The rich and poor used to live close together, but this is much less true today. Public housing brings the lucky poor together, and high rents keep the unlucky poor segregated in ugly slums. The Protestant whites have left New York City and the Jews are following. By rule of the inverse ghetto, the East Side is becoming the haven for the last-remaining rich. A broker three years ago offered the author a large vacant plot on the East Side at $70 a foot. The price seemed ridiculous but the broker said: "Take it. The East Side is the only place where white people want to live today. The values must go up." Recently the same plot was sold, after two additional turnovers, at over $100 a foot. If the present movement continues, New York City will soon resemble a grotesquely enlarged medieval town, with each caste in its own quarter.

Commenting on this metropolitan concentration over two decades ago, the well-known social critic Lewis Mumford referred to the new Trinity of finance, insurance and advertising. Certainly, the Rome of this Trinity is New York City and its leading churches the home offices of these industries. The insensate march of

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* Since the Rockefellers have become partners in this project, the Uris architectural style has been vastly upgraded.

Manhattan realty values reflects the disease of modern times, for in this city is collected all the bureaucratic and non-productive functions of the American economy. The great hive of advertising, design, speculation, publicity, news, television, periodical literature and insurance buzzes with frantic energy of which the building boom is merely the outer form: buzzing for wild profits and quick turnover, not the production of capital goods or values adding grace to human existence.

As long as predatory cunning and acquisitive lust are the highest social virtues, this state of affairs will continue. The public really admires its dream fulfillment in megalomania; in one sense, the conniver is the embodiment of American Success. A recent survey of the National Bureau of Economic Research showed that since 1949--which not so coincidentally was the birth of the realty boom--there has been a trend toward more wealth in the hands of fewer people and that already by 1953 only 1.6 per cent of the country's population held 30 per cent of the nation's personal wealth. Again not coincidentally, the survey indicated that New Yorkers lead the nation in total personal incomes. The report did not indicate that more children die of rat bites in the slums of the metropolitan area than elsewhere. People seem less fascinated by such statistics.

Without doubt, real estate--and its sister, the stock market--are the two provinces where money can be made most quickly in our society. Accelerated depreciation, capital gains, the single tax on syndicate ownership: the entire structure, emphasizing cheap building and rapid sale, is a mechanical milker that pumps out a continual stream of cream from the public cow. As long as the laws deliberately subsidize the rich and rapacious, a frenzy of building and speculation will be a permanent aspect of American life, a frenzy which has robbed America of internal equilibrium and a sane view of the changing world.

THESE DISTORTIONS can be resolved simply. Depreciation, like amortization of mortgages, should be after taxes, and not represent a tax-free return. This is the method prevailing in many European countries. Home owners even in this country do not get allowances for depreciation and there is no reason why business should be given advantages denied to the home owner.

Syndicates are permitted a single tax denied to corporations on the peculiar basis that no tax ruling has specifically called them to account. Such tax discrimination is neither logical nor does it serve a useful social function; to the contrary, it favors one class of investors against another and is thoroughly "un-American" in the most abused sense of the word. And, most important of all, capital gains should be eliminated; this specious tax dodge resting on the fiction that capital held over six months is a long-term investment as distinguished from capital invested for less than six months, and hence subject to a maximum 25% tax on profits. To this one gimmick alone can be attributed the violent cycles and distortions of the American economy.

But the individuals who take advantage of these legal devices are also the individuals who make the laws; it is their representatives who control the legislatures and sit on the courts. And each obscure voter, who votes for them, dreams of participating in the great rat race of amassing income as a symbol rather than for use. As far as the objective observer can see, only when the whole inflated structure collapses of its own weight--as it must--will reforms such as those touched on above be effected. And then it may be too late, since we shall all, the innocent as well as the guilty, be buried in the falling debris....

* * *

Reprinted from
TRENDS IN HOUSING
Published by National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

SCOREBOARD

Laws Affecting Discrimination in Housing

As of September 15, 1961

STATE	COVERAGE Public Housing	Urban Renewal	FHA & VA	Private Housing	Real Est. Agents	Mortgage Lenders	Advertising	Official Enforcement Agency
1. California	X	X	X		X			
2. Colorado	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. Connecticut	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
4. Indiana	X	X						
5. Massachusetts	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
6. Michigan	X				X[1]			
7. Minnesota[2]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
8. Montana		X						
9. New Hampshire	X			X				
10. New Jersey	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
11. New York	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
12. Oregon	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
13. Pennsylvania	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
14. Rhode Island	X							X
15. Washington	X	X	X			X	X	X
16. Wisconsin	X	X						

[1] By ruling of the Michigan Corporation and Securities Commission.

[2] Minnesota's FH law becomes effective Dec. 31, 1962.

Note: Illinois prohibits restrictive covenants on urban redevelopment land.
Kansas and Alabama prohibit racial zoning.

City Measures

Forty-nine cities have laws or resolutions affecting discrimination in housing or have taken action covering specific projects. In addition to *New York City* and *Pittsburgh*, which bar discrimination in private housing (see Digest below), they apply as follows:

Public Housing—Thirty-two cities have provisions applying to this area: Phoenix, Ariz.; Fresno, Richmond and San Francisco, Calif.; Hartford, Conn.; Wilmington, Del.; Washington, D. C.; Chicago, Ill.; South Bend, Ind.; Baltimore, Md.; Boston, Mass.; Detroit, Hazel Park, Mount Clemens, Pontiac, Saginaw and Superior Township, Mich.; Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.; Kansas City and St. Louis, Mo.; Omaha, Neb.; Newark, N. J.; Cleveland and Toledo, Ohio; Chester, Delaware County, Erie and Philadelphia, Penna.; Providence, R. I.; Pasco, Wash.; and Superior, Wisc.

Publicly-assisted and/or urban redevelopment housing—Twenty-five cities have provisions applying to this area: Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento and San Francisco, Calif.; Denver, Colo.; Hartford, Conn.; Chicago, Ill.; LaPorte, Michigan City and Mishawaka, Ind.; Des Moines, Iowa; Inkster, Mount Clemens and Superior Township, Mich.; Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.; Fargo, N. D.; Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Hamilton and Toledo, Ohio; Providence, R. I.; Madison and Milwaukee, Wisc.

DIGEST

Of the 11 Laws Covering Private Housing

NEW YORK CITY. Signed into law Dec. 30, 1957. Effective Apr. 1, 1958. Amended 1961. *Coverage*: Sale or rental of all housing accommodations except the rental of an apartment in an owner-occupied duplex and the rental of rooms in private residences; activities of real estate operators and mortgage lenders; advertising. *Enforcement* by the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations, 80 Lafayette St., New York 7—WO 4-5656.

PITTSBURGH. Signed Dec. 8, 1958. Effective June 1, 1959. *Coverage*: Sales or rentals by persons who own or control five or more housing units, anywhere in the city; residential building lots; all activities of real estate operators and mortgage lenders; advertising. *Enforcement* by the Pittsburgh Commission on Human Rights, 518 City-County Bldg., Pittsburgh 19, Pa.—AT 1-3900.

COLORADO. Signed Apr. 10, 1959. Effective May 1, 1959. *Coverage*: Sale or rental of all housing accommodations except "premises maintained by the owner or lessee as the household of his family"; vacant land; activities of real estate operators and mortgage lenders in all transactions involving housing covered by the statute; advertising. *Enforcement* by the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission, 328 State Services Bldg., 1525 Sherman St., Denver 3, Colo.—AC 2-9911, Ext. 2621.

MASSACHUSETTS. Signed Apr. 22, 1959. Effective July 21, 1959. Amended 1960 and 1961. *Coverage*: Rentals and sales in apartment houses with three or more units and sales of homes in developments of ten or more contiguous units. (Also applies to housing which was at any time one of ten or more lots on a tract which was submitted to a planning board under the state's Subdivision Control Law.) Covers the activities of real estate operators in all transactions involving housing covered by the statute. Provides for injunctive relief pending final determination of a complaint, after investigation establishes probable cause to credit the charge of discrimination. Separate statutes 1) cover all activities of mortgage lenders; and 2) provide for the revocation of real estate licenses when brokers are found guilty of discriminatory practices. *Enforcement* by the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, 41 Tremont St., Boston 8, Mass.—CA 7-3111.

CONNECTICUT. Signed May 12, 1959. Effective Oct. 1, 1959. Amended 1961. *Coverage*: Sale or rental of any housing accommodation which is owned or controlled by persons owning or controlling three or more contiguous units; residential building lots. The Commission on Civil Rights has ruled that real estate agents and lending institutions fall within the scope of the public accommodations statute. *Enforcement* by the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights, Room 537, State Office Bldg., Hartford 15, Conn.—JA 7-6341, Ext. 2310.

OREGON. Signed May 27, 1959. Effective Aug. 5, 1959. *Coverage*: Any person engaged in the business of selling or leasing real property, including vacant land and commercial space; advertising. A separate statute provides for the revocation of licenses of real estate operators who violate the fair housing law. *Enforcement* is by the Civil Rights Division, Oregon State Bureau of Labor, 1216 S.W. Hall, Portland 1, Ore.—CA 6-2161, Ext. 421.

PENNSYLVANIA. Signed Feb. 28, 1961. Effective Sept. 1, 1961. *Coverage*: Sale or rental of all housing accommodations except owner-occupied one- and two-family houses and except the rental of rooms in private homes; residential building lots; activities of real estate operators and mortgage lenders in transactions involving housing covered by the statute; advertising. *Enforcement* by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, 1401 Labor and Industry Bldg., Harrisburg, Pa.—CE 8-5151. Ext. 3679.

NEW YORK STATE. Signed Apr. 11, 1961. Effective Sept. 1, 1961. *Coverage*: Sale of homes in developments of ten or more houses located on contiguous land; rentals in buildings with three or more housing units, except those in owner-occupied three-family houses; commercial space; activities of real estate operators in transactions involving commercial space and housing covered by the statute; activities of mortgage lenders in transactions involving *any* housing or commercial space; advertising. *Enforcement* by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, 270 Broadway, New York 7—BA 7-1616.

MINNESOTA. Signed Apr. 17, 1961. Effective Dec. 31, 1962. *Coverage*: Sale or rental of all housing accommodations, with the following exceptions: 1) rental of an apartment in an owner-occupied duplex; 2) rental of rooms in private residences; and 3) single-family houses which are not defined as "publicly-assisted housing." All houses with outstanding FHA- or VA-insured mortgages or which have received other forms of public assistance are covered by the law. Also covers commercial space; vacant land; activities of real estate operators and mortgage lenders in transactions involving property covered by the statute; advertising. *Enforcement* by the Minnesota State Commission Against Discrimination (now State Fair Employment Practices Commission), 200 State Capitol, St. Paul 1, Minn.—CA 2-3013.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. Signed June 30, 1961. Effective Aug. 29, 1961. *Coverage*: Bars discrimination "in the matter of rental or occupancy of a dwelling in a building containing more than one dwelling"; provides that violations are punishable by fines of from $10 to $100; bars civil actions for damages. *Enforcement*: No administrative machinery is provided.

NEW JERSEY. Signed Sept. 13, 1961. Effective the same date. *Coverage*: Sale or rental of houses in developments of ten or more located on contiguous land, and sale or rental of apartments in buildings containing three or more units, exempting owner-occupied three-family houses. Also excludes rental of rooms in private residences. Covers vacant land and commercial space. Previous statute covering all publicly-assisted housing, including FHA and VA, remains in force. Applies to real estate brokers and mortgage lenders in the handling of transactions involving property covered by the statute. Bars discriminatory advertising. *Enforcement* by the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights, 1100 Raymond Blvd., Newark 5—MA 4-1414.

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
426 West 58 Street, New York 19, New York

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(*Please include postal zone number.*)

Addendum to SCOREBOARD as of June 30, 1962

TOLEDO, Ohio. Signed Sept. 25, 1961. Effective Oct. 25, 1961. Coverage: All sales of real property. Rentals in buildings of 5 or more units. Enforcement by the Toledo Board of Community Relations, 565 N. Erie St., Toledo 2 - CHerry 4-1961.

(NOTE: The Toledo law has been stalled by a temporary injunction since Nov. 2, 1961.)

VIRGIN ISLANDS. Signed into law June 9, 1961. Coverage: Provides that no person "engaged in selling, leasing, or renting" any item of real estate shall, directly or indirectly, deny any other person the right to buy, lease, or rent any item of real estate on account of race, creed, or national origin. Prohibits the use of the "private club" device for evasion of the law. Provides for punitive damages up to $5,000 and/or a fine of not more than $2,000. Enforcement by the Commissioner of Public Safety.

ALASKA. Adopted Apr. 3, 1962. Effective Apr. 4, 1962. Coverage: "Public housing, all forms of publicly-assisted housing, and any housing accommodations offered for sale, rent, or lease." Violators are liable to 30 days imprisonment, or a fine of not more than $500, or both. No enforcement machinery is provided.

(NOTE: The Alaska law, an amendment to the state's public accommodations act, is the only all-inclusive anti-bias housing law to date.)

CALIFORNIA. On March 26, 1962, the California Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Unruh Civil Rights Act (adopted in 1959), and found its prohibition of discrimination in "all business establishments" applicable to real estate brokers and salesmen. This action of the high court, in effect, gives California similar coverage to that provided under the Oregon fair housing law. However, no enforcement machinery is provided in California.

NEW YORK CITY. On Apr. 4, 1962, Mayor Robert F. Wagner signed amendments designed to facilitate the enforcement of New York City's pioneering fair housing law. The amendments provide that the city's Commission on Human Rights (formerly COIR) may seek a court injunction to hold the unit at issue available during the pendency of a complaint; that the facts in a case may now be made public after efforts to conciliate fail; and the Fair Housing Practices Board, which formerly reviewed Commission findings before cases were referred to court, has been eliminated.

WASHINGTON STATE. On Apr. 2, 1962, the U. S. Supreme Court refused to review a Washington State Supreme Court decision which held, 5 to 4, the state's law barring discrimination in publicly-assisted housing unconstitutional. The majority of the State Supreme Court held that limitation of the statute to "publicly-assisted housing" was an unreasonable classification, denying equal protection of the laws.

In June 1962, a lower court ruled that the Washington public accommodations statute covers real estate offices. This decision is on appeal.

# # #

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.

A HOUSING PROGRAM

developed by the 1961 CORE Housing Institute

written by William Fischer
Philadelphia CORE

Revised and distributed by the
PROGRAM DEPARTMENT

I. SUMMARY

A. CORE's primary role in integrating housing is in the use of direct action: testing, negotiating, and non-violent picketing or sit-ins aimed at bringing about a rapid abandonment of discriminatory practices.

B. CORE's secondary jobs are to promote the use of legal redress and to cooperate with other forces working to integrate housing.

C. A third function will be to obtain a list of bona fide tenants and/or buyers, and may include developing a list of available housing in all-white neighborhoods.

II. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A. Housing discrimination is extremely widespread, and strongly entrenched. The North has moved backward in this area. Of all new housing built since World War II in the United States, only 2% has been available to Negroes, and more than half of that was in "all-Negro" areas.

B. Negroes do not apply for housing in "white" areas in sizeable numbers. In five years of house-building (while learning the business) Morris Milgram did not have any Negro applicants.

C. There is a reluctance to move in even when an area has been "opened up." Levittown, Pennsylvania has 4,000 houses and 10 Negro families; Levittown, New York has 15,000 houses and 3 Negro families.

D. White home owners entertain some strong fears, generally unfounded, which make housing discrimination different from other types:

1. Loss of status
2. Loss of investment value in home
3. Possibility of being only white family left on the block
4. Possibility of lowered school standards.

III. DIRECT ACTION PROCEDURE

A. Choice of Targets

Testing for discrimination should be complete and thorough, in all types of housing. In reaching decisions as to a target for direct action the following should be considered:

1. Priority, in terms of the type of housing most in demand (sales, rentals, price range).

2. Value of housing -- it's very important to pick housing that's of a good investment value. It is easier to find Negro applicants and whites who are willing to move in.

3. Racial composition of area -- the best work can be done in all white areas, rather than pockets of discrimination in areas largely integrated.

4. Size and importance of Real Estate Operator -- When it is only possible to act on one company at a time, it may be best to select a large operator rather than a small one since a victory with a large concern will open up more units.

B. Testing

1. Negro Testers

   a. An applicant need not be bona fide for the purposes of checking for the presence of discrimination. A couple is most desirable, but a single male or female is fine. The tester should have a detailed personal "story" about his occupation and employer, salary, present address, size of family, and the down-payment he can afford. A general rule-of-thumb is that a person can afford to buy a home about 2½ times his annual salary, or he can pay rent amounting to 20% of his salary.

   b. The bona fide applicant is essential to the actual reversal of discriminatory policy, whether by CORE activity or by complaint under Fair Housing Laws. If possible, the applicant should bring his family with him when house hunting. The personal confrontation with flesh-and-blood human beings can help break down a real estate man previously determined to turn away Negroes. The applicant should be prepared to make the down-payment if the house is offered to him. The applicant must be persistent in the face of evasive tactics. (CORE should interview applicant carefully to ascertain his housing needs and outline an approach for him to follow).

2. White Testers ("Control")

   White testers need not be bona fide applicants. They, too, should have a personal "story" to tell if questioned. This story should include lower qualifications than the Negro testers (lower salary, less cash for down-payment, more children, etc.)

3. Procedure

   Both Negro testers and white controls should ask for the same type Housing, so results will be comparable. Inquiries should be made as to availability of present and future units. Information should be written down in the office (a perfectly natural thing for the house hunter to do). Be sure to get the name of the person talked to.

a) The white control group may test after the Negro test group to prove conclusively that the housing is still available.

b) If the management is likely to suspect white testers who follow the Negro group, it will be necessary to have the white team test first.

c) "Sandwich testing" may be used -- with a white control group both preceeding and following the test group.

d) Telephone testing can be used in certain cases. Give your needs and establish availability of units, then say "By the way, I am a Negro," and see what happens or go out for a personal inspection of the premises.

C. Negotiation

1. The appointment for the negotiation session can be made by phone or in person. One should identify himself from his CORE group. Be firm but polite.

2. The negotiating teams should be interracial, and depending upon the situation, the testers shoudl be included (sometimes the inclusion of the bogus white testers might be unnecessarily provocative. On the other hand, the presence of the Negro tester makes it difficult for the real estate operator to say that this particular Negro is unacceptable.

3. One of the negotiators should take notes.

4. One should always enter negotiating session with real demands. First negotiation should leave the the manager's office to consider the matter further, assuming he's not ready to yield. Ultimatums should come only after a series of negotiations show that conciliation is hopeless.

5. In negotiating, if the manager is obstinate, stress the law and the climate of opinion rather than philosophical arguments for equal treatment. Use imagination in countering his excuses: when a realtor sayd "My tenants will be against it and will move out," Boston CORE polled his tenants to disprove him (after making sure beforehand that the poll results were likely to be good).

6. After negotiation session, write the manager a letter summing up what occurred, and stating CORE's desire to purse the matter further. If he claimed he doesn't really discriminate, be sure to get in "We were very pleased to learn..." This letter will serve as the record of the session.

D. Direct Action

1. Reason for: Builders may well fight the new law all the way to the Supreme Court. Even if they don't, few house seekers

will be patient enough to wait out the complaint procedure (if the operation of other state laws are any guide). If we want to get real results for families ready to move, we must act.

2. Picketing: should be effective on Sundays when most people hunt houses. An example of the power of picketing is that Boston CORE couldn't even get to see the biggest slumlord in town for weeks, but when they arrived to picket, he was there ready to talk. New York CORE conducted a successful 80 hour-round-the-clock picket of a Brooklyn apartment house.

   a) Always send a delegation in to see the manager before starting the line. This gives him a chance to negotiate, if he is so inclined. Give him a leaflet, and tell him you are going to picket. Go in again when picketing is finished for the day, to tell him you are ceasing temporarily, will be back if nothing changes, but are willing at all times to negotiate further in good faith.

   b) Be sure to have neat, brief leaflets which clearly state the reason for your demonstration.

   c) Sometimes have petitions on hand for passersby to sign.

3. Sit-ins: If "nothing available," Negro applicant can sit down in office or in living room of model home, preferably with his family. Possible for CORE members to sit in and refuse to leave until policy changes. Picketing and sit-ins may be used simultaneously.

IV. USE OF FAIR HOUSING LAW

A. CORE can do the following:

1. Get valid applicants to file complaints.
2. Supply administrative agency with evidence of discrimination gained through testing, regardless of validity of applicants.
3. Take direct action while case is in progress to improve chances that the manager will yield to the State in conciliation.

B. While it is important for CORE groups to develop their own housing program, chapters should work cooperatively with other housing groups and agencies wherever feasible.

V. GETTING VALID APPLICANTS

A. Distribute handout on the law and on CORE's role.

Organizational mailings
Bulletin boards
Barber shops, bowling alleys
Street distribution (tried in New York without much success)

B. Newspaper ad in Negro papers -- either on real estate page describing type of house and giving CORE's name, or else large ad with information similar to handout, possibly with quotations from ministers.

C. Negro Real Estate Brokers -- some will help, but loss of their commission is a problem. One suggestion to overcome this is the establishment of a revolving fund to pay the referrer part (say 50%) of his lost commission. Placed families would pay back at $1 or $2 per week.

D. Other possibilities -- stage parade through Negro neighborhoods.

E. Factors which will reduce the number of bona fide applicants:

1. Security in ghetto vs. possible harrassment in all-white area.
2. Proximity to churches, services (beauty shops), friends
3. "Decent" housing vs. "integrated" housing --many Negroes may be far more interested in the former, and so would rather seek decent quarters in or on the fringe of the ghetto.

VI. OTHER GROUPS

A. "Fair Housing Practices Committees," as they are called around Boston. Have counterparts in Philadelphia (Friends Suburban Housing): Burlington County, New Jersey: Great Neck, New York.

1. Function -- to place Negro families in suburbs, mostly in long-established neighborhoods.

2. Limitation -- usually have more houses available for open occupancy in $20-30,000 range than in 10-15,000 range, and so will never answer the need of most Negro middle class house seekers.

B. Modern Community Developers -- private corporation dedicated to the building of integrated communities. One thing CORE members can do is to buy stock in it.

VII. OTHER THINGS CORE GROUPS CAN DO ON HOUSING

A. Write the State Human Relations Commissions and ask them to request F.H.A. and V.A. sanctions against respondents in housing discrimination cases. (Such sanctions are applied in Massachusetts and other states that have fair housing laws).

B. See that Human Relations Commission gets plenty of complaints, and put pressure on it to process them fast. Also, we should spread knowledge of the law (one possibility is the publication of testimonials from successful complainants).

C. Find out whether real estate offices are considered places of public accomodation under the Human Relations Act -- the Attorney General of Massachusetts has so ruled for his state.

D. Inform people who are having trouble getting mortgage money that the federal government has an agency which will help them: Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program.

E. Conduct educational program on integrated housing, including speakers and the showing of films. Best source of films on the subject is the Anti-Defamation League.

VIII. ACTION BY COLLEGE STUDENTS

A. Housing: colleges maintain lists of available housing as a service for their students and faculty. Students should demand that the college secure a pledge not to discriminate as a prerequisite to being listed. Also, the college should agree to remove housing from the list where the landlord refuses to sign such a pledge or continues to discriminate after signing it. CORE can run checks to determine the latter. (All of this has been done by students at Harvard and Boston University in cooperation with Boston CORE).

B. Educational: offer to send speakers to student groups on the subject of interracial housing and problems connected with it. Important to push this to students because they are probably future suburb dewellers, and community leaders.

[1962, JAN 1]

NEW HAVEN

AN ORDINANCE PROVIDING FOR FAIR HOUSING PRACTICES IN THE CITY OF NEW HAVEN

ARTICLE I: DECLARATION OF FINDINGS

IT IS HEREBY DETERMINED AND FOUND THAT: The City of New Haven is an urban center, with a large population consisting of persons of diverse races, colors, creeds, religions and national origins. Over the years and continuing to this time, a large proportion of the unsafe and unsanitary housing in New Haven, most of it being in certain neighborhoods which are substandard, unsafe, deteriorated, deteriorating, slum or blighted, has been and is occupied by persons of certain races, colors, creeds, religions or national origins, because such persons are denied access to safe and sanitary housing in good neighborhoods solely on the basis of their race, color, creed, religion or national origin. This denial has resulted in overcrowding and created a demand for unsafe and unsanitary housing which would not exist in the absence of such discrimination and segregation. As a result, the existence within this City of such unsafe and unsanitary housing is continued and even extended. The continuation and spread of unsafe and unsanitary housing causes increased crime, juvenile delinquency, mortality, disease, fire, public disorder and deficiencies in the city's educational system, all of which endanger the public health, safety, welfare, morals, peace and good order of the City of New Haven, and impose substantial financial burdens upon the citizens thereof. Unsafe and unsanitary housing and the conditions it causes cannot be eliminated until its underlying causes have been eradicated. Discrimination and segregation in housing on the basis of race, color, creed, religion and national origin is a primary underlying cause of unsafe and unsanitary housing.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Board of Aldermen of the City of New Haven, that it is the policy of the City of New Haven, in the exercise of its police power to eliminate the aforementioned evils and to accomplish the aforementioned objectives, in accordance with the powers expressly granted by Section 50 of the City Charter and Sections 7-148 and 7-194 (26,)-(29), (37) and (57) of the General Statutesof the State of Connecticut (Revision of 1958), to contribute to the elimination of unsafe and unsanitary housing and to assure equal opportunity to all persons to live in safe and sanitary housing facilities regardless of race, color, creed, religion or national origin, by prohibiting discrimination and segregation in housing in this City.

ARTICLE II: DEFINITIONS

As used in this ordinance, unless a different meaning clearly appears from the context, the following terms shall have the meanings ascribed in this Section:

1. "Housing accommodation" shall include any dwelling unit, rooming unit, rooming house, lot, or parcel of land in the City of New Haven, which is used, intended to be used, or arranged or designed to be used as a rooming unit, dwelling unit or rooming house for one or more human beings. Housing accommodation shall not include

   any dwelling unit or rooming unit which is leased or subleased as a portion of a dwelling unit, or any rooming unit, dwelling unit or rooming house which is owned, operated or controlled by or in connection with a religious organization or a bona fide fraternal organization for the purpose of promoting the religious principles or the aims, purposes or fraternal principles for which such religious or fraternal organization is established or maintained.

2. "Dwelling unit." "rooming unit" and "rooming house" shall each have the same meaning as that given to them in Sections 1.4, 1.16 and 1.17, respectively of the Housing Code of the City of New Haven, as amended July 1, 1957.

3. "Person" includes one or more individuals, partnerships or other associations, corporations, legal representatives, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy and receivers.

4. "Owner" means a person who owns, leases, sub-leases, operates, manages has charge of, controls or has the right to the ownership, possession, management, charge of or control of a housing accommodation, on behalf of himself or another.

5. "Prospective occupant" means a person who seeks to purchase, lease, rent or sub-lease a housing accommodation.

6. "Real estate broker" means any person who, for a fee, commission or other valuable consideration, lists for sale, sells, purchases, exchanges, leases or sub-leases, or negotiates or offers or attempts to negotiate the sale, purchase, exchange, lease or sub-lease of a housing accommodation of another, or holds himself out as engaged in the business of selling, purchasing, exchanging, listing, leasing or sub-leasing a housing accommodation of another, or collects rental for the use of a housing accommodation of another.

7. "Real estate agent, salesman or employee" means any person employed by a real estate broker to perform, or to assist in the performance of, any or all of the functions of a real estate broker.

8. "Lender means a bank, insurance company, savings or building and loan association, credit union, trust company, mortgage company or other person engaged wholly or partly in the business of lending money for the financing of the acquisition, construction, repair or maintenance of a housing accommodation.

9. "Prospective borrower" means a person who seeks to borrow money to finance the acquisition, construction, repair or maintenance of a housing accommodation.

10. "Unfair housing practice" means any act prohibited by this ordinance.

11. "Commission" means the Fair Housing Practices Commission established by this ordinance.

12. "Person aggrieved" means any person against whom an alleged unfair housing practice has been committed.

13. "Respondent" means a person who is alleged to have committed an unfair housing practice.

ARTICLE III: UNFAIR HOUSING PRACTICES FORBIDDEN BY THIS ORDINANCE

1. An owner shall not, because of the race, color, creed, religion or national origin of an occupant or prospective occupant:

    (i) refuse to sell, lease or sub-lease a housing accommodation to a prospective occupant;

    (ii) expel or evict an occupant from a housing accommodation; or

    (iii) discriminate against an occupant or prospective occupant in the price, terms, conditions or privileges of sale, lease, sub-lease or occupancy of a housing accommodation or in the furnishing of any related facilities or services.

2. A real estate broker, agent, salesman or employee shall not, because of race, color, creed, religion or national origin of an occupant, purchaser, prospective occupant or prospective purchaser:

    (i) refuse or intentionally fail to list a housing accommodation for sale, lease or sub-lease;

    (ii) refuse or intentionally fail to show to a prospective occupant a housing accommodation listed for sale, lease or sub-lease;

    (iii) refuse or intentionally fail to transmit to an owner any reasonable offer to purchase, lease or sub-lease a housing accommodation; or

    (iv) otherwise discriminate against an occupant, prospective occupant, purchaser or prospective purchaser of a housing accommodation.

3. A lender shall not, because of race, color, creed, religion or national origin of a borrower or prospective borrower:

    (i) deny to a prospective borrower a loan for the acquisition, construction, repair or maintenance of a housing accommodation or

    (ii) discriminate against a borrower or prospective borrower in the terms, conditions or privileges of such a loan.

4. An owner, real estate broker, agent, salesman or employee, or lender shall not:

    (i) require any information, make or keep any record or use any form of application, containing questions or entries concerning race, color, creed, religion or national origin in connection with the sale, lease or sub-lease of any housing accommodation where said questions, entries or information are elicited or used with an intent to discriminate against an occupant or prospective occupant, purchaser or prospective purchaser, or borrower or prospective borrower;

(ii) post, publish, curculate or cause to be posted, published or circulated any notice, statement or advertisement which relates to the sale, lease, sub-lease, acquisition or financing of any housing accommodation which indicates, directly or indirectly, any preference, limitation, specification or discrimination based on race, color, creed, religion or national origin; or

(iii) discriminate against a person in any manner because he has complied or proposes to comply with the provisions of this ordinance, or has filed a complaint, testified or assisted in any proceeding under this ordinance.

ARTICLE IV: FAIR HOUSING PRACTICES COMMISSION

1. There is hereby established a Fair Housing Practices Commission which has the power and the duty to carry out the provisions of this ordinance.

2. The Commission shall consist of five (5) members appointed by the Mayor. In order to provide for continuity of service, the terms of the members of the Commission first appointed shall be as follows:

   One (1) member to serve for one (1) year

   Two (2) members to serve for two (2) years, and

   Two (2) members to serve for three (3) years.

   Thereafter, the term of service of each member shall be for three (3) years. Each member of the Commission shall continue to serve after his term until his successor has been appointed and has qualified. In the event of the occurrence of a vacancy in the membership of the Commission, or in the event of the expiration of the term of a member of the Commission, the Mayor shall appoint a member to fill that vacancy or to succeed to that term. Not more than three members shall belong to the same political party.

3. The members of the Commission shall serve without compensation, but they may be reimbursed for all expenses necessarily incurred in the performance of their duties.

4. The Mayor shall have the power to remove any Commissioner for cause in accordance with the provisions of the City Charter.

5. The Mayor shall propose a budget for the operation of the Commission after having taken into consideration the recommendations of the Commission.

6. The Mayor shall appoint one member of the Commission to serve as its Chairman. The term of office as Chairman of the member first so appointed shall expire on January 1, 1964. Thereafter, the term of office of the Chairman shall expire on January 1 in each even numbered year.

7. The Commission shall appoint an Executive Director who may, but need not, be full-time or salaried, and may, but need not, hold another position in the City government. The Executive Director shall be qualified to perform the duties of the principal staff member of the Commission. The Executive Director shall serve at the pleasure of the Commission. The Commission may appoint such other personnel as may be necessary to carry out effectively the purposes of this ordinance.

8. The Commission shall have the following powers and duties:

(i) The Commission shall adopt suitable rules and regulations for effectuating the purposes of this ordinance;

(ii) Any person aggrieved by an act prohibited or alleged to be prohibited by this ordinance, or the Executive Director of the Commission, may file with the Commission a statement of complaint. Such statement of complaint shall state the name of the person aggrieved, the name or other suitable identification of the person who is alleged to have committed the unfair housing practice, the address of the housing accommodation concerning which the alleged unfair housing practice has been committed, and a brief statement of the facts giving rise to the complaint;

(iii) The Commission shall investigate and review each statement of complaint to determine whether there are reasonable grounds for believing that an unfair housing practice has been committed;

(iv) If the Commission determines that such reasonable grounds exist, it shall issue a complaint against the person who is alleged to have committed the unfair housing practice. Such complaint need not be limited to matters contained in the statement of complaint. Such complaint shall state the name of the respondent and his address, the name of the person aggrieved, the address of the housing accommodation concerning which the alleged unfair housing practice has been committed, a statement that the Commission has reasonable grounds to believe that the respondent has committed an unfair housing practice, and a brief statement of the facts upon which the Commission bases such belief;

(v) The Commission shall serve the complaint upon the respondent in the manner hereinafter set forth:

(a) in the case of a person found to be residing within this state, by causing a copy of such complaint to be served upon such person by a sheriff, his deputy or a constable or an indifferent person, in the manner set forth in Section 52-57 for the service of civil process; and

(b) in the case of a person who is a non-resident of this state at the time of the issuance of the complaint by the Commission or of any such person whose whereabouts or existence is unknown, by mailing to such person a copy of the complaint, by registered or certified mail, directed to his last-known address, and by publishing such complaint at least twice in a newspaper published in New Haven County and having a circulation in the City of New Haven. Any such published complaint shall state that it is notice to the widow, widower, heirs, representatives and creditors of the respondent, if the respondent is dead; and

(c) in the case of a person for whom no last known address can be found, after diligent search, by publication of the complaint and an affidavit reciting the fact that no last known address can be found for the respondent and reciting the steps taken to locate such address. Such publication shall be in accordance with the procedure for publication set forth in Section 8 (v) (b) of Article IV of this ordinance.

(vi) The Commission shall attempt by means of education, conference, conciliation, mediation, negotiation and persuasion to eliminate any unfair housing practice which is the subject of a statement of complaint filed with the Commission;

(vii) The Commission may hold hearings, call witnesses, administer oaths, take testimony and request the production for examination of any books, papers, documents or records relating to any proceeding before the Commission.

(viii) The Commission shall admit and give probative effect at any hearing to evidence which would commonly be accepted by a reasonably prudent man in the conduct of his affairs as having probative value;

(ix) The Commission shall make a record of evidence admitted at the hearing, including a verbatim transcript if requested by the person aggrieved, the respondent or the Commission; provided, that the Commission may require that the cost of any such transcript or of the reproduction thereof shall be borne by the party requesting such transcript or reproduction;

(x) The Commission shall make findings and determine whether an unfair housing practice has been committed;

(xi) If the Commission finds that an unfair housing practice has been committed, the Commission shall issue an Order directing the respondent to cease and desist from such unfair housing practice and to take such other affirmative action as in the judgement of the Commission shall effectuate the purposes of this ordinance. Such Order shall specify a date by which the respondent shall comply with such Order;

(xii) If the Commission finds that the respondent has not engaged in an unfair housing practice, the Commission shall issue an Order dismissing the complaint;

(xiii) The Commission shall serve its Orders on the person aggrieved and the respondent in accordance with the procedure for service of the complaint set forth in Section 8 (v) of Article IV of this ordinance;

(xiv) The Commission shall certify to the State Commission on Civil Rights any statement of complaint filed with the Commission, where the Commission believes that the subject matter of the statement of complaint constitutes a violation of Section 53-35 of the General Statutes as ammended. In the event that a matter complained of in the statement of complaint filed with the Commission is accepted for disposition or is otherwise pending before the State Commission on Civil Rights, all proceedings before the Fair Housing Practices Commission in connection with said statement of complaint shall be held in abeyance until such matter has been disposed of by the State Commission on Civil Rights. However, nothing in this subsection shall prevent the Commission from proceeding in any matter in accordance with Section 8 (vi) of Article IV of this ordinance, nor from giving to the State Commission on Civil Rights such assistance and cooperation as may be appropriate;

(xv) The Commission may conduct research on, and study unfair housing practices in order to develop more effective methods of eliminating unfair housing practices;

(xvi) The Commission may publish or cause to be published the results of such research and study when in the judgment of the Commission such publication will aid in the elimination of unfair housing practices;

(xvii) The Commission shall render to the Mayor from time to time but not less than once a year, a written report of the activities of the Commission since the last preceding report to the Mayor, with recommendations for more effectively implementing the purposes of this ordinance;

(xviii) The Commission shall take all actions necessary to effectuate this ordinance, and shall have all powers necessary therefor, including all powers necessary to take avail of the remedies provided in Article V of this ordinance.

9. No statement of Complaint may be filed with the Commission more than six (6) months after the alleged unfair housing practice has been committed; provided, that in the event of the continued commission of such alleged unfair housing practice, such six (6) month period shall not commence until the date after the last day upon which the alleged unfair housing practice has been committed.

ARTICLE V: REMEDIES

The following remedies shall be available to enforce the provisions of this ordinance, and the Commission shall have the powers and duties necessary therefor:

1. After preliminary investigation which gives reasonable ground to believe that an unfair housing practice has been committed, the Commission may apply to the Circuit Court for an order to show cause why the Court should not issue an order enjoining the commission of the act which constitutes such alleged unfair housing practice or the sale, lease or sub-lease of any housing accommodation with respect to which such alleged unfair housing practice has been committed, pending the completion of proceedings before the Commission in respect to such unfair housing practice. Such application shall contain a certified copy of the complaint concerning such alleged unfair housing practice, a statement that the alleged unfair housing practice continues to exist, and a statement that (1) the person aggrieved stands to be injured irreparably unless the Court issues such an order and (2) the person aggrieved has no adequate remedy at law.

2. If the Circuit Court issues an injunction in accordance with Section 1 of Article V of this ordinance, then the Commission shall proceed promptly to dispose of the complaint concerning such alleged unfair housing practice.

3. If after investigation and hearing the Commission shall have issued an Order directing the respondent to cease and desist from the commission of an unfair housing practice, and the time for compliance as stated in such Order has elapsed, then the Commission may

   (a) certify the complaint and Order, together with the record of the case to the Prosecuting Attorney of the Circuit Court; and

   (b) apply to the Circuit Court for an order to show cause why the Court should not issue an order directing that the Order of the Commission be complied with forthwith and for such other equitable relief as shall be necessary in the opinion of the Commission. Such application shall contain a certified copy of the complaint and Order of the Commission and a statement that (1) the person aggrieved stands to be injured irreparably unless the Court issues such an order and (2) the person aggrieved has no adequate remedy at law.

4. Any person who commits an unfair housing practice and who fails to comply with any order of the Commission issued pursuant to Section 8 (xi) of Article IV of this ordinance shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be subject to a fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars for each offense plus costs. Each day of the continuance of such unfair housing practice after issuance by the Commission of such an Order shall constitute a separate and distinct offense, for each of which offenses such person shall be subject to the foregoing fine. Provided, however, that the continuance of such unfair housing practice on any day or days during the pendency of any appeal from any such Order shall not constitute an offense for the purposes of this Section 4, and no fine shall be imposed therefor.

5. An application to the Circuit Court for an Order pursuant to Section 1 or Section 3 (b) of Article V of this ordinance shall constitute the pendency of an action intended to affect real estate, and the filing by the Commission of a certified copy of such application in the Office of the Town Clerk of the Town of New Haven, in accordance with the provisions of Section 52-325 of the General Statutes, shall constitute notice of the pendency of the action, which shall have the effect of a notice of lis pendens.

ARTICLE VI: SEVERABILITY CLAUSE

The provisions of this ordinance are severable and if any provisions, sentence, clause, section or part thereof is held illegal, invalid or unconstitutional, or inapplicable to any class of persons or circumstances, such illegality, invalidity, unconstitutionality or inapplicability shall not affect or impair any of the remaining provisions, sentences, clauses, sections or parts of the ordinance, or the application of this ordinance to other classes of persons and circumstances.

It is hereby declared to be the intent of this Board of Aldermen that this ordinance would have been adopted if any provision, sentence, clause, section or part which may be declared to be illegal, invalid or unconstitutional had not been included herein.

ARTICLE VII: EFFECTIVE DATE OF ORDINANCE

The effective date of this ordinance is January 1, 1962.

March 7, 1962

REORGANIZATION OF THE JERSEY CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY

The purpose of this statement is to present a plan for the organization of the JERSEY CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY. The plan must encompass clear lines of Authority and responsibility. Moreover, the organization plan must be practical so as to acheive proper, efficient and economical operation of the Authority's facilities with a minimum of administrative delay.

With this basic concept established the organization and lines of authority can be discussed.

THE AUTHORITY

Collectively the Housing Authority is regarded as similar to the board of directors of a corporation. It has the sole responsibility for achieving the purposes of the Authority as defined by state statute and to a minor extent by the Federal statute.

To do this effectively requires that the commissioners of the Authority act primarily as a policy-making body, with the administrative duties performed by an administrative staff whose chief officer is the EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR who is wholly responsible for the functioning of the staff and its relation to the Authority members. If Authority members mix into administrative procedure and allow themselves to be brought into back-stage conferences with individual members of the staff, they will divide responsibility and cause disruptive confusion and so impair the authority of the Executive Director as to affect the efficiency of the staff.

Authority Commissioners will avoid serious personal annoyance and thus contribute to the harmonious progress of the Authority's program if they will steadfastly refuse, without exception, to make individual commitments, whether relating to matters before the Commission as a whole, or matters that are to be determined by the Executive Director with the approval of the Authority. It is axiomatic that nothing is more fatal to good administration in the long run than for any Authority commissioner or minority of the board to feel that he or it has exceptional, special or particular powers or rights in any phase of the program.

More than two decades of local housing authority experience has established that such practices lead to discord and division between members while at the same time encouraging Authority members and even employees to invade or attempt the invasion of the prerogatives and rightful domain of the Executive Director.

LINES OF RESPONSIBILITY AND AUTHORITY

The Executive Director is the chief administrative officer of the Authority. He is responsible for the execution of all orders, rules, regulations, resolutions and policies of the authority.

To assist the Executive Director in carrying out the above are three officials each heading a separate department and each reporting directly to the Executive Director. These officials and their respective departments are:

1. Director of Finance and Audit heading the department of Finance and Audit.
2. Director of Administration heading the Administrative Department.
3. Director of Management heading the Management Department.

The functions of each of these department heads are as follows:

DIRECTOR OF FINANCE AND AUDIT

1. Under the general supervision of the Executive Director he is responsible for the planning, administration direction and control of the fiscal policies and activities of the Authority. This includes the furnishing of financial fiscal control and administrative service in connection with accounting, auditing, banking, budgeting, receipt disbursement and investment of funds, income, and tabulating.

The Director of Finance and Audit is also responsible for the supervision of an INTERNAL AUDIT SECTION. This section should conduct the Authority's management analysis; develop improvements in management practices; introduce modern techniques of operation including the extension of mechanized business methods; and develop effective methods for appraising Authority performance.

DIRECTOR OF ADMINISTRATION

Under the general supervision of the Executive Director he is responsible for furnishing required personnel services in connection with personnel activities including:

a. Appointments, changes of status, promotions, terminations and employee turnover.

b. Classification, job analysis and wage and salary studies.

c. Service ratings and probationary reports.

d. Employees suggestions and incentives.

e. Liaison with Civil Service Commission and various personnel agencies.

The Director of Administration is also responsible for the supervision of informational and public relations activities of the Authority. In this capacity he will:

a. Prepare press releases, reports, bulletins and other publications for the Authority.

b. Prepare speeches and special articles.

c. Maintain library service.

d. Serve as liaison with press and periodicals.

DIRECTOR OF MANAGEMENT

Under the supervision of the Executive Director he is responsible for planning, administering, directing and controlling the management program of the Authority. This includes responsibility for maintenance, tenant selection, project administration and tenant and community relations.

To assist the Director of Management in carrying out these responsibilities are three officials each heading a separate section. These officials and their respective sections are:

a. Chief of Maintenance heading the Maintenance Section.

b. Chief of Tenant Selection heading the Tenant Selection Section .

c. Social and Community Activities Consultant

The functions of the Chief of Maintenance are as follows:

1. Provide technical supervision service and advice to the projects.

2. Direct work performance of the central crews.

3. Establish and report on preventive Maintenance Programs.

4. Administrate the Authority's procurement and contracting programs.

5. Inspect all contract work.

6. Arrange for the sampling and testing of materials such as, paints, equipment, etc. provided under contracts.

7. Establish and supervise training programs for project maintenance staffs.

To assist the Chief of Maintenance in carrying out these responsibilities are the following:

1. Supervisor of Mechanical Installations.

2. Supervisor of Structures.

3. Supervisor of Contracting and Purchasing.

The Chief of Maintenance, with the consent of the Director of Management, may issue directives to the project Manager. The Chief of Maintenance takes responsibility for seeing that the project work is carried out. If a project Manager finds that proper maintenance is not taking place on a project, it is his responsibility to communicate the fact to the Chief of Maintenance.

To assure that maintenance work is done properly, the Chief of Maintenance and his staff must exercise technical supervision over the project. This supervision requires systematic periodical inspections to ascertain the physical condition of the projects and a system of checks to assure that the necessary work is carried out on schedule.

Tenant Review Bd?
ADVISORY BD.
SELECTED BY MAYOR
CAN ONLY

CHIEF OF THE TENANT SELECTION SECTION

The Chief of the Tenant Selection Section is responsible for the administration of all tenant selection processes. His functions are as follows:

a. Assist the Director of Management in developing standards for admission.

b. Supervises the careful screening of applicants in terms of these standards.

c. Supervises a program of home investigations of each applicant prior to admission.

N.Y. DESEGREGATION APPROX. 1957
JACK WOODS
CHECK

d. Develop programs to promote a more balanced project tenancy, economically and racially.

e. Advise the Director of Management on tenant selection and rental policies.

f. Assemble and maintain sociological, economic and construction statistics necessary to the formulation of programs and policies.

A careful screening of applicants in terms of admission standards is essential. Applicant data elicited both on application forms and by interview should be designed to reveal cases of prospective problem tenants. There should be a home investigation of every applicant following approval of the applicant by the interviewer.

THE SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES CONSULTANT

The functions of the Social and Community Activities Consultant are as follows:

a. Determine the character in extent of the Community Activities program of the Authority and control the carrying out of the program.

INVESTIGATE
$1 PER FAM.
PER YEAR

b. MUST Secure sponsorship for the operation of community facilities such as recreation centers, childrens centers, nurseries and health stations.

c. Inspect activities and provide technical advice to managers and sponsors.

d. Establish a working relationship between social and welfare agencies and the Authority. Utilize the agencies in developing rehabilitation programs for problem families.

PROJECT MANAGER

For project operations the line of authority is from the Director of Management to the project Manager. The project Manager is in charge of the project assisted by the project Superintendent who is in charge of the Maintenance operation of the plants and grounds.

The project Manager shall:

a. Supervise project personnel.

b. Maintain control over such phases of project work as rent collections, reexamination of income, tenant eligibility and termination of tenancy.

c. Periodically inspect tenant apartments, public spaces, all plant structures and grounds to assure adherence to standards.

d. Assisted by the project Superintendent, the project Manager shall plan, schedule and control all phases of the operation and Maintenance of the project where such work is performed by project staff.

e. The project Manager will keep informed of and observe all contract work and report any unsatisfactory aspects to the Chief of Maintenance.

f. The project Manager shall request the assistance and advice of the Chief of Maintenance in arranging for work by central crews or contractors.

g. The project Manager shall follow through with the orientation of tenants and establish and maintain good tenant relations.

h. He will develop community relations by securing public, private community and social service agency cooperation and establish a favorable climate of public opinion toward the objective and programs of the Authority.

i. He will maintain all records necessary for the preparation of operating budgets.

PROJECT SUPERINTENDENT

The functions of the project Superintendent are as follows: Under the supervision of the project Manager the Superintendent shall:

[illegible]

a. Supervise the cleaning operation and maintenance of the structures and grounds; the operation and maintenance of the heating plant and all auxiliary equipment; the plumbing and electric system; the incinerators and auxiliary equipment.

b. The Superintendent is responsible for the preparation of working schedules for the personnel under his supervision; for their assignments of duties; for their instructions in the proper manner in which to perform tasks asking to them; and for seeing that each employee, under his direction, properly performs his duties.

c. The Superintendent shall be guided by all applicable instructions and standards issued by the Director of Management, Chief of Maintenance, and the Housing Manager.

d. The Superintendent shall be responsible for carrying out the necessary preventive maintenance program where such phases of the program can be performed with project personnel.

e. The Superintendent shall be responsible for materials, supplies, tools and equipment used by his personnel.

f. The Superintendent shall keep informed of and observe all contract work and report any unsatisfactory aspects to the Project Manager.

g. In the absence of the housing Manager the project Superintendent shall be the acting manager.

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April 5, 1962

C*O*R*E

The Jersey City Chapter of CORE presents the following
proposals to be included in the reorganization
of the Jersey City Housing Authority-

TENANT SELECTION

I. Tenant Review Board:

A. A five (5) member committee on anintergrated basis to review and approve the selection and replacement of all the housing applicants. The five (5) member Tenant Review Board shall also review and approve all eviction cases.

1) One (1) member of this committee at the time of appointment must be a Negro resident in the housing projects.

2) Two (2) members of this five (5) member Tenant Review Board must be Negroes.

3) We will propose a list of names of qualified Negro men and women from which the two (2) Negro members of the five (5) menber Tenant Review Board must be selected.

B. Starting July 1, 1962 white families shall be assigned to move into now predominately Negro projects, and Negro families shall be assigned to move into noe predominately white projects: until a racial balance has been established. The ratio of Negro families to white families in each individual housing project shall be the same as the ratio of Negro families to white families in the entire Jersey City Public Housing. This balance be established prior to January 1, 1964 and maintained thereafter.

C. The Chief of the Tenant Selection Section will submit monthly reports of all tenant selection activities for inspection and approval by the Tenant Review Board. This will be submitted with signature.

1) After selection tenants are to be given a complete orientation on Public Housing to develope good tenant relations.

D. The Tenant Review Board will meet with representatives of all the Tenant Associations of the Public Housing Projects, the Superintendents, and Managers, regularly, preferably once a month.

MAINTENANCE

II. Bring of all Housing Projects up to standards:

A. All building and grounds, (Marion Gardens, Booker T. Washington Gardens, Lafayette Gardens), must be brought up to the standards of the most resently erected housind projects, (Curries Woods is the most recent buildings erected), The proposed time for completion is Sept. 1, 1962.

B. The Jersey City Chapter of CORE in compliance with the suggestion of the Jersey City Housing Commission, (meeting of March 19, 1962), herewith submits a partial list of complaints, upon which we demand immediate action. CORE will continue to survey and study the conditions of our Public Housing and submit reports of its findings.

C. The Jersey City Chapter of CORE request an answer of this proposal from the Jersey City Housing Commission not later than Thursday, April 11, 1962. Notification shall be given to CORE chairman, Earl W. Byrd, 122 Seaview Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey.

April 5, 1962

SPECIFIC COMPLAINTS

1. Many of the sky-lights on top of the housing projects are broken and hard to close, due to bad hinges and in some cases no hinges at all.

2. Some of the steps have cracked concrete making them very unsafe.

3. There are unuseable mail boxes, locks are broken, doors are off, and affording no protection or security.

4. When the windows in the stairwells are broken, if and when the are repaired, some are pelaced by steel plates, this causes dark stairwells which are hazardous to the tenants.

5. Many of the lights in the stairwells do not have protective coverings over then, as a result there are broken bulbs which cause inadequate lighting.

6. The appliances inside the Public Housing Projects (PHA issue: gas stoves and refrigerators) are not inspected periodically for leaks and safety of operation. Many stoves leak gas and some of the refrigerators give the tenants electrical shocks, due to the faulty ground wiring or improper installation, (Curries Woods Project have inspection periodically for the safety of the tenants).

7. The Marion Gardens, Booker T. Washington Gardens, and Lafayette Gardens have no floor covering, the floors are just plain concrete. The halls are also without floor covering.

8. Many of the drain systems in the Apts. have old corroded pipes which prevent the proper flow of drainage; consequently many sinks and drains over flow and cause flooding of other tenants on floor levels below.

9. There are some leaking steam pipes which caused damage to personal property (clothing and furniture). This leaky condition must be repaired by authorized plumber for the safety of the tenants.

10. Many walls are cracked and in very bad need of plastering.

11. There are many doors with bad knobs and latches. There are some doors that have no door knobs at all.

12. The windows are warped and are very hard to close, which causes the glass to be broken. This condition causes the hinges to be of no service and even in some cases break off.

13. There are no window shades at all.

14. ,The baby carriage and bicycle rooms are flooded most of the time and causes poor protection for the carriages.

15. There is a continuing break down of heating causing insufficient hot water for home use.

16. There are no maintenance men on the site after 10:00 p.m. in case an emergency repair is needed. There is no telephone number available to obtain the services of a Public Housing maintenance man.

.con't)

17. There are no play ground facilities,(just a few swings, that are broken most of the time).

18. No benches on the sites; broken benches were replaced by cement slabs.

19. Many of the fences are broken and in some instances there are no fences at all.

20. There is inadequate street lighting on the sites.

21. There is uneven concrete with holes that make up the grounds that are in play areas,

22. Poor drainage on the grounds which results in stagnant puddles of water

23. The American flag is not displayed on some project grounds.

24. Lack of recreation, nursery, health and baby station centers.

25. Steel bars protude from the concrete in many play areas.

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TRENDS IN HOUSING
MAY-JUNE 1962

Survey Finds FH Laws Effective

Slow, Steady Progress

Fair housing laws have had a significant effect on residential discrimination and segregation during the short period of time they have been in operation, according to a recent survey by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. The NCDH report indicates that slow but steady progress is being made in opening formerly restricted areas to minority group families.

In less than five years, 15 governmental jurisdictions have enacted legislation which prohibits racial and religious discrimination in some portion of the private housing market. These include 11 states, three cities, and the Virgin Islands. This is record progress in the field of civil rights legislation.

The Laws

New York City set a precedent on the last day of 1957, when the nation's first fair housing statute became law. This pioneering measure went into operation on April 1, 1958. In December 1958, Pittsburgh adopted a broader ordinance. Then in 1959, five states—Colorado, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Oregon, and California—passed anti-bias laws which apply to private housing.

In 1961, fair housing laws were adopted by Pennsylvania, New York State, Minnesota, the Virgin Islands, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Toledo, Ohio. And in 1962, Alaska became the first jurisdiction to bar discrimination in all housing transactions.

All of these laws have been in operation since shortly after they were enacted with the exception of Minnesota's, which becomes effective on Dec. 31, 1962, and Toledo's, which has been stalled by a court injunction since Nov. 2, 1961, a few days after its effective date.

All are enforced by administrative agencies except those in Alaska, California, and New Hampshire.

Wide Variance

The provisions of the 15 fair housing laws differ considerably in the portion of the housing market covered and in procedures for enforcement. New York City has the broadest statute. Amended twice since initial enactment, it now applies to all housing transactions except the rental of an apartment in an owner-occupied duplex, covering an estimated 95 per cent of the city's housing supply. It applies to real estate men, mortgage lenders, and advertising. It is administered by a professionally-staffed official agency, which is empowered to seek a court injunction to hold the housing at issue available during the pendency of a complaint.

Pittsburgh covers sales or rentals by persons who own or control five or more housing units, whether or not they are contiguous. The Toledo statute applies to all sales, and to the rental of apartments in buildings containing five or more units.

Colorado exempts from coverage "places maintained by the owner or lessee as the household of his family." It is not clear whether this exemption extends to rentals or sales of owner-occupied two-family homes. Pennsylvania specifically exempts owner-occupied one- and two-family houses. Minnesota exempts the rental of an apartment in any owner-occupied duplex, as well as the rental or sale of an owner-occupied single-family home provided it is not publicly-assisted housing—that is, the owner-occupied single-family house with an FHA- or VA-guaranteed loan is covered.

Sales in Developments

Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York State, and New Jersey cover rentals in apartment houses (usually buildings containing three or more dwelling units), but the sale of homes only if sold as one of a group: three or more in Connecticut; and 10 or more in Massachusetts, New York State, and New Jersey. The Massachusetts law does, however, apply to housing which was at any time one of 10 or more lots on a tract which was submitted to a planning board under the state's Subdivision Control Law.

New Hampshire bars discrimination "in the matter of rental or occupancy of a dwelling in a building containing more than one dwelling." Alaska, as mentioned above, covers the sale or rental of all housing accommodations.

The laws in California, Oregon, and the Virgin Islands apply to those persons who are engaged in the business of selling or renting real estate. (Most of the fair housing laws apply to real estate brokers and salesmen and to mortgage lenders as to transactions involving housing covered by the statute. Pittsburgh, however, makes this prohibition applicable to *all* housing transactions handled by real estate agents or mortgage lenders; Connecticut to *all* handled by real estate agents; and New York State to *all* handled by mortgage lenders.)

General Trends

Although only six of the fair housing laws have been in operation for as long as three years, the NCDH analysis reveals certain general trends and conclusions:

- The laws result in a gradual but steady movement of middle-class minority families into the mainstream of the housing market and into areas previously closed to them.
- The laws establish a public ethic which has a significant influence on the whole moral tone of the community.
- The laws serve as an educational process and provide the framework in which it is possible to develop programs to speed the end of housing discrimination.
- The laws make it possible for the real estate man who wants to follow an open occupancy policy to do so.
- Broad coverage and efficient enforcement machinery are essential if the law is to be meaningful.
- No revolutionary changes in housing patterns take place. Dispersion proceeds at a gradual pace, and no inundation of neighborhoods results.
- There is no disruption of the real estate industry. Construction has not declined and values have not dropped.
- By and large, the industry is uncooperative, complies reluctantly or resorts to subterfuge, and — despite the evidence to date — clings to the contention that fair housing legislation *is going* to damage business. However, voluntary compliance is increasing.

Public Support

- Public support of fair housing legislation has shown a sharp increase during the last two years. It ranges from political, business, labor, and religious leadership to the grassroots fair housing groups which have sprung up in towns and neighborhoods across the country. But the public generally remains uninformed.
- In every jurisdiction, the number of minority group families making use of the law continues to be disappointingly small.

Experience shows that fair housing laws have resulted in no significant changes in: 1) the rate of residential construction nor in rent levels; 2) the rate of white migration to the suburbs; 3) property values and the availability of mortgage funds; 4) the movement of non-whites into all-white neighborhoods; and 5) racial tensions.

The Complainants

Persons filing complaints of discrimination cover the entire range of American society. The complainant may be independently wealthy or in modest circumstances; he may be an intellectual or have little formal education; he may be listed in "Who's Who" or be an unknown laborer.

He may wish to buy a $75,000 house in the suburbs, one for $12,000 in a new subdivision, or an $8,000 home in an older neighborhood. He may wish to rent an apartment for $6,000 a year or one for $60 a month.

But, if *you* have filed a complaint under one of the fair housing laws, the chances are better than 95 per cent that you are a Negro, under 45 years of age. You and your wife, who also works, are professionals or semi-professionals with a considerably higher income and educational background than the average American. Both you and your wife may well have one or more college degrees.

Your family is probably small, and you are more apt to be looking for an apartment to rent than for a house to buy. Since you are a city dweller, and the demand for desirable housing accommodations is great, you are seriously concerned that the unit for which you have applied will be rented to someone else before your complaint is processed.

You are impatient for the Commission to speed up handling your case.

Some Statistics

New York City. From April 1, 1958, through May 1962, the city's Commission on Human Rights (formerly Commission on Intergroup Relations) received a total of 1,204 charges of discrimination in housing. Of these, 976 were sworn complaints and 228 were informal allegations.

Over the four-year period, approximately 85 per cent were based on race, eight per cent were filed by Puerto Ricans, and about three per cent involved religious discrimination. The remainder were based predominantly on national origin.

The figures below deal with the 976 sworn complaints through April 30, 1962:

- 483 cases (50.4 per cent) had been satisfactorily settled by conciliation. That is, the complainant was offered the unit at issue or a comparable one, or his name was placed on a waiting list for the next vacancy, and the respondent agreed to comply with the law in future housing transactions.
- 226 (23.2 per cent) of the complainants were offered the unit at issue or a comparable one. Of these, 77 got the unit they sought, 27 got comparable accommodations, and 122 were offered a unit but declined it.
- 441 (45.2) per cent of the cases were dismissed on administrative grounds, such as lack of jurisdiction, charges unsubstantiated, or failure of the complainant to follow through.
- In the four-year period, only six of the 976 complaints reached the courts. (Constitutionality of the New York City fair housing law was upheld in the Martin case, *Trends*, Jan.-Feb., 1960).

Industry Opinion

Some months ago, COHR sent a post card questionnaire to 25,000 landlords and brokers in New York City asking their opinion of the law. Replies were received from a representative 1,776 of the recipients.

A majority of those who answered said the law had not affected their business, that they had not changed their policies or practices because of it, and that they had not changed their opinion of it since its adoption.

Seven per cent said the law had affected their business for the better; 63 per cent said the law had caused no change in business; and 26 per cent said their business was worse because of the law.

Twenty per cent of those responding said their opinion of the law had improved since it was passed. Of this group, some 87 per cent reported that the law had affected their business for the better.

Of the 63 per cent who saw no change in business, 21 per cent had improved their opinion of the law, as against eight per cent whose opinion had worsened.

Legal Aid

A recent innovation in the handling of cases under the New York City law has been the organization by COHR of a volunteer panel of 125 lawyers to serve as counsel to complainants on cases which come up for administrative hearing before two members of the Commission.

"We have found," says COHR Chairman Stanley H. Lowell, "that respondents are almost always represented by attorneys, while complainants seldom have their own counsel." The new arrangement, he feels, will serve to protect the interests of complainants in these fact-finding sessions, and will facilitate the processing of cases.

Pittsburgh. This city's fair housing law became effective on June 1, 1959. By the end of May 1962, the Pittsburgh Commission on Human Rights had received a total of 82 complaints. About 96 per cent of these were based on race, the balance charging religious discrimination.

- 38 cases were satisfactorily settled by conciliation.
- 15 of the complainants were offered the unit in question or a comparable one. Of these, 12 actually got the unit they sought, one got a comparable unit, and two were offered housing but refused it.
- 32 of the cases were dismissed. In 19 of these, the complaint was not substantiated, four were dismissed for lack of jurisdiction, and nine were dropped by the complainant.
- In the three years the law has been in operation, no cases have reached the courts.

Voluntary Compliance

Although efforts of CHR to establish cooperative relationships with the real estate industry in Pittsburgh have not been encouraging, the law has resulted in a degree of voluntary compliance. It is possible to identify at least 120 Negro families who now live in areas – either in apartment houses or in private dwellings – which were closed to them prior to its enactment.

Church groups, such as the Pittsburgh Presbytery, have played a substantial role in interpreting the fair housing law to the community through conferences, workshops, and discussion groups.

The Commission finds that the coverage limitation to persons owning or controlling five or more housing units is a major handicap. However, the dispatch with which a complaint can at times be handled is illustrated by the following chronological report of a Pittsburgh case:

Oct. 24: The aggrieved person filed an informal complaint by telephone with the Commission.

Oct. 25: CHR wrote to the respondent, owner and agent, requesting that the unit in question not be rented until the complaint had been formally received and investigated.

Oct. 26: Investigators for CHR interviewed agent and spoke to owner by telephone.

Oct. 30: A panel of the Commission attempted to conciliate.

Oct. 31: CHR ordered that a public hearing be held if an agreement was not reached by Nov. 3.

Nov. 16: A public hearing was held.

Nov. 20: The respondent notified the Commission that the complainant could occupy the housing unit in question.

Fair Housing States

Colorado. The nation's first state law barring discrimination in private housing went into operation on May 1, 1959. Over a three-year period, the Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission has received 66 verified complaints and 75 reported violations of the law, the latter being informal charges.

By far the largest percentage of the complaints were based on race, with those involving Spanish-American ancestry constituting most of the others.

The Commission estimates that over 90 per cent of the cases handled have been satisfactorily settled by conciliation, and only two cases have reached the courts. (A constitutional test of the Colorado law is now pending in the State Supreme Court, *Trends*, Mar.-Apr., 1962).

A number of previously closed areas in Colorado have been opened, particularly in Denver and in the state's university city, Boulder. Prior to enactment of the law, Boulder — except for the campus — was a rigidly segregated city. More Negro families are now living outside than inside areas of racial concentration.

In Colorado, as in Pittsburgh, the law is vigorously supported by religious groups. However, efforts to gain the cooperation of the real estate industry have thus far been discouraging.

Massachusetts. In effect since July 21, 1959, this state's fair housing law has resulted in 214 complaints filed with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination. Almost 99 per cent of these have been based on race, the small balance having charged religious bias. Through June 1962:

- 124 cases were satisfactorily closed by conciliation.
- 79 of the complainants were offered the accommodation at issue or a comparable one. Of these, 23 got the unit for which they had applied, six got a comparable one, and 50 were offered housing but refused it.
- 70 of the complaints filed with MCAD were dismissed. The charge was not substantiated in 42 cases, 19 were not covered by the law, and nine were dropped by the complainants.
- Only one case has reached the courts under the Massachusetts fair housing law. (This case resulted in the first decision by the highest court of a state upholding the constitutionality of an anti-bias law covering private housing, *Trends*, Mar.-Apr., 1962.)

MCAD has succeeded in winning a degree of cooperation from the organized industry in Massachusetts. A joint conference on housing was sponsored by the Commission and the Massachusetts Association of Real Estate Boards. Also, meetings have been held with regional groups throughout the state.

As a result of the law and a network of grassroots fair housing groups, some dispersion is taking place. Last year's amendment to provide injunctive relief is proving a valuable adjunct in administering the statute.

The chief weakness is felt to be the limited coverage (see page 4).

Connecticut. A total of 124 complaints have been filed with the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights since this state's law became effective on Oct. 1, 1959. Of these, some 97 per cent were based on race, none on religion, and the balance on national origin. At the end of May 1962:

- 71 cases had been satisfactorily closed, all but one by conciliation.
- 53 of the complainants were offered the unit at issue or a comparable one. Twelve got the unit they desired, and 41 were offered housing but declined it.
- 28 cases were dismissed on administrative grounds. Charges were unsubstantiated in 14 cases.
- Only one case reached the courts. (The constitutionality of the Connecticut fair housing law was upheld in the Swanson case, *Trends*, July-Aug., 1961. However, the court ruled that the housing at issue was not covered by the statute. The Legislature has since extended the coverage.)

Connecticut alone among the fair housing jurisdictions reports that the majority of complaints have been filed by low-income families with educational levels of high school or lower.

The Commission reports gradual dispersion is taking place, but it finds the lack of injunctive relief a severe handicap. By and large, the real estate industry is uncooperative.

Oregon. This state's law does not cover housing *per se*. It bars discrimination, as noted above, by people who sell or rent housing as a business. Since the effective date of Aug. 5, 1959, a total of 49 formal complaints have been filed with the Civil Rights Division of the Oregon Bureau of Labor.

About 95 per cent of the complaints have been based on race, the balance involving religious bias. Through June 15, 1962:

- 32 cases had been satisfactorily closed by conciliation. Of these, 14 complainants got the desired unit or a comparable one, and 12 were offered accommodations but declined them.
- 18 cases were dismissed for administrative reasons. The charges were unsubstantiated in seven, the law did not apply in one, and others were dropped by complainants.

General acceptance of the Oregon law seems to be gradually widening. A recent survey by the Portland League of Women Voters found that of a representative sample interviewed only ten per cent were rigidly opposed to living in mixed neighborhoods, with 90 per cent indicating a willingness to try it. The League's survey is to serve as the basis for a study on the impact of the law in Portland.

Early opposition from the industry appears to have lessened somewhat. Periodic articles prepared by the Division and carried in the *Oregon Real Estate News* (official publication of the State Real Estate Department) are felt to have had some influence. Regular weekly TV-radio spot announcements are also a part of the Division's informational program.

California. The private housing market here is reached through the provisions of the 1959 Unruh Civil Rights Act, which bars discrimination in business establishments. In a recent series of sweeping decisions, the California Supreme Court upheld the Attorney General's ruling that it applies to real estate brokers and salesmen.

However, no administrative enforcement is provided, and records are not available on the number of civil actions which individuals have brought in courts throughout the state.

The act is valuable in that it establishes a public policy of nondiscrimination in housing, and has bolstered the movement to extend its coverage and establish an official enforcement agency. It has also aided those few who could afford to institute civil actions. Otherwise, the concensus is that the law's impact has been slight.

The 1961 Laws

Pennsylvania. Effective Sept. 1, 1961, a total of 80 complaints were filed with the Pennsylvania Commission on Human Relations through May 31, 1962. Close to 93 per cent of these were based on race, less than two per cent on religion, the balance on national origin.

- 18 cases were settled by conciliation.
- 10 of the complainants were offered the unit in question or a comparable one. Four accepted and six declined the offers.
- 18 cases were dismissed. Charges were not substantiated in 11, three were not covered by the law, and four were dropped by complainants.

(Forty-nine of the 80 complaints were filed during 1962, with 44 still pending on May 31.)

General characteristics of the Pennsylvania complainants follow the composite picture outlined above: young, middle-class Negroes, a high proportion of working wives, predominantly interested in rental housing.

While expressing reservations about the law, a number of industry spokesmen in Pennsylvania have made public statements indicating the industry would accept its provisions. In practice, however, individual operators are uncooperative and comply grudgingly on a case by case basis.

New York State. Since 1955, the State Commission for Human Rights (formerly State Commission Against Discrimination) has been handling complaints involving publicly-assisted housing. On Sept. 1, 1961, its jurisdiction was extended to cover private housing: rentals in most multiple dwellings and sales in developments of ten or more. Also, the activities of real estate operators and mortgage lenders are covered.

Since 1958 (the period covered by this report), the Commission has received more than 650 complaints of housing discrimination, 141 of these having been filed during the first six months of 1962. Statistics dealing with the disposition of private housing cases are not yet available.

Like most of the agencies administering the laws, SCHR's terms of conciliation include a requirement that future sales or rentals by the respondent will be on a nondiscriminatory basis. Thus, the adjustment of a single complaint may influence a substantial number of housing accommodations.

The Commission has also placed particular emphasis on winning voluntary compliance. Over the years, the Housing Division of SCHR has maintained close and continuous contact with key figures throughout the state representing various phases of the housing industry.

In recent months, the Commission has sought to acquaint the industry and the community at large with the new provisions of the fair housing law by holding public meetings in 11 major cities located in every section of the state. In most instances, real estate boards, home builders and apartment house owners associations, and financial clearing houses — as well as public interest groups — sent special letters to their members urging them to attend.

Attendance ranged from 100 to 300, including a significantly high proportion of persons from the housing industry. These 11 city meetings are being followed up by regional conferences and sessions with smaller groups, such as the executive boards of local home builders or bankers associations.

SCHR has found these programs have resulted in a growing willingness on the part of many industry representatives voluntarily to comply with the law. An illustration is the recent public statement issued by 14 Albany lending institutions which announced a policy of nondiscrimination in their financial practices.

New Jersey. Prior to Sept. 1, 1961, the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights also had administered legislation covering publicly-assisted housing. On that date, coverage was extended to private housing similar to that now covered in New York State.

Since 1959, the Division has handled 118 complaints, 61 of these having been filed during the period July 1, 1961, through June 30, 1962. Figures on private housing cases are not yet available.

The Division, too, has found that settlement of a single complaint can have far-reaching effects. A striking illustration is Levittown, N. J. A complaint filed against Levitt by a Negro homeseeker reached the courts. After prolonged litigation, the Division won its case, Levitt capitulated, and this suburban city is now integrated (*Trends,* July-Aug., 1960). (The constitutionality of the New Jersey law, which Levitt had challenged, was upheld by the state's highest court in this case.)

New Hampshire's law, described above, became effective Aug. 29, 1961. Lacking administrative enforcement, no records are available. So far as is known, no civil actions have been brought.

Alaska also provides no official enforcement for its all-inclusive measure which became effective Apr. 4, 1962.

Evaluation

"Experience proves beyond question," declares NCDH Director Frances Levenson, "that the fair housing laws are helping to lower the barriers faced by minority group families in their search for homes. And, as time goes on, it is to be expected that larger numbers of these families will cross over those lowered barriers and move into the mainstream of American life."

The NCDH survey, she observes, underscores the following needs:

¶ Continued strengthening of the laws until they cover substantially the total housing supply, the real estate industry, and provide for injunctive relief.

¶ Adequately and competently staffed official agencies to administer each law.

¶ Improved enforcement procedures and speeding up of the complaint process. The large number of complainants who are eventually offered accommodations but decline them indicates too great a lapse of time.

¶ Increased efforts to gain the cooperation of the housing industry.

¶ Greatly expanded programs of community education, particularly in the minority communities, by both official agencies and public interest groups. The relatively small number of complaints and the large proportion which are dismissed for lack of evidence indicate minorities are largely uninformed about the provisions and proper use of the laws.

"Only through widespread and intelligent use will the promise of the fair housing laws be fulfilled," Miss Levenson declares.

Reprinted From Pennsylvania GUARDIAN, September 28, 1962

TOMORROW'S NEIGHBORS

by Marvin R. Weisbord

America has almost no bigots any more. Except for Missisipi, which Murray Kempton has called the tightest dictatorship since Trujillo's, bigotry everywhere is giving way to a fanatical desire to uphold "the law." Even in Albany, Ga., Police Chief Laurie Pritchett, the most famous small-town cop in America, doesn't arrest Negroes for trying to integrate restaurants, churches, swimming pools and the library. He pulls them in for loitering, disturbing the peace and inciting to riot. MayorAsa Kelley refuses to discuss integration with leaders of the Albany Movement, not because they are Negroes, but because he won't make deals with "law breakers."

Mayor Kelley is no bigot either. He is simply another brother in the growing fraternity of white people who wish Negroes would go away and leave them alone. The fraternity has chapters in nearly every town in the U.S.; and since lack of imagination seems to be prerequisite to membership, it has had astonishingly little success. Negroes just won't leave it alone.

Among local people who wish the Negroes would go away and leave them alone are real estate brokers, home builders and mortgage lenders. For years many of these people have followed an odd economic theory, related to astrology, that says a property's value varies with the color of your neighbor's skin. Though the theory is discredited, many real estate people still fear Negro entry to white communities. They argue that once a Negro family moves in, other whites will be reluctant to do so and that houses become harder to sell.

INEXORABLE TOMORROWS

Two unwritten rules for selling real estate are: (1) Discourage Negroes from any but Negro areas; and (2) Reassure white buyers that none of "them" are likely to move in. Until the mid-1950's salesmen in Pennsylvania could get away with this fairly easily. Whites lived in white sections, and Negroes in Negro sections; the only time the twain met was when a blockbuster came down the street. Then the whites, like a flock of migrating birds, took flight for some other pure white island, having bought a few more years of false security before the blackbirds should fly after them.

Today the islands grow smaller and fewer. Promising a buyer of low or middle-income housing that he won't have Negro neighbors is about as unrealistic as promising he won't have to pay taxes. He may live lily-white for another month, another year, or another five years — but not indefinitely and not forever. Certainly not in an area where one family in four is Negro, where Negroes each day get better jobs, where the state has a law (as does Pennsylvania and 16 others) against housing discrimination, and, most important, where Negroes set out to assert their rights.

Lately the local chapter of a civil rights action group called CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) has shaken local real estate people into taking a good look into the future.

About four months ago CORE, together with NAACP, sponsored an "Operation Window Shop." The idea was to get Negroes to look at new houses, which the law entitles them to buy, so that builders and white buyers might have a chance to look at Negroes looking at houses — and get used to the idea. Now most Negroes are as reluctant to move to white areas as the whites are to have them; "Windowshop" flopped for lack of lookers. But before the plan could be put in effective operation, CORE learned from the Negroes who did look, how real estate salesmen reacted to black faces. They fled in panic, locking themselves in closets or leaving by the nearest exit. Some pretended to be night watchman.

THE PLAN OF ACTION

CORE specializes in direct action. It decided to have a sit-in at a new development in the Great Northeast. CORE wanted builders to accept the idea that Negroes look at and buy houses too, and that the law gives them the right to buy even the houses of builders who would rather they went away. So CORE members showed up at a sample house one Sunday in June. The salesmen treated a white CORE couple normally but when a Negro couple went in, the salesmen, true to form, ran out a rear door and escaped in their cars.

It must have struck the builder that he wouldn't do much business in a sample house with no salemen and a posse of Negroes and whites sitting in it. Next day he called CORE and arranged a meeting to include five builders. Not much was settled at the meeting, though the builders agreed to tell their salesmen not to run away from Negroes and assured CORE that they did not discriminate. The builders were still pretty unhappy with CORE, but agreed that if CORE insisted upon rocking the boat there would be less ruin if all builders in the "total market area" were aboard.

A few weeks ago 10 building firms and officers of the Philadelphia Home Builders Association met with CORE and exchanged "ideas" on integration. The builders said they wished CORE would stop sitting-in and picketing. CORE explained it only picketed as a last resort, that it would much rather work out a problem in conference. The builders said they felt better about that. The builders also agreed to consider having the State Commission on Human Relations give their salesmen a short course in selling open occupancy housing — a goal the Commission had been working toward, unsuccesfully, for more than a year.

CORE asked the builders also to advertise in the Negro press; the builders found that one a bitter pill an are still choking on it. According to one CORE member, *"We will now plan our projects on the assumption, but not necessarily the conviction, that all northeast housing is open."*

HERE THEY STAY

Nevertheless the builders have yet to make a Negro sale, and at least one case involving a North Philadelphia builder has been before the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission for months. CORE says its goal is "fast and peaceful integration" of housing developments in the Northeast. Probably the builders, if they could be sure sales wouldn't suffer, would gladly settle for the same goal.

Whatever the cost, both builders and their white customers in Philadelphia will have to become as realistic as the people in Albany, Ga. The Negroes won't go away. Practically speaking, the Negro demand for housing in the Northeast is still small. When every development is opened the fear of "innundation" by Negroes becomes foolish. Levittown, Pa., for example, has been opened for years, but fewer than a dozen Negro families live in its thousands of homes.

Negroes are more interested in the principle of open occupancy than they are in flocking to white neighborhoods. Nevertheless, integration, just like other problems — taxes, mortgage money, suitable land, sewer permits— has become a permanent fixture for Pennsylvania builders. Reason says that the best solution would be to sell houses to every Negro who can qualify for a mortgage and not make any fuss about it.

Certainly Philadelphia's Negroes, no less than those in Albany, are not going to go away, for the law is on their side. But when they have won access to the houses of their choice, you can bet they will gladly leave the builders alone.

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Distributed by (CORE) Congress of Racial Equality

THE NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE
ON DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
426 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York
JUdson 6-3460

October 3, 1962

FAIR HOUSING FACT SHEET

- NEW YORK STATE NEEDS A BROAD FAIR HOUSING LAW NOW

Inadequacies of Present Law

New York State's fair housing law, passed in 1961, was a compromise measure which merely took the first step toward barring discrimination in private housing. It covers 15 per cent of the housing supply of New York State outside of New York City.

It covers only rentals in apartment houses (excluding owner-occupied three-family houses) and the initial sale of new homes in developments of 10 or more. It bars all discrimination in mortgage lending, but only bars discrimination by real estate brokers with respect to covered housing. It only bars discriminatory advertising with respect to covered housing.

What We Need

A realistic and comprehensive fair housing law patterned after New York City's Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs statute. It should:

1) Bar discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing except rentals in a two-family house where one accommodation is occupied by the owner, and except the rental of a room in one's residence.

2) Bar all practices of discrimination by real estate brokers and salesmen.

3) Bar all discriminatory real estate advertising.

4) Prohibit urban renewal plans and relocation plans which create residential segregation.

5) Permit the State Commission for Human Rights in proper cases to seek a court injunction to maintain the status quo and prevent the rental or sale of the accommodation under question until proceedings have been concluded.

6) Be enforced by the State Commission for Human Rights.

The Effect of a Realistic Fair Housing Law

It would bar discrimination in the major portion of the housing supply, existing as well as new. It would put all buyers and suppliers on the same competitive basis. It would permit minority families to buy or rent homes in every section of the community, according to their means and without undue pressure on any one neighborhood.

It would enable the State Commission for Human Rights to play an effective role in preventing the use of urban renewal to create and extend patterns of residential segregation. Its injunction procedure to hold the accommodation at issue available during the pendency of a complaint would increase the effectiveness of the law considerably.

1960 Census Data Dramatically Demonstrates the Need for a Comprehensive Fair Housing Practices Law in New York State.

1) Segregated housing patterns in New York State have intensified over the past 10 years. In Buffalo, for example, in 1950, only one census tract was over 50 per cent nonwhite; in 1960, there were seven such census tracts. In Rochester, in 1950, there were no census tracts with 50 per cent nonwhite occupancy; in 1960, there were six.

2) Racial segregation in our cities is reaching alarming proportions. In Rochester, 75 per cent of the nonwhite population lives in six of 89 census tracts. In Buffalo, 91 per cent lives in 11 of 72 tracts. In Syracuse, 92.7 per cent lives in 15 out of 61 tracts.

3) The suburbs are increasingly the "white noose" surrounding deteriorating minority-concentrated central cities. Every major city in the State of New York has declined in white population and increased in nonwhite population.

4) Urban renewal will continue to falter unless an open housing market can be achieved. Racial tensions are being intensified and explosive situations created in many of our communities by attempts to renew areas of minority concentration within the context of a racially-restricted housing market.

Coverage in Other States

Comprehensive fair housing laws such as those in New York City, Colorado, and Pennsylvania have proved workable in preventing violation of civil rights, as well as a potent educational force for modifying biased attitudes and changing social habits. They have led to a gradual opening up of the housing market, permitting minority group families to enter the mainstream of community life.

They have operated with fairness and equity and have not in any way adversely affected the real estate industry in these communities.

There are now 14 laws (New York City, Pittsburgh, Colorado, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Oregon, California, Pennsylvania, New York State, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Toledo, and Alaska) barring discrimination in some aspect of the private housing market.

New York State has fallen far behind and ranks close to the bottom of the list in terms of the strength of its present statute.

: : :

Provisions of Executive Order No. 11063
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING
Signed and Put Into Effect Nov. 20, 1962
(Based on an analysis by Joseph B. Robison, chairman, NCDH Legal Committee)

Coverage: All Federal agencies involved in the provision, rehabilitation or operation of housing or related facilities are directed to prevent discrimination in the sale or rental of residential property and related facilities, including vacant land, under four classifications: 1) property that is owned or operated by the Federal Government (principally housing repossessed by the Federal Housing Administration or the Veterans Administration, and housing on military or other Government installations); 2) property that is "provided" by loans or contributions from the Federal Government (low-rent public housing, and other direct loan programs such as housing for the elderly, college dormitories, and middle-income housing); 3) property that is provided by Government-insured (FHA) or guaranteed (VA) loans, or which is otherwise secured by Government credit; and 4) property that is obtained from a local government agency receiving aid from the Federal Government (urban renewal).

Except for housing owned or operated by the Federal Government, discrimination is not specifically barred in existing federally-aided housing or in such housing contracted for prior to Nov. 20, 1962.

With regard to existing housing, however, the Federal agencies are directed to use their good offices and to take appropriate action, including litigation, if required, to end discriminatory practices.

Lending institutions are covered only with respect to federally-insured loans.

Implementation: Primary responsibility for obtaining compliance with the Order is placed on the various Federal agencies for the housing programs they administer. Each was directed to adopt, within 30 days after Nov. 20, rules and regulations for carrying out the Order. The four major agencies (Urban Renewal, Public Housing, FHA and VA) had adopted their first set of rules by Dec. 5. Their provisions are included in this analysis.

The Order established the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing to serve, in effect, as an overall "watch-dog." It is composed of the Secretaries of Treasury, Defense and Agriculture, the Attorney General, the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, the Veterans Administrator, the Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, a member of the President's executive staff, and such public members as the President may appoint. The member of the President's staff will serve as chairman and executive director.

The President's committee is to coordinate Federal activities under the Order, to examine all agency rules, to make recommendations, and to report to the President. It is also to encourage educational programs by private groups.

Primary responsibility for the committee's work resides in an executive committee of the chairman and two public members.

The Federal agencies are directed to cooperate with the President's committee, to report their implementation programs, and to give the committee such information as it requests.

The committee or any of the agencies may hold public or private hearings. Implementation by conciliation is emphasized.

Penalties: However, if conciliation efforts fail, penalties may include: 1) cancellation of the contract for Federal aid; 2) barring the violator from further aid; and 3) refusing to approve a lending institution as a beneficiary under any program.

Violations may be referred to the Attorney General "for such civil or criminal action as he may deem appropriate." Criminal sanctions apply in cases of fraud.

Any agency may invoke these sanctions against violators of the rules of another.

Major Programs

FHA and VA: A builder is covered from the first time he seeks FHA or VA assistance or approval. Thus, in order to receive subdivision "feasibility" approval in the early development stages, he must agree to open occupancy – similarly when "commitments" are sought for a specific number of houses. The Order applies to all applications for commitments received in the local FHA or VA office Nov. 21 and thereafter. In the present transition stage, some houses in an FHA- or VA-approved subdivision may be covered, whereas others in the *same* subdivision may not be. For example, if the builder received FHA commitments prior to Nov. 20 on half of the houses he plans for the tract, those houses are *not* covered. If he applies for commitment for the balance of the houses on the same tract *after* Nov. 20, they *are* covered, regardless of earlier FHA- or VA-subdivision approval.

Houses eligible for FHA insurance may or may not advertise as such. With the exception of some few localities, the subdivision developer – i.e., the speculative builder who builds, for example, ten or more homes – needs to be able to say that his homes are eligible for FHA or VA guarantees to market them successfully. In most localities, FHA or VA means lower down payments and longer mortgage terms.

In addition to the exemption for existing housing, the FHA and VA rules provide that the Order shall not apply to one- or two-family dwellings which have been occupied by the seller. Thus, even individuals buying homes with FHA or VA financing after Nov. 20, 1962, will not be subject to the Order when they resell or rent. The small amount of Government control over the individual home owner and the size of the policing job necessary to check the tremendous number of individual transfers motivated this exclusion.

FHA also has a substantial program affecting rental housing. For example, there are more than 400,000 units of such housing now in existence as a result of the now expired Section 608 program. FHA maintains a continuing control over this kind of housing. A representative of FHA sits on the development's board and FHA has power to take over the corporation if its regulations are violated. In addition, there is rental and co-op housing under Sections 207 and 213 to which FHA retains a continuing relationship.

While existing rental housing is exempted from binding coverage, study is being given to ways in which nondiscrimination may be required in this area.

Complaints may be lodged with the local FHA or VA insuring office director. Appeals can be taken to the Commissioner.

Urban Renewal: Urban renewal projects which have not had their loan and grant contract finally executed by Nov. 20 are covered. This includes all residential construction, commercial establishments and publicly-owned facilities in a project area.

The URA regulations also include a new policy with regard to non-cash local grants-in-aid. These are credits which a city may receive to offset its share of urban renewal costs because of public facilities, such as schools, parks, etc., supplied by the city which support the project. These facilities need not be on the urban renewal site. The rules require that they be open to all residents of the renewal area.

All contracts and deeds entered into in connection with a covered project must contain an affirmative open occupancy covenant which runs with the land.

The rules do not apply the Order to either site selection or relocation.

Public Housing: The Order covers all low-rent projects for which contracts for annual contributions of Federal funds were not authorized for execution before Nov. 21. This includes projects under preliminary loan contract. PHA estimates that approximately 70,000 units of the 100,000 units authorized by the Housing Act of 1961 are affected. Many anomalies exist here regarding the different rules that apply to existing and new housing. Eighty per cent of existing public housing is segregated and will remain so despite the fact that local housing authorities receive annual subsidy grants from the Federal Government. Litigation is expected in this area.

Lending Institutions: The Order bars discrimination by lending institutions only as to loans insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government, that is, loans in the FHA and VA programs.

It had been urged that all financial institutions supervised by the Federal Government be covered. This would have included state savings and loan associations, all national banks as well as banks in the Federal Reserve System and under the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

It should be noted that, on June 1, 1961, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which charters all Federal savings and loan associations, adopted a resolution opposing discrimination. However, this rule has not been implemented.

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Publication of the National Committee Against Discrimination In Housing
426 West 58th Street, New York 19 — JUdson 6-3460

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
426 West 58th Street, New York 19, N. Y.
JUdson 6-3460

THE PRESIDENT'S

EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11063

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Signed November 20, 1962

An Analysis

Prepared by

Joseph B. Robison

Chairman, NCDH Legal Committee

December 1962

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
426 West 58th Street, New York 19, N. Y.
JUdson 6-3460

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

An Analysis
of
THE PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11063
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

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PREFACE

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, organized in 1950, is a non-profit federation of 37 major religious, civil rights, labor, and civic organizations which seek to eliminate racial and religious restrictions from the nation's housing market.

Shortly after its formation, NCDH and its member groups initiated the movement for a Presidential Order prohibiting discrimination in all housing aided in any manner by activities of the Federal Government. Throughout the ensuing years, the drive for a housing Order has been a continuous project.

The first affirmative response from a top political figure came during the 1960 election campaign when Presidential-candidate John F. Kennedy pledged that, if elected, he would ban discriminatory practices in the Government's housing operations with "a stroke of the pen."

On Nov. 20, 1962, President Kennedy placed his signature on an Executive Order banning discrimination in federally-aided housing, and including a declaration that exclusion of Americans from such housing because of their race, color, creed, or national origin is "unfair, unjust, and inconsistent with the public policy of the United States as manifested in its Constitution and laws."

While generally accepted as an important advance in principle, the Order is limited in scope and fails to provide many of the guarantees recommended by NCDH and by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. This analysis examines its coverage, the first rules and regulations issued by the major housing agencies to implement its provisions, and projects its probable impact.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
426 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York

NCDH STATEMENT ON THE ISSUANCE OF THE ORDER

The President's Order banning discrimination in federally-aided housing is an important gain in principle. It is also a vital first step toward equal opportunity in access to shelter. The Executive Department has embraced what should long have been an accepted constitutional obligation: that the Federal Government may not discriminate nor tolerate discrimination in dispensing Federal aid.

While enforcing compliance with civil rights by states, it was bound to set the same standard in its own house.

We welcome the advance and congratulate President Kennedy.

The Executive Order will be an important gain in practice as well as principle if the implementing rules and regulations are broad enough to carry out the full spirit of the Order.

The advance, however, is far from complete. The Order fails to embrace existing housing even if such housing is federally-assisted. In failing to cover loans by federally-aided savings and loan associations and other similar institutions, it fails to protect against discriminatory practices by these lenders.

As presently written, the Order applies at best to only 25% of new housing and not at all to existing housing.

These are definite gaps, but they can be filled by an early enlargement of the scope of the Order. Experience, in fact, shows that the broader the scope of anti-bias measures, the fairer to all concerned and the more effective.

Savings and loan associations that are members of the Federal Home Loan Bank System in 1961 held mortgages of almost $60,000,000,000. They are chartered, supervised, regulated and insured by the Federal Government, as well as being the beneficiaries of Federal loans.

As a matter of fact, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which charters these institutions, last year announced a nondiscrimination policy. We call upon the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing to see to it that this policy is implemented.

The Federal Order embodies protections which have already been afforded to 65 million people by eleven state laws. Housing production has not been retarded by these laws - nor will it be retarded by the Order.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
426 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York

November 21, 1962

TELEGRAM

THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING AND ITS 37 MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS WELCOME YOUR EXECUTIVE ORDER ON HOUSING AS A VITAL FIRST STEP IN THIS CRUCIAL AREA OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND AS AN IMPORTANT GAIN IN PRINCIPLE. THE ORDER WILL ALSO BE A GAIN IN PRACTICE IF IMPLEMENTING REGULATIONS ARE BROADLY CONCEIVED TO CARRY OUT ITS FULL SPIRIT.

THERE ARE, HOWEVER, GAPS WHICH WE URGE BE CLOSED BY EARLY ENLARGEMENT OF THE SCOPE OF THE ORDER. AT BEST IT NOW APPLIES TO ONLY 25 PER CENT OF NEW HOUSING, AND NOT AT ALL TO EXISTING HOUSING. FAILURE TO COVER FEDERALLY-AIDED SAVINGS AND LOAN ASSOCIATIONS AND SIMILAR LENDING INSTITUTIONS AIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT PLACES FHA AND VA AT A DECIDED DISADVANTAGE.

WE PLEDGE TO YOU OUR FULL COOPERATION AND THE RESOURCES OF OUR MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF THE GOAL WE SHARE: EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN ACCESS TO SHELTER.

CHARLES ABRAMS, PRESIDENT
ALGERNON D. BLACK, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION
IN HOUSING - 426 WEST 58TH STREET,
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

ANALYSIS OF THE EXECUTIVE ORDER

This analysis first describes President Kennedy's Executive order, and then discusses what it will do as well as what it will not do. It also covers the basic regulations implementing the order that have been issued by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), the Veterans Administration (VA), the Urban Renewal Administration (URA), and the Public Housing Administration (PHA). The full text of the order appears at the end of this report.

The purposes of the order are given in a series of "whereas" clauses. They include: assuring that benefits made possible by the Federal housing program are made available to all Americans, without regard to race, color, creed or national origin; achieving the goal set forth in the 1949 Housing Act of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American;" and preventing the segregated patterns of housing that produce other forms of segregation which deprive Americans of equal opportunity. Discrimination in federally-assisted housing is declared to be "unfair, unjust, and inconsistent with the public policy of the United States as manifested in its Constitution and laws."

Section 101(a) contains the basic prohibition: all Federal agencies involved in housing programs are directed to prevent discrimination in the sale or rental of "residential property and related facilities," including vacant land. However, this provision applies only to four classifications: (1) property that is operated by the Federal Government; (2) property that is provided by loans or contributions which the Federal Government agrees to make after the date of the Executive order; (3) property that is provided by loans guaranteed or insured by the Federal Government or otherwise secured by the credit of the Federal Government after that date; and (4) property that is obtained from a state or local government agency receiving aid from the Federal Government under a contract made after that date.

With one exception, this provision does not apply to any present housing or even to housing built in the future if the contract or other arrangement for Federal support was made before November 20. The one exception, housing owned and operated by the Federal Government, is a very small part of the total market.

Section 101(b) deals with lending institutions. It directs all Federal agencies to prevent discrimination in lending practices with respect to loans hereafter insured by the Federal Government.

Section 102 covers existing housing. The Housing and Home Finance Agency and all other executive agencies are directed "to use their good offices and to take other appropriate action permitted by law," to end discrimination in property which has already been provided with the kind of Federal financial assistance described in Section 101(a). The "appropriate action" includes "the institution of appropriate litigation, if required."

Sections 201 to 203 deal with implementation of the order by the various Federal agencies. Primary responsibility for obtaining compliance with the order is placed on the various agencies for whatever part of the Federal housing program they administer. Within 30 days after the date of the order, each agency is to adopt rules and regulations and is to "make such exemptions and exceptions" as may be consistent with law and necessary or appropriate to carrying out the order.

The agencies, however, are to work closely with the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, described below. Within 30 days of the order, the agencies are to submit to the Committee reports outlining their programs. They must give the Committee whatever information and assistance it requests. They are also to cooperate with the Committee to make their various programs as consistent as possible.

Sections 301 to 304 deal with enforcement. Under Section 301, the Committee and any of the housing agencies may hold public or private hearings. Under Section 302, if any agency concludes that any person, company or government agency has violated any rule or regulation adopted under the order or any nondiscrimination provision in any contract, it shall try to correct the violation by conciliation. Thereafter, it may take appropriate action to correct the violation, including (a) cancellation of the contract for Federal aid, (b) barring the violator from further aid until compliance is assured, and (c) refusing to approve a lending institution or a lender as a beneficiary under any program. Section 303 directs the agencies, in appropriate cases, to refer violations to the Attorney General "for such civil or criminal action as he may deem appropriate." Under Section 304, any agency may invoke the sanctions described above against any operator that has violated the regulations of another agency.

Section 401 establishes the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing. It is composed of the Secretaries of Treasury, Defense and Agriculture, the Attorney General, the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, the VA Administrator, the Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, a member of the staff of the President's Executive Office and "such other members as the President shall from time to time appoint from the public." The representative of the President's office is to serve both as Chairman and as Executive Director of the Committee.

Under Section 402, each of the agencies subject to the order is to furnish assistance to and pay the expenses of the Committee.

Section 501 gives the Committee the usual powers to adopt rules, to recommend programs and to report to the President.

Section 502 directs the Committee to coordinate the activities of the various agencies, in order to achieve the overall objective of equal opportunity in Federal housing. It is to examine the rules of the various agencies and to make whatever recommendations it finds desirable. It shall also encourage educational programs by civic groups.

Under Section 503, the Committee is to have an executive committee consisting of the Chairman and two other members designated by him from among the public members. The executive committee is to be primarily responsible for carrying out the functions of the Committee between Committee meetings.

Section 601 makes clear the application of the order to the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the territories.

Section 602 directs that the order "shall become effective immediately."

We turn now to a discussion of how the order may be expected to operate. It should be emphasized that this will be substantially affected by the regulations issued by the various agencies and the way in which those regulations are administered.

The Cut-Off Date

As to all but federally owned and operated housing, the order creates a cut-off date for the application of the binding provisions of Section 101(a). That provision does not apply to existing housing or to housing covered by contracts already executed on November 20. In addition, the various agencies have power, under the "exemption" clause, to exclude some housing that was in the "pipe line" on the date of the order.

The new FHA and VA regulations exempt all housing covered by applications for mortgage guarantees that were on file by November 20. Under these regulations, the order will apply to any builder who, from now on, applies for a commitment from the FHA or VA that his housing is eligible for mortgage guarantees, but it will apply only to the units covered by his application. It will also apply to any builder who asks the FHA or VA for a so-called "feasibility" determination of any aspect of a development. (These determinations are made very early in the process of planning a housing project.) The result is that some houses in an FHA- or VA-approved subdivision may be covered by the order while others in the same subdivision are not. If a builder received an FHA commitment prior to November 20 on half of the houses he plans for a tract, those houses are not covered. If he applied for a commitment for the balance of the houses on or after November 21, they are covered, even if the builder had previously obtained a "feasibility" approval.

Under the URA regulations, all urban renewal developments that had not had the "loan and grant" contract finally executed by November 20 are covered. The PHA regulations make the order applicable to all low-rent projects for which contracts for annual contributions of Federal funds were not authorized by November 20. (Some public housing projects receive a preliminary loan during construction. The fact that they received such a preliminary loan before November 21 will not keep them from being covered if the final contract for annual contributions was authorized on or after that date.)

For convenience, in the following paragraphs the term, "future housing," is used to describe any housing not exempted by the cut-off date regulations.

Federally-Operated Housing

The order bans discrimination in all housing owned or operated by the Federal Government. This means primarily (1) a substantial amount of housing

The new FHA and VA regulations exempt all housing covered by applications for mortgage guarantees that were on file by November 20. Under these regulations, the order will apply to any builder who, from now on, applies for a commitment from the FHA or VA that his housing is eligible for mortgage guarantees, but it will apply only to the units covered by his application. It will also apply to any builder who asks the FHA or VA for a so-called "feasibility" determination of any aspect of a development. (These determinations are made very early in the process of planning a housing project.) The result is that some houses in an FHA- or VA-approved subdivision may be covered by the order while others in the same subdivision are not. If a builder received an FHA commitment prior to November 20 on half of the houses he plans for a tract, those houses are not covered. If he applied for a commitment for the balance of the houses on or after November 21, they are covered, even if the builder had previously obtained a "feasibility" approval.

Under the URA regulations, all urban renewal developments that had not had the "loan and grant" contract finally executed by November 20 are covered. The PHA regulations make the order applicable to all low-rent projects for which contracts for annual contributions of Federal funds were not authorized by November 20. (Some public housing projects receive a preliminary loan during construction. The fact that they received such a preliminary loan before November 21 will not keep them from being covered if the final contract for annual contributions was authorized on or after that date.)

For convenience, in the following paragraphs the term, "future housing," is used to describe any housing not exempted by the cut-off date regulations.

Federally-Operated Housing

The order bans discrimination in all housing owned or operated by the Federal Government. This means primarily (1) a substantial amount of housing accommodations for personnel at defense bases (in which discrimination has already been effectively banned) and (2) about 34,000 units of housing recaptured by the FHA and other government agencies. Discrimination in the disposition of this housing had already been banned in theory but enforcement of the ban had been spotty.

Public Housing

One of the most serious gaps in the order is the ambiguous way in which it treats existing public housing that was built with Federal aid but is not now owned or operated by the Federal Government. This is the bulk of public housing. It is owned and operated by local housing authorities established by state and local governments. Its construction was made possible by Federal money in the first place and all of it receives continuing support. This takes the form of annual payments by the Federal Government to the local housing authorities. The payments are used to pay their bonded indebtedness. It is these yearly contributions that maintain the low-rent nature of these developments. The program at present includes 472,916 units in more than 1200 towns and cities.

According to PHA, which administers this program, over 80 per cent of the existing housing is racially segregated. This segregation is clearly unconstitutional under a number of lower court rulings which the Supreme Court has refused to disturb.

The general prohibitions of Section 101(a) of the order do not apply to segregation in the public housing already in existence or contracted for. However, that situation is an obvious target for action under the provision in Section 102 providing for the institution of appropriate litigation with respect to existing housing. In fact, it is likely that that provision was intended to apply particularly to that area. The Department of Justice has started a number of court actions to halt segregation in public facilities (such as parks, airports and schools) receiving contributions from the Federal Government. This would plainly suggest similar lawsuits to halt segregation in federally-supported public housing.

All future public housing supported by the Federal Government will, of course, be covered by the terms of Section 101(a).

Urban Renewal

The Federal Government has had a program since 1949 for assistance to local governments for the improvement of urban areas. In large part, this so-called "Title I" program has resulted in the building of rental and co-operative accommodations owned and operated by private builders. This housing has not been subject to any Federal anti-discrimination requirement and much of it is operated on a discriminatory basis.

A more serious problem, however, has been the fact that redevelopment programs have been used by local authorities to reduce the amount of Negro and integrated housing. Programs have tended to be concentrated in Negro and integrated areas. The new housing has often not been open to nonwhites. Frequently, the relocation of the displaced families has conformed to existing patterns of segregation, with local authorities maintaining separate lists of accommodations available for the displaced white and nonwhite families. It has been widely commented that slum clearance is too often "Negro clearance."

Under the broader provisions of the 1961 Housing Act, urban renewal has become the keystone of Federal housing activities. It is particularly important, therefore, that nondiscriminatory measures be enforced in this part of the Federal housing program.

The order clearly applies to discrimination in future redevelopment and renewal housing. However, as in the case of public housing, only the "good offices" provisions of Section 102 apply to existing housing.

As to future housing, the URA regulations expressly provide that every contract between the URA and a local public authority must contain a provision that the authority will include an anti-discrimination clause in all agreements and deeds conveying land for residential purposes. The clause is to bar discrimination both by the authority and by the developer and all subsequent owners.

Urban renewal projects are not limited to residential uses. They may include schools, parks and other facilities, as well as commercial uses. The order applies to "housing and related facilities." Pursuant to this clause, the URA regulations make the new order applicable to all publicly-owned facilities, thus covering public schools and parks. It is also applicable to retail commercial establishments, personal service establishments, such as barber shops, and group facilities such as sports arenas.

The URA regulations include a new policy with regard to facilities which a city offers to offset its share of urban renewal costs. Such facilities, which may include schools and parks outside the renewal area, must also be open without discrimination to all residents of the renewal area.

A serious weakness of the order is that it contains no provision clearly applying to the problem of "Negro clearance," the selection of sites to perpetuate segregation or discriminatory relocation practices. The new URA regulations contain no provisions dealing with these problems. Since there is no reason to believe that they could not be covered by proper regulations under the order, it is expected that public interest groups will be calling for action in this area.

FHA and VA

The best known feature of the FHA and VA programs is the guaranteeing of repayment of mortgages on individual homes. These programs have made it possible for families to buy homes with small down payments (and in some cases no down payment) where conventional financing required payments of 50 per cent or more of the purchase price. They have also made possible lower interest rates.

Because of the cut-off date provision, the order does not apply to the sale or rental of any of the millions of homes now subject to FHA- or VA-guaranteed mortgages. In addition, the new FHA regulations provide that the ban on discrimination shall not apply to "transactions involving any one- or two-family dwelling which has been occupied by the seller." Hence, individuals buying homes with FHA or VA financing after November 20, 1962 will not be subject to the order when they resell or rent, even though, technically, such sales and rentals are within the terms of Section 101(a).

The important impact of the order will be on the builders who sell housing eligible for FHA and VA guarantees. These include the developers of whole new suburbs which have in the past been restricted to whites. Application of the order to this type of enterprise is particularly important since this has been the most notorious abuse in the Federal housing program. Less than two per cent of the new homes insured by FHA have been available to nonwhites and much of this scant supply has been in segregated projects.

The new FHA regulations make the order applicable to builders from the earliest point at which they receive FHA assistance. They require that builders agree to comply with the nondiscrimination regulations from the time that they are informed by FHA that their project is eligible for FHA-guaranteed loans.

FHA also has a substantial program affecting rental housing. For example, there are more than 400,000 units of such housing now in existence as a result of the now-expired Section 608 program. FHA maintains a continuing control over this kind of housing. A representative of FHA sits on the board of the corporation owning each facility and FHA has reserved power to take over the corporation if any of its regulations are violated. In addition, there is rental housing in the Section 207 program and cooperative housing under Section 213. In both of these programs, FHA retains a continuing relationship with the property during the life of the guaranteed mortgage.

Only future FHA rental housing will be subject to the binding terms of Section 101(a) of the order. Existing housing will be covered by the "good offices" provision of Section 102.

Other Programs

There are a number of other programs that will be affected by the order. These include the program of housing for migratory farm workers, the program of loans and contributions to universities for dormitories and faculty housing and the program of loans and grants to non-profit organizations for housing for the elderly (which is already subject to a nondiscrimination requirement). All such housing arranged for in the future will come under the provisions of Section 101(a). Housing already built or committed will be covered only by Section 102.

Lending Institutions

The order bars discrimination by lending institutions only as to loans insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government, that is, loans in the FHA and VA programs. Under the order, a bank that discriminatorily refuses to issue a mortgage on an FHA or VA home could be denied the status of an FHA- or VA-approved lender. This would mean that it would not get the benefit of FHA and VA guarantees.

Before the order was issued, a much broader coverage of lending institutions had been urged. In particular, the United States Civil Rights Commission had recommended that the President prohibit discrimination in lending by all institutions supervised by the Federal Government. This would have included all Federal and virtually all state savings and loan associations, all national banks and those state-chartered banks that are in the Federal Reserve System and all banks under the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

The order does not touch discrimination in either the lending activities of those institutions or the sale or rental of housing covered by their loans. The result is that the order applies, according to the best estimate, to only about 25 per cent of the total amount of new housing.

It should be noted that, on June 1, 1961, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board adopted a resolution stating that it opposes discrimination by financial institutions over which it has supervisory authority. (These institutions hold 97 per cent ($69.5 billion) of all savings and loan assets. They are responsible for more than 30 per cent of all home financing. Most important, they issued 60 per cent of all mortgages under $20,000 in 1960.) However, this policy has not been implemented in any way. Civil rights groups will now move to obtain action under the FHLBB resolution.

The Exemption Provision

The order gives the various agencies power to carve out exemptions from its scope. This is an unusual and potentially dangerous provision. As already noted, the FHA has excluded the resale of single homes. However, it could also exempt other forms of housing and it is given no standard on which to base such exemptions.

Presumably, it will be the responsibility of the new President's Committee to supervise this process. Although the Committee is not given power to veto any agency regulations, it can be assumed that it will be able to prevent any serious impairment of the order.

(It is not impossible that agency rules and regulations will also extend the prohibition of discrimination beyond the terms of the order. It has been the position of the civil rights organizations that the agencies have power themselves to prohibit discrimination without waiting for a Presidential order. That power presumably continues now that the order has been issued.)

Enforcement of the Order

The sanctions set forth in Section 302 (cancellation of contracts and ineligibility for future contracts and other benefits) are appropriate and effective. The provision for litigation to end discrimination in existing housing has already been commented on. It would be appropriate for PHA to adopt regulations barring segregation by local housing authorities operating existing public housing projects receiving Federal grants. Such regulations could require the authorities to report on their practices with respect to race and to present plans for ending existing segregation. They could also provide for the institution of lawsuits if segregation exists and is not halted.

The order does not detail the procedure for enforcement, other than to give primary responsibility to the various agencies and to empower them to hold public or private hearings. The new FHA regulations provide for a complaint procedure under which complaints will be investigated and passed on by the local field office director, with an appeal to the FHA Commissioner. (A list of FHA's 76 insuring offices is available from the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.)

Doubt may arise as to whether or not to file a complaint if discrimination occurs at a project that does not advertise itself as FHA- or VA-approved. Since some projects may refrain from such advertising even though they have FHA or VA approval, it will be appropriate to act on the assumption that any project may be covered by the order.

Similar complaint procedures will presumably be followed by other agencies. However, it is not expected that the agencies will confine their enforcement efforts to the disposition of individual complaints.

One effective enforcement device is the inclusion of anti-discrimination clauses in agreements dealing with facilities covered by the order. The very fact that the order has been couched in generalities makes it essential that the obligations of those who deal with the Government be spelled out in detail in the agreements under which they receive Government aid.

The order does not specifically direct that anti-discrimination clauses be placed in the application and contract forms used by the various agencies. (The Executive order against discrimination in employment by Government agencies and Government contractors spells out the requirement of an anti-discrimination clause in Government contracts in great detail.) However, as we have already noted, the FHA and URA regulations both provide for such clauses and it may be anticipated that this will be an important aspect of the enforcement process for all agencies.

The local operating offices of the various agencies will have the same obligation to enforce the anti-discrimination requirement as they now have with respect to other regulatory provisions. The existing intergroup relations staff in PHA, FHA and URA will continue to be used for education and persuasion and to assist complying builders, community organizations and operating personnel. In addition, it has been announced that the HHFA will shortly appoint assistants for intergroup relations in each of its six regional offices.

The provision under Section 303, that violators be reported to the Attorney General for "civil or criminal action," has been widely quoted by critics of the order as threatening wholesale jail sentences. However, the provision for "criminal action" probably applies only to fraudulent statements by applicants regarding discriminatory practices and similar misconduct.

Probable Impact of the Order

Estimates vary as to the amount of housing covered by the new order. As noted above, it is probably about 25 per cent of the total of the new housing that will come to the market in the future. It should also be noted that a large part of this housing is already covered by the laws against bias in private housing now in effect in eleven states -- Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oregon and Pennsylvania. These states include 36.4 per cent of the population of this country. There are also a number of state and local laws covering various kinds of publicly-assisted housing.

Based on experience with Executive orders in other areas and with the many state anti-discrimination laws, it can be confidently predicted that the new order will neither ruin the housing industry nor reform it overnight. Predictions like that of Senator A. Willis Robertson, of Virginia, that the order will curtail housing construction "by anywhere from 25 to 50%" are certainly ill-founded. Repeated studies show that there has been no curtailment of construction in the states and cities that have adopted fair housing laws. On the other hand, the beneficial impact of the order will be felt only gradually, judging by the experience under fair housing laws. Much will depend on the vigor of enforcement and also on the scope of demand for good housing from minority groups.

It has been widely predicted that the order will cause a shift by builders away from the various programs of Federal assistance. The theory is that, to avoid the anti-discrimination requirement, builders will use conventional financing rather than FHA-guaranteed loans and that they will stay out of urban renewal programs. Here again, the experience with state statutes indicates that that is not a serious threat. Prior to adoption of the present broad fair housing laws, a number of states adopted laws prohibiting discrimination only in FHA and other publicly-assisted housing. These laws did not result in a drop in FHA construction compared with other states not having such laws.

The reason appears to be that the benefits obtained by builders under the various Federal programs are great enough to overcome any reluctance they may have to try to operate under a nondiscrimination requirement. The best informed opinion is that, with the exception of some few localities, the subdivision builder who builds, for example, ten or more homes, needs to be able to say that his homes are eligible for FHA or VA guarantees to market them successfully. In most localities, FHA or VA guarantees mean lower down payments and longer mortgage terms. (Of course, the developer may not advertise "FHA-approved" unless he has some form of commitment from FHA.)

To the extent that there is a shift in the building industry away from Federal programs, it will emphasize the need for a broader Executive order dealing with housing financed through Government-supervised lending institutions. It must be noted, however, that no Federal order can reach the entire housing market. Hence, issuance of the order will not end the need for state and local fair housing laws. Many builders and others active in the housing industry have expressed the opinion that, if there is to be an anti-discrimination requirement at all, it should be as broad as possible. Otherwise, it creates a new form of discrimination among builders.

In a state having a fair housing law, the new order may apply to some housing not already covered by the state statute. As to housing covered by both statute and order, the order will provide an additional (and perhaps more potent) enforcement procedure. It is expected that efforts will be made to arrive at working agreements between the Federal Government and the various state enforcement agencies dealing with the areas in which they both have jurisdiction.

The only place where a substantial curtailment of Federal housing programs may occur as a result of the order is in the Deep South. It is entirely possible that the order will halt public housing programs in that region for a time. However, the South has always had more than its proportionate share of public housing programs. Moreover, it is quite likely that the South will continue to use public housing to take care of persons displaced by urban renewal programs. Such public housing may be technically designated as nondiscriminatory but will in fact be used only by Negro families. Urban renewal programs may also be cut down to some extent in the Deep South. For some time, FHA developments will probably not be substantially affected because social pressure and other sanctions can be counted on to block the establishment of integrated private housing developments. However, as the order becomes effective in the North, it will gradually be invoked more and more in the South.

While the order is not all that civil rights groups have sought (and will continue to seek), it will certainly achieve positive gains. Discrimination and segregation in Federal housing have been formally declared to be illegal and steps have been initiated to end this long-standing abuse. The order establishes a new ethic for Government housing operations that should have a profound effect on the housing industry and ultimately on the structure of America.

EXECUTIVE ORDER

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

WHEREAS the granting of Federal assistance for the provision, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities from which Americans are excluded because of their race, color, creed, or national origin is unfair, unjust, and inconsistent with the public policy of the United States as manifested in its Constitution and laws; and

WHEREAS the Congress in the Housing Act of 1949 has declared that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family; and

WHEREAS discriminatory policies and practices based upon race, color, creed, or national origin now operate to deny many Americans the benefits of housing financed through Federal assistance and as a consequence prevent such assistance from providing them with an alternative to substandard, unsafe, unsanitary, and overcrowded housing; and

WHEREAS such discriminatory policies and practices result in segregated patterns of housing and necessarily produce other forms of discrimination and segregation which deprive many Americans of equal opportunity in the exercise of their unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and

WHEREAS the executive branch of the Government, in faithfully executing the laws of the United States which authorize Federal financial assistance, directly or indirectly, for the provision, rehabilitation, and operation of housing and related facilities, is charged with an obligation and duty to assure that those laws are fairly administered and that benefits thereunder are made available to all Americans without regard to their race, color, creed, or national origin:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and laws of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

PART I - PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION

Section 101. I hereby direct all departments and agencies in the executive branch of the Federal Government, insofar as their functions relate to the provision, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities, to take all action necessary and appropriate to prevent discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin -

(a) in the sale, leasing, rental, or other disposition of residential property and related facilities (including land to be developed for residential use), or in the use or occupancy thereof, if such property and related facilities are -

(i) owned or operated by the Federal Government, or

(ii) provided in whole or in part with the aid of loans, advances, grants, or contributions hereafter agreed to be made by the Federal Government, or

(iii) provided in whole or in part by loans hereafter insured, guaranteed, or otherwise secured by the credit of the Federal Government, or

(iv) provided by the development or the redevelopment of real property purchased, leased, or otherwise obtained from a State or local public agency receiving Federal financial assistance for slum clearance or urban renewal with respect to such real property under a loan or grant contract hereafter entered into; and

(b) in the lending practices with respect to residential property and related facilities (including land to be developed for residential use) of lending institutions, insofar as such practices relate to loans hereafter insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government.

Section 102. I hereby direct the Housing and Home Finance Agency and all other executive departments and agencies to use their good offices and to take other appropriate action permitted by law, including the institution of appropriate litigation, if required, to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices with respect to residential property and related facilities heretofore provided with Federal financial assistance of the types referred to in Section 101 (a) (ii), (iii), and (iv).

PART II - IMPLEMENTATION BY DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

Section 201. Each executive department and agency subject to this order is directed to submit to the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing established pursuant to Part IV of this order (hereinafter sometimes referred to as the Committee), within thirty days from the date of this order, a report outlining all current programs administered by it which are affected by this order.

Section 202. Each such department and agency shall be primarily responsible for obtaining compliance with the purposes of this order as the order applies to programs administered by it; and is directed to cooperate with the Committee, to furnish it, in accordance with law, such information and assistance as it may request in the performance of its functions, and to report to it at such intervals as the Committee may require.

Section 203. Each such department and agency shall, within thirty days from the date of this order, issue such rules and regulations, adopt such procedures and policies, and make such exemptions and exceptions as may be consistent with law and necessary or appropriate to effectuate the purposes of this order. Each such department and agency shall consult with the Committee in order to achieve such consistency and uniformity as may be feasible.

PART III - ENFORCEMENT

Section 301. The Committee, any subcommittee thereof, and any officer or employee designated by any executive department or agency subject to this order may hold such hearings, public or private, as the Committee, department, or agency may deem advisable for compliance, enforcement, or educational purposes.

Section 302. If any executive department or agency subject to this order concludes that any person or firm (including but not limited to any individual, partnership, association, trust, or corporation) or any State or local public agency has violated any rule, regulation, or procedure issued or adopted pursuant to this order, or any nondiscrimination provision included in any agreement or contract pursuant to any such rule, regulation, or procedure, it shall endeavor to end and remedy such violation by informal means, including conference, conciliation, and persuasion unless similar efforts made by another Federal department or agency have been unsuccessful. In conformity with rules, regulations, procedures, or policies issued or adopted by it pursuant to Section 203 hereof, a department or agency may take such action as may be appropriate under its governing laws, including, but not limited to, the following:

It may -

(a) cancel or terminate in whole or in part any agreement or contract with such person, firm, or State or local public agency providing for a loan, grant, contribution, or other Federal aid, or for the payment of a commission or fee;

(b) refrain from extending any further aid under any program administered by it and affected by this order until it is satisfied that the affected person, firm, or State or local public agency will comply with the rules, regulations, and procedures issued or adopted pursuant to this order, and any nondiscrimination provisions included in any agreement or contract;

(c) refuse to approve a lending institution or any other lender as a beneficiary under any program administered by it which is affected by this order or revoke such approval if previously given.

Section 303. In appropriate cases executive departments and agencies shall refer to the Attorney General violations of any rules, regulations, or procedures issued or adopted pursuant to this order, or violations of any nondiscrimination provisions included in any agreement or contract, for such civil or criminal action as he may deem appropriate. The Attorney General is authorized to furnish legal advice concerning this order to the Committee and to any department or agency requesting such advice.

Section 304. Any executive department or agency affected by this order may also invoke the sanctions provided in Section 302 where any person or firm, including a lender, has violated the rules, regulations, or procedures issued or adopted pursuant to this order, or the nondiscrimination provisions included in any agreement or contract, with respect to any program affected by this order administered by any other executive department or agency.

PART IV - ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Section 401. There is hereby established the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing which shall be composed of the Secretary of the Treasury; the Secretary of Defense; the Attorney General; the Secretary of Agriculture; the Housing and Home Finance Administrator; the Administrator of Veterans Affairs; the Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board; a member of the staff of the Executive Office of the President to be assigned to the

Committee by direction of the President, and such other members as the President shall from time to time appoint from the public. The member assigned by the President from the staff of the Executive Office shall serve as the Chairman and Executive Director of the Committee. Each department or agency head may designate an alternate to represent him in his absence.

Section 402. Each department or agency subject to this order shall, to the extent authorized by law (including § 214 of the Act of May 3, 1945, 59 Stat. 134 (31 U.S.C. 691)), furnish assistance to and defray the necessary expenses of the Committee.

PART V - POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Section 501. The Committee shall meet upon the call of the Chairman and at such other times as may be provided by its rules. It shall: (a) adopt rules to govern its deliberations and activities; (b) recommend general policies and procedures to implement this order; (c) consider reports as to progress under this order; (d) consider any matters which may be presented to it by any of its members; and (e) make such reports to the President as he may require or the Committee shall deem appropriate. A report to the President shall be made at least once annually and shall include references to the actions taken and results achieved by departments and agencies subject to this order. The Committee may provide for the establishment of subcommittees whose members shall be appointed by the Chairman.

Section 502. (a) The Committee shall take such steps as it deems necessary and appropriate to promote the coordination of the activities of departments and agencies under this order. In so doing, the Committee shall consider the overall objectives of Federal legislation relating to housing and the right of every individual to participate without discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin in the ultimate benefits of the Federal programs subject to this order.

(b) The Committee may confer with representatives of any department or agency, State or local public agency, civic, industry, or labor group, or any other group directly or indirectly affected by this order; examine the relevant rules, regulations, procedures, policies, and practices of any department or agency subject to this order and make such recommendations as may be necessary or desirable to achieve the purposes of this order.

(c) The Committee shall encourage educational programs by civic, educational, religious, industry, labor, and other nongovernmental groups to eliminate the basic causes of discrimination in housing and related facilities provided with Federal assistance.

Section 503. The Committee shall have an executive committee consisting of the Committee's Chairman and two other members designated by him from among the public members. The Chairman of the Committee shall also serve as Chairman of the Executive Committee. Between meetings of the Committee, the Executive Committee shall be primarily responsible for carrying out the functions of the Committee and may act for the Committee to the extent authorized by it.

PART VI - MISCELLANEOUS

Section 601. As used in this order, the term "departments and agencies" includes any wholly owned or mixed-ownership Government corporation, and the term "State" includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the territories of the United States.

Section 602. This order shall become effective immediately.

/s/ John F. Kennedy

THE WHITE HOUSE

November 20, 1962

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STABILIZED LIVING

Housing Task Force Report

1962 National Conference of the Urban League

Grand Rapids, Michigan

Hilyard R. Robinson
Chairman, National Urban League Housing Committee

Reginald A. Johnson
Associate Director, National Urban League

Housing
Task Force "A"

"RACIAL QUOTAS, TIP POINTS, AND OTHER TYPES OF PROGRAMS IN HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOODS"

by

Nelson H. Nichols, Jr., Executive Director, Omaha Urban League, Chairman

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A. "Stabilized Living" -- A Neighborhood Goal; Social Criteria for Measurement. -

What constitutes "stabilized living" for an interracial building, development, or community? Grier[1] says it is a condition of community health. Diagnosis involves four elements:

1. Occupant Satisfaction. What is the testimony of a sample of the residents? Is it bare tolerance, or enthusiastic acceptance of neighbors?

2. Relationship between residents of different skin color. - Is it "generally aloof" or "very close"? Check the social clubs, neighborhood improvement associations with interracial participation, if any, and the interaction between children (regardless of parent contacts); also, check for any hostile split between groups or residents organized along racial lines.

3. Turnover Rates. - Four elements here may be noted:
   a. Age of the interracial community,
   b. Type of housing involved (building, new development, etc.),
   c. Trend toward increasing occupancy by Negroes, and
   d. Trend of the surrounding environment in this respect.

4. Effect of the interracial development on immediate surrounding areas. -
   a. Is the interracial community isolated from direct contact with all-white housing concentrations by natural, or artificial barriers? ("Interracial ghetto")

   b. What is the "observable effect" on the surrounding all-white community?

   c. Does the all-white concentration view the interracial one in a prejudiced way, e.g., as "communists," free-thinkers, free-lovers, or other deviants in ways more than mere willingness to live beside Negroes?

   d. Is the interracial community given mental recognition, e.g., "that colored community"?

   e. What is the effect on racial patterns and rates of turnover in nearby residential areas, e.g., flight of whites, influx of Negroes, etc.?

   f. What are the noticeable trends in property values in the nearest all-white area?

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[1] Grier, George and Eunice. Privately Developed Interracial Housing. University of California Press (Berkeley & Los Angeles: 1960) p. 195 et seq.

g. Do residents in the interracial community visit with friends in the all-white surrounding community or are they merely accepted, or is there direct hostility?

B. Impediments to the Achievement of Stabilized Living

We are all familiar with various methods used in the past to achieve a kind of stabilized living; e.g. laws restricting Negroes to an isolated portion of the community, on the theory that "minimizing contacts means minimizing conflicts," this is the "ghetto"; zoning ordinances missued; restrictive covenants; "gentlemen's" agreements or informal understandings; social pressure on money-lenders, real estate salesmen, and upon home owners themselves; acts of violence; abuse of the authority to fix school boundaries and locate sites for new schools; sales of huge church buildings to Negroes, or liberal assistance in building a new one well within the ghetto; misuse of social institutions, as, establishing a "branch" library, YMCA, YWCA, and like in the isolated community; and the like. Or a builder of a large-scale development containing thousands of houses, simply by invoking the rule of Jim Crow is able to provide mass discrimination at one fell stroke.

All these methods, however, no matter how zealous and powerful their enforcement, have achieved in the long run just the opposite of stabilized living. The "white noose" slips. It is now clearly apparent, as Sterner[2] says, that "racial isolation makes for the maintenance of cultural separateness and mutual ignorance, and therefore in the long run constitutes the main cause of misunderstanding and prejudice."

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[2] Richard Sterner. The Negro's Share. (Harper & Brothers: New York, 1943), p. 202.

Reports from Denver,[3] Chicago,[4] Philadelphia,[5] South Bend,[6] and St. Louis[7] all show the use by misguided, fearful persons of some or all of the futile methods above in a frantic effort to "minimize contacts". Although aimed at stabilized living, these methods have become outmoded, obsolete. They necessarily overlook certain changing elements: (1) the rising economic capacity and cultural level of the Negro; (2) the shift in attitude among the whites; and (3) the changing role of law and government. Other methods must now be sought if stabilized living is to be achieved, for the old methods but produce the very results they were invoked to prevent.

C. Positive Methods Used to Achieve Stabilized Living

Whenever it is known that a minority group is in great need of housing, and a middle-class neighborhood is located near the expanding area of Negro concentration that contains housing priced within the range of a substantial part of the minority group, or possesses few advantages that would make it especially attractive to whites, it is likely to be considered a good candidate for racial change.[8] Soon, pressures against sales to minority persons are replaced by pressures for sales; the racial attitude of the owner may have changed not at all, but he finds himself in a very different social situation. Now we come to our point of principle focus: positive methods for achieving stabilized living, with special attention to racial quotas, tip points, and other types of programs designed for this purpose. We shall deal with all types of housing, i.e., new, used, public or private, for sale or rent all in one bundle.

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[3] "Stabilized Living", Nelson H. Nichols, Jr., Omaha Urban League

[4] "Chicago Housing Reports", Warren Lehman, Chicago Urban League

[5] "Housing in Metropolitan Philadelphia", Florence Madison Hill, Philadelphia Urban League

[6] "The Development of Stabilized Neighborhood Living", William R. Morris, South Bend Urban League

[7] "St. Louis Housing Report", T. H. Mayberry, St. Louis, Mo.

[3] McEntire, Davis. Residence & Race. Univ of Calif. Press (Berkeley & L.A.: 1960) p. 85

1. Quotas - Morris states[9]

> As a white realtor once suggested (seriously), sell one house in every block in the city to a Negro family and the problem will be solved ... wishful thinking but nevertheless it has some merit.

But Morris does not see quotas, or "controlled occupancy" as a permanent, but only as a temporary means of achieving stabilized living.

Nichols mentions Denver's Park Hill, an all-white residential area next to an expanding area of all-Negro concentration, as being a place where the whites would gladly favor a benevolent quota system limiting so many Negroes to a block, but they are unable to restrain the profit instinct of the real estate salesman and the profit hopes of the white seller; for as soon as a single Negro family moves into a block there is a steady stream of real estate men canvassing the block for listings and crying, "A Negro has just broken the block!"[10]

Whenever white residents or potential residents expect a neighborhood to "go Negro", they forthwith prepare to abandon it; for there are few whites, prejudiced or not, who are willing to live in a minority community, or in a predominantly Negro one.[11]

That point at which a rising proportion of non-whites will cause whites to abandon an area is called the "tip point". Some say 10% to 60%, but no one figure is universally correct; for the "meaning of any given number of non-whites will be defined differently in different circumstances." Sometimes the entry of a single nonwhite family can "generate expectations of racial change" especially if the area is in the path of Negro expansion, or if Negroes of lower socio-economic level come in (since low-class behavior is not tolerated for the whites' children), or if crowding occurs.[12] We may say that the tip point is passed when it begins to appear that a neighborhood, because of additional entry of one or more Negro families, "has gone (not "is going") Negro." It is reached when the entry of another Negro family would make it appear to any observer that it is a "Negro" neighborhood.

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[9] Morris, supra

[10] Nichols, supra, p. 4

[11] McEntire, Davis. op. cit., p.83

As for new housing developments, it is taken for granted among most developers and observers of open-occupancy housing that the proportion of non-whites in a given development should not rise beyond some point. Otherwise, demand from whites will be discouraged and the project will be left without a sufficient market, or with only a minority market, or both. Studies in racially mixed neighborhoods confirm the common observation of diminishing white demand for housing as the nonwhite proportion in the neighborhood population rises. The critical point, however, cannot be defined with precision. The demand for housing in a particular development is affected by a variety of factors of which the nonwhite proportion is only one. A project unusually attractive to the white market because of the site, or price, or other reasons, can tolerate a higher percentage of nonwhites than one less favorably situated.[13]

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[12] Ibid., p. 84

[13] Ibid., p. 212

Although recognizing the necessity of maintaining an appropriate racial balance, sponsors of open-occupancy developments have been loath to enforce racial quotas because of the discrimination inherent in such devices. Quotas employed for a good purpose, e.g., to promote racial integration, have been termed "benevolent". Benevolent or not, application of a racial quota means that individuals will be denied the opportunity to enter a given housing community solely because of their race - because "too many" members of their race are already in residence.[14] Some of these benevolent quotas are not revealed to prospective buyers of new homes, and they become angry and frustrated not knowing why they were refused; but most of them do not seem to mind when the quota and its purpose are frankly explained.

Lehman says that Alinsky (Chicago) advises quotas as a method of neighborhood stabilization,[15] but adds in along with it "the control of real estate speculators."

"Turning" is another device used where the owner of an apartment building finds it a more profitable alternative to "turn" toward low-income minority occupancy on the bases of reduced services and an increased number of rent-payers in the same space. This was accomplished many times in New York and involved Puerto Ricans,[16] and Negroes.[17] There were enormous profits made in turning buildings from white to Negro or Puerto Rican. I suspect that this same technique is used with regard to any minority, i.e. some minority individuals are moved into the building at high rent; right away maintenance is reduced, services are withheld to drive the whites out.[18] The neighborhood is then in a condition of "stabilized living" from the standpoint of the slum landlord.

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[14] Ibid., p. 213

[15] Lehman, op. cit., p. 6

[16] McEntire, op. cit., p. 84

[17] Abrahamson, Julia. "A Neighborhood Finds Itself. Harper & Brothers (New York: 1959) 293

[18] Id.

Quotas are recommended by our Housing Administrator, Robert Weaver:

> The announcement of a non-segregated project is important. From the start, it must be clearly and firmly stated that since public funds are to be expended, the prevailing non-segregated city patterns in public institutions must be followed. Then it should be indicated that because of the racial complexion of the demand for housing is not fixed, the public housing authority must establish flexible patterns of occupancy which will allow changes in the degree of majority and minority groups' participation in response to the changing population and chainging neighborhoods.[19]

This seems to be a kind of "floating" quota system, changing proportion as the population ratio shifts.

Lehman of Chicago wants to distinguish between "quotas" and what he calls "controlled integration", as illustrated by him in Prairie Shores. There the technique was: (1) soliciting whites in advance of building completion to come in; (2) careful standards of tenant selection; and (3) maintaining the building attractiveness; the rental office would tell all prospective tenants, however, that "the building will be integrated and that the proportion of Negroes to whites will be 25 to 75%". Results: current ratio is 20% Negroes, 80% whites. Is this quota system, or controlled integration? Is there a difference?

Morris of South Bend says, "I recommend more extensive use of quotas or controlled occupancy as a primary means of stabilizing neighborhood living."[20] In this he seems to follow the line of the Housing Administrator. There seems to be no chance of invoking the quota principle unless there be within the neighborhood some centralized agency or control, as Lehman puts it:[21]

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[19] Weaver, Robert C. The Negro Ghetto. Harcourt, Brace & Company (New York: 1948) 362

[20] Morris, p. 1

[21] Lehman, p. 5

> The real problems, which no one has solved, are those that face Hyde Park for instance. Those are the problems of an existing community faced with the possibility of transition from white to Negro occupancy. These communities lack the kinds of control that the unified management of an apartment development has.

I think he hits the real point at issue so far as used housing is concerned; with reference to new developments, the builder is the control; in public housing, the office; in rental housing, the same. However, where the neighbors do have this centralized and unified control, as in the Village Creek Community[22] in an effort to achieve "balanced" integration, or control by color, the quota system may be rigidly applied. Roy Wilkins, NAACP, is quoted as saying[23] without actually endorsing quotas by name:

> An increasing number of incidents around the country suggests that control of some sort, preferably voluntary, may have to be exercised in order to bring about the integration of certain neighborhoods.

"Voluntary", on whose part? Buyer's, or seller's?

We quote Mayberry of St. Louis:[24]

> "Some individuals with whom the writer conferred seem to feel that the word 'quota" has a bad connotation and that the same purpose might be achieved with expressions like: 'Planned inter-racial community' or 'balanced community' or 'balanced ratio.' Again, it must be emphasized that this discussion is purely theoretical as there has been no real test against actual situations. In several instances St. Louis apartment house owners have announced a policy of integration. But, this change of policy appeared to be prompted more by reasons of economics than a desire to persue a democratic policy. It has been noted that the 'integrated' apartments have become less attractive to white renters and the vacancy rates are high before the entry of Negro tenants under the 'policy of integration' belatedly announced."

2. Tipping Point. - The Village Creek Community is the classic example of this guage for stabilized living. See the article mentioned in the footnote for the full story. "Tip-points" according to Mayberry, "are purely academic."[25]

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[22] "Tipping Point in Village Creek", D. Pfarrer, Reporter, 26.33, Feb. 1, '62

[23] Id.

[24] Mayberry, p. 2

[25] Id., p. 3

3. Occupancy Standards. - Instead of seeking stabilized living via restrictive covenants or gentlemen's agreements, and in order to achieve it via protecting the neighborhood from undesirables of any race, occupancy standards in the upkeep of the premises are set by neighbors and these communicated to all newcomers. This is tried in Park Hill in Denver, says Nichols.

4. In-Group Discipline. - In Denver, according to Nichols, when a motorcycle enthusiast, a late-and-loud party-giver, or one who parks his garbage truck out front is come upon, the other Negroes in the block hold a meeting, get him into the "family", so to say, and find out just what his problem is. Sometimes he is in need of certain help, and this is sought and obtained for him in order to eliminate his offensive practice. This is done never in a spirit of punishment, but in a family spirit of helpfulness; the offender straightens out and likes his neighbors better in the process. If he doesn't mow his lawn, neighbors will get together and offer help, in other cases he will be asked if the meeting may be held at his house. In these cases, the League worker has set up the whole affair but either stays out of the meeting, or recedes into the background so that the neighbors may carry out this process themselves.

5. Real Estate Men's Pledge. - When Negroes begin to move into an all-white neighborhood the tendency is for real estate men to incite the whites to a panic. Mayberry reports:[26]

> "There is a widespread feeling in St. Louis that the achievement of stabilized neighborhood living will not be possible as long as dominant elements in the real estate industry are free to discriminate and parcel out housing accommodation on a racial basis; a free market

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[26] Mayberry, p. 4

in housing is vitally necessary for the elimination of slums and blight. The social and economic affects of housing discrimination are too costly to maintain." In Denver's Park Hill, however, the whites organized and secured a pledge from several leading real estate men to boost the area in their advertising as an ideal place to live and where all were welcome; leaflets also were passed out stating human relations principles. This helps.

6. Newspaper Campaign. - Whites began a neighborhood newspaper and delivered it to all who wished it, free. It advertised the attractiveness of the neighborhood, carried the picture of a notable living there (sometimes a Negro) and urged buyers (without specifying "white") to continue to buy in Park Hill.

7. Posting Sign. - A Negro bought his home and finding the block nearing the tipping point, posted a large sign in his yard asking other Negroes not to be persuaded by unscrupulous real estate men to buy in this block, but to consider other blocks. Soon, the local zoning inspector made him remove the "commercial" sign from the residential neighborhood.

8. Welcome Wagon. - Another effort to achieve stabilized living: a spontaneous neighborhood committee calls upon the newcomer and welcomes him. Coffee and cookies are sometimes a part of this operation, or a home-baked cake.

9. "A HORDE OF NEGROES...!" - A continuing survey of the number of Negroes moving into all-white residential neighborhoods is kept in Denver and regularly the figures are published showing that there is only a trickle, not a horde, coming in. This serves to allay fears of whites that they will become the minority.

10. The Price Drop. - Figures of actual selling prices of houses for a period of time covering the Negro entry will usually show an increase, not a drop in prices. This buries the economic ghost raised by the unscrupulous

real estate salesman that Negroes cause prices to drop. Good results were obtained in Denver on this; only the Urban League had the facts.

11. Teamwork Contacts. - In Denver we provided for and encouraged teamwork contacts on neighborhood chores between whites and Negroes. This provided education for whites through personal contact with Negroes; and for Negroes by enabling them to conform to neighborhood norms. Hill of Philadelphia[27] seems to feel that educational techniques against discrimination are inadequate, and prefers to rely upon legislation to do the job. We have legislation in Denver, but need in addition something more. Mayberry of St. Louis[28] "believes that voluntary methods will never succeed in the achievement of stabilized neighborhood living patterns. Legislation is required. People of 'good will' who would like to see democratic practices and fair play prevail in housing need to have their beliefs re-enforced by effective administrative and legislative regulations emphasizing both enforcement and education."

12. "Town Hall" Type Meetings. - The whites in Denver's Park Hill organized and called large neighborhood meetings in the local schools and they were well attended. Here the human relations policies and platforms of the organization were announced, speakers heard, and a collation had afterwards. This indirectly solicited acceptance for the newcomer Negroes, and proved highly successful.

13. Block Committees. - The whites organized such committees to keep the central organization informed of goings on in the blocks, where whites could not be organized, the Negroes in the block were organized (by the League)

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[27] Hill, op. cit., p. 4

[28] Mayberry, p. 5

and the work carried on as volunteers under the aegis, always, of the white organization. These units were used as troubleshooters; had a pacifying effect upon all.

14. Religious Resource - While the churches worked with the whites, the League worked with the Negroes. The church administration found itself way ahead of its congregation many times, whereupon the League did a kind of "missionary" work among the congregation wherever possible, using maps, statistics, and analyzing the situation both in its moral and legal aspects.

15. Communications Channel. - As Negroes moved into Park Hill rumor ran amuck. There was no way the whites could express to the Negroes how they felt; and vice versa. To cure this, the League first set up block communication units, and structured these so that finally one person was the communications chairman for the entire area. Then this person was presented to the whites as a volunteer in their organization. Soon communications were going fine; feelings were interchanged; tensions relieved.

16. Negro Acceptance of Negroes. - Stabilized living is not all white-black, but in the Park Hill situation we found it to be black-black as well. Skin-color does not induce all Negroes to think alike. Preliminary work was aimed at getting them to meet and talk with their neighbors of like color in the same block and accept them; not as bosom friends, but simply as equal members of the community. This basic step is a must in any community-organization plan for stabilized living. After self-acceptance, Negroes can them move out for acceptance into the community actiivities, join, and serve.

17. Selling New Houses to Negroes. - To secure a stabilized interracial development.

> Builders of both open-occupancy and minority housing have found that to attract nonwhite prospects in any number usually required promo-

tion efforts directed specifically to the minority community via minority newspapers and other special channels. Promotion is equally essential to reach the white market; but the media differ. Advertising in newspapers seems to reach the white homeseekers more effectively than non-white, perhaps because the latter realize that most of the housing advertised in the real estate columns is not available to them.[29]

18. Listing Service. - In Denver, Nichols states that this idea was tried out in cooperation with (HUB) Housing Unrestricted Bureau, a community group. Soon, however, the listing of rentals was discontinued, for by the time a tenant had been found the place was no longer available. Problems of overpricing by whites hoping to sell homes to Negroes were encountered. Most of such homes listed were out of the price class to suit the purse of Negro buyers. So that now the effort is directed more toward mobilizing the Negro purchasers to move into new developments rather than into used housing. All this kind of activity, however, borders at times upon direct action; but it is a common method used in order to achieve stabilized living. Lehman (p.8) mentions a similar service, HOME, Inc.

19. Scattered Site Selection. - Lehman mentions this as a method used in Chicago to reduce the concentration of low-income families and problem families, but says that in the Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal area, it was rejected "because of the fears of the planners."[30]

20. Low Rent, Plus Quota. - In order to maintain adequate white tenancy in Prairie Shores, Chicago, Lehman tells of lowered rents, the maintenance of attractive buildings, and - quotas.

21. Apartment Size, Plus Quota. - Prairie Shores by the simple device of the one-bedroom apartment, excluded families with children and attracted

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[29] McEntire, op. cit., p. 214

[30] Lehman, op. cit., p. 2

the young married couple or the retired couple; few school-age children are to be found in Prairie Shores, he says.

22. Whites First, Then Negroes. - An odd method of achieving stabilized living is that where the University of Chicago plans to take over a dilapidated area and rehabilitate it; then they will admit whites first, until a certain number is reached; then, admit Negroes. Lehman sees this as a workable method. (p. 7)

23. Rehabilitation of Houses. - The Public Housing Authority experimented in Chicago with (1) rehabilitating existing housing and (2) using these for project houses; these had the same values, Lehman says, as scattered-site new construction, and an additional value in that the stigma of public housing did not attach; plus, by this method, such public housing units had already achieved integration into the community. (p.2)

24. "Co-oping" for Stabilized Living. - Here, according to Lehman, is where the landlord of a large unit seeks to prevent its all-white status' changing to all-black, in the face of increasing pressure of incoming Negroes to the area. While he wishes to integrate it, he also wants to halt such integration before it reaches the tipping point; so, he "co-ops" it, i.e., changes the units into cooperatives thus holding onto the required white tenancy, and moving in Negroes at a pre-determined rate and quantity. (p. 5)

25. Wishes of the People in the Community. - Lehman indicates that where the University of Chicago desires to clear a strip a mile long and a block wide through an all-Negro area it owns, the cooperation of the city planning department may be had, but the religious and community organizations of the area are determined to resist any planning activities that do not "represent

the wishes of the people in the community." I wonder, had this been an all-white community, about giving such importance to a wish element that might exclude integration just as easily.

26. Mortgage Assurance for Negroes. - A Chicago community group headed by Alinsky seeks to achieve an integrated community and stabilized living through enabling incoming Negroes to benefit by access to current mortgages now in existence. New mortgages could become a means of making the purchase near impossible.

27. "Filtering Out" Process. - Lehman mentions in Chicago a process used in public housing that filters out the potential leaders through imposition of drastic income limitations, and puts in their places unfortunate people displaced by public clearance; this tends to concentrate and leave in such public housing the worst social case families. These are usually dependent people; not leaders. Query: Can you have "stabilized living" under such circumstances?

28. Planned Stabilized Living. - One way to secure stabilized living in advance that would apply to a new development is given by Weaver in his book (p. 363) and that is: provide the developer with an assured group of Negroes and whites who are willing to live together and to increase their numbers. Weaver feels that such people can be assembled, as they exist in every community. A cooperative could likewise be formed, integrated and stabilized before building.

29. OPEN OCCUPANCY. - This seems to always be viewed as a vanishing ideal, yet seems really to be the best method of achieving stabilized living. Hill says that Negroes may be found living in almost every community in Phila-

delphia; the same is true in Denver, and without doubt in many other cities. Lehman cites the University of Chicago as practicing discrimination in order, so they say, to achieve a "controlled, planned, or staged integration", but here, of course, since the right of choice is not preserved there can be no such thing as "open" occupancy, although one might attain to an artificial stabilized-living. But the use of quotas, tipping points, critical points, turning, or any other kind of controlled integration, no matter how sweet the name, is short of and therefore definitely not open occupancy.

D. Role of the Urban League. -

1. Fact Finding. - Hill of Philadelphia sees the role of the League as one of the studious examination of housing problems, the constant appearing before governmental bodies, the doing of research; then the making known of the housing needs of the nonwhites; the assisting in the enforcement of law through such means, and the use of it for planning in the solution of problems. Hill illustrates the efficient administration of a Fair Housing Law by citing the case of Philadelphia. McEntire states (p. 214) that Negroes will assume that they are still barred from buying in a new development, usually closed to them, unless its open character is expressly made known to them. The League can, then, broadcast information; make it known to all Negroes.

2. Interpretative.-Usually the builders and bankers, says Hill, (and I add in the slum landlords and politicians) are those who oppose fair housing legislation; therefore the League must inform them, explain the law to them, and urge their affirmative cooperation in achieving the purposes of the law.

3. Cooperative Role. - Hill sees the League role as one of cooperating with such organizations as the Society of Friends, the Community Human Relations

Commission, the Housing Association or Authority, the Planning Commission, Urban Renewal Authority, and all other commissions, committees, public and private, having anything to do with or any interest in fair housing.

4. Consultant Role.- Hill of Philadelphia would, on the basis of factual information collected by the League, have it serve community leaders, industrialists, and other local groups in a consultant capacity.

5. Housing Clinics. - In this area, Hill sees the League as sponsoring Housing Clinics for the benefit of the Negro community; interpreting specific housing data in terms easily understood by the local individual.

6. Communications. - Nichols stresses the role of the League as being one of establishing communication channels between Negroes desiring housing and those who would withhold it from them. This, of course, would involve many of the roles just mentioned.

7. Low-Income Raised. - This (low-income) is the real criminal; he must be eliminated! This requires the League to flex all its community-organization muscles; to bear down on all program areas, and strive to produce the type of Negro citizen who can earn a decent income and buy a decent home, or rent one. Many times the very offering price can overcome social pressure, imbred prejudice, and fear of intermarriage where a Negro family wants to move into the block.

E. Recommendations. -

1. Merchandising Policy. - Of the three variables: price, location and merchandising policy, the one most susceptible to manipulation is merchandising policy. The League must examine and check this policy of the builder, agency, landlord, etc., to see that it is fair and fairly administered.

2. Evils of Overcrowding.-The public must be made to understand the direct relationship between residential segregation and overcrowding, and what this means in terms of local norms for health, citizenship participation, education, and the like.

3. Religious Resources. - The local, State, and National religious resources must be mobilized for better housing and stabilized living for all Americans.

4. Residential Restrictions. - Where white owners want to sell and real estate salesmen would like the commissions, but are barred by a private agreement not to sell, the League might intervene in order to encourage them to substitute "occupancy standards" for racial restrictions and apply such standards to all races, thus keeping out undesirables.

5. Government Aid & Non-discrimination. - The League might well determine in any given case whether federal money is being used or federal credit involved and on this basis approach the large-scale builder or other housing resource and interpret to him the current provisions of the law relating to discrimination.

6. Whites Remain in Neighborhood. - Morris would mobilize the white leadership and the religious resource of any community to gain support in encouraging white families to remain in the area despite the entry of Negroes. He would then interview the Negro family and review with it its responsibilities as newcomers to the neighborhood.

7. Free Housing Market. - Using all publicity media, Morris would seek to get white groups to go on record as endorsing the principle of a free and open housing market. Propagandize and strive to develop a climate of

opinion that such a market is the "American way" of doing things. He would marshall the whole nation's resources in an effort to change public attitudes on this point.

8. Open-Occupancy Laws. - Lehman would strive for open-occupancy laws on all governmental levels, local, state, and federal.

9. Negro Cohesion. - Lehman feels that Negro cohesion aids urban discrimination equally as much as white segregation. The Negroes should "push outward", and move on out into the white community, and not, as a white resident of Denver's Park Hill, observed, "Why do the Negroes like to bunch-up so?"

10. Economic Education.- Some kind of educational project, e.g., issuance of a pamphlet for homebuyers, written so that anyone might understand it, is recommended by Lehman of Chicago. Such pamphlet should score on two heads: (1) help Negroes to help themselves; (2) demand equal opportunity in housing. He would also seek legislation to aid the buyer with his mortgage, to protect him in the registration of a contract to buy, to protect him by requiring minimum information to be set forth in such contract, and by requiring a housing inspection before actual sale.

11. Public Schools. - Site location of new schools and boundary adjustments should not be permitted to perpetuate segregated schools; any ghetto can be used to justify the "neighborhood school" principle; but schools should be located with an affirmative effort at integration of the school community, in spite of the pattern of residential restriction, and eventually the residential community.

12. Negro Middle Class.-Lehman would inform the whites that there is now emerging a Negro "middle class", in addition to and distinct from the usual low-income group. This information must help break the current stereotype and lets whites know that the Negro must be dealt with not on a racial basis so much as on an economic one. In this, Lehman would avoid any moral judgment being cast against whites. Then he would seek to deal first with the housing problems of the middle-class Negro and let those of the low-income class Negro await their solution; he hopes the low-income Negro, having before him the vision of the middle-class Negro, would thus be drawn to higher aspirations on his own. Hill (Philadelphia) admits that low income and low educational opportunity both hamper the Negro in his housing choice.

F. Questions -

1. Is the use of quotas a necessary step toward residential integration?
2. Should the benevolent quota be acceptable to Negroes? to whites?
3. Should Negroes observe the "tipping point"? and go elsewhere?
4. How can the tendency of Negroes to "bunch up" be neutralized?
5. How can Negroes be encouraged to pioneer into white neighborhoods?
6. To what extent does the real estate board actually hinder the sale to Negroes of property in white neighborhoods?
7. How can public attitudes be changed so as to contribute to stabilized living?
8. Is there any "program" - short of open occupancy - that will guarantee the ideal of permanently stabilized living? If so, what is it?
9. Is "political" activity necessary by the League to achieve legislation on fair housing, where none exists?
10. Is the difference between "quotas" and "controlled integration" semantic only?

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Housing
Task Force "B"

VOLUNTARY FAIR HOUSING PROGRAMS (NEIGHBORS, INC. TYPE) AND FAIR HOUSING LEGISLATION

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VOLUNTARY FAIR HOUSING PROGRAMS AND FAIR HOUSING LEGISLATION

INTRODUCTION

In approaching this assignment to discuss voluntary fair housing programs and fair housing legislation, at the outset, we find ourselves impaled on a dilemma. We are required to discuss and evaluate voluntary action and action made mandatory by legislation to determine whether either such programs provide a workable tool for effecting integrated or equal opportunity housing. We have already discussed racial quotas, tip points, and other types of programs in housing developments and neighborhoods and cannot now lay them aside and discuss two other programs because the considerations under discussion previously are part and parcel and interwoven into the very fabric of these programs now under discussion.

What is the frame of reference for this concern in fair housing? In the Housing Act of 1949, and as subsequently ammended, the Congress of the United States declared that the general welfare of the Nation required the realization as soon as feasible of the goal that every American, every American family, should live in decent, safe, and sanitary housing within a suitable living enviroment. We may state this objective a little differently: the American objective is that every American family shall have a freedom of choice of residence without being artificially bound by unrealistic and impractical restraints.

Inadequate income is still a stubborn key obstacle standing between a large proportion of American families and decent housing. A growing proportion of them, however, have broken through the economic barriers and are developing into an important part of the housing market. For them, increasingly, freedom of choice in housing is not a financial ability to buy or rent - but the opportunity to do so. But, for many nonwhite families this opportunity is generally restricted because of the walls of prejudice and discrimination that tend to limit them to old areas that the white population is abandoning. Until we can develop means to ensure freer movement of those American citizens financially able in the housing market and open for them a far greater choice of living areas than now exist, we shall be confronted with explosive forces that will damage the community and impede our housing economy.

VOLUNTARY FAIR HOUSING PROGRAMS

Jack Rothman in his article entitled "The Ghetto Makers," which appeared in the October 7, 1961, edition of the NATION, described a very interesting phonemona which has been characteristic of housing sales practices in the latter part of the 20th century:

> "Meet a group of ugly Americans you probably don't know-the 'Ghetto Makers.' They are found primarily in the real estate and money lending-worlds and their stock in trade is racism for a profit. These are the men who control and manipulate the housing market in integrated areas of our cities. They specialize in panic salesmanship - the rumor, the racial argument, the prejudicial insinuation. They engage in a variety of pernicious financial practices, both legal and extra-legal, taking the Negro home-buyer for a ride in the process. Through their pressure-cooker tactics, whole neighborhoods are induced to change from white to colored - and segregated - in short order, and at great cost in human terms.
>
> "Racially changing neighborhoods have in recent years reached widespread and troubling proportions. Almost every city-dweller can call to mind some neighborhood that was transformed almost over night from a solidly white to a solidly Negro district. Such rapid dislocation stirs up a torrent of intergroup tensions and a welter of social and welfare problems. And this is the problem that holds geography in disregard; it is as much prevelant and malevolent in the North as in the South ..."

People across the Nation are attempting to fight this evil practice for as the Report of the Commission on Race and Housing stated "....it has always been characteristic of American Democracy that whenever a public problem arises, citizens organize, independently of government, to advocate solutions." All of us are aware of how citizens have so organized to fight this pernicious problem. There are more than twenty-five groups in this country commonly referred to as "stabilization groups" that are engaged in the basic problem of maintaining some semblance of stability in areas which without some positive action will show a complete racial change in the persons who live there. (See Appendix A)

One of the earliest and best known groups which became engaged in this activity is the organization operating in the Nation's Capital and known nationally as Neighbors, Inc. This interracial group of residents in northwest Washington is trying to create a stable, integrated, and vital neighborhood in an increasingly Negro section of the city. Neighbors, Inc., and it has only been in existance for four years, can claim only moderate successes so far. If its efforts pay off it could help put spine back into the backbone of the central city, give Negroes their first major chance to join the larger middle class American community, keep the area attractive for whites and answer some nagging questions about good will and democracy. In carrying out its objectives Neighbors, Inc. has had to do battle and disprove rumors that characteristically are spread by real estate brokers who attempt to stimulate sales over and above normal ownership turnover; (1) property values will drop; (2) crime will increase; (3) neighborhood standards will deteriorate; and (4) older residents will be pushed out.

The community that will not accept people of different colors, races, creeds or religions is ripe for panic selling. The older residents dominated by their fears, amplified by the unethical brokers, view the situation with alarm, and they flee. Neighbors, Inc., like most stabilization organizations, has undertaken a series of programs designed to effect a stable community: (1) held block meetings to build a sense of togetherness; (2) traced down rumors and secured the facts; (3) encouraged the placing of signs on property such as "Not For Sale - we believe in Democracy;"

(4) formed visitation committees to speak to those who may be wavering or who have particular concerns; (5) encourage responsible real estate agencies to show homes to members of all groups; (6) circulated pledge cards indicating reasons for staying in community; and (7) called upon community leaders to discuss the situation in their organizations.

Neighbors' tools are facts and sense. With the one, it hopes to induce the other so that the pace and kind of change will not unbalance the health of the community and the peace of mind of its residents.

It puts out information about real estate values and practices, the cost of moving, neighborhood housekeeping and ways to stifle panic. It works through membership meetings, neighborhood receptions, community speakers, newsletters, block organization, consultation with key people, negotiate with other groups and with real estate men.

It has sponsored clean-up campaigns, a public reception for resident diplomats, clinics for real estate salesmen, programs to help the schools. It helps responsible citizens move in, tries to retain others. The list is as long as Neighbor's imagination can make it.

Neighbors Inc., knows, however, that it is bucking powerful psychological and commercial currents of change; that is, the reason people move out, and the real estate men who hussle them along. Some whites view the prospect of Negro neighbors with concern because of these fears: (1) decline in property values; fortunately Neighbors is able to refute this with the volume of statistics developed by the studies of the Commission on Race and Housing. Interestingly enough a hardware dealer in the area has sold five times more grass seed to Negroes than he ever sold to whites for the same lawns; (2) deterioration of schools; Neighbors, while not denying the cultural disadvantages of many Negroes, cites the notable and presisting achievement record of the Junior and Senior High schools serving the area; (3) "Inundation" by Negroes; Neighbor's whole program works against this fear, particularly its efforts to slow down change and to bring in white families. Many whites of goodwill, it seems, simply don't want to be 'the last white family in the block'; and, (4) lost of status; some whites feel they will be stigmatized as residents of a "colored neighborhood." Again Neighbors tries to build pride and decency, noting the superior education, jobs, and finances of many of its area Negroes.

The high pressure and often subtle racial practices of some fear stricken competitive real estate men are another problem and prehaps the toughest that Neighbors faces. Hair triggered sensitive to the implication that they profiteer on prejudice, the brokers can fairly state that they are filling a real need of house hungry Negroes and that no other complaint to the District Real Estate Commission has ever been substantiated, but the Commission is worried. It has in the works now regulations that would bring speculators, like brokers, under licenses and hence under some control. A broker acts for another for a fee, a speculator buys and sells for himself.

As a measure of Neighbors' success it can cite palpitable lessening of tension and the nurturing of a feeling that the Neighbors' area is a socially valuable neighborhood. The woman buying new carpeting who told the clerk she "went to a meeting of Neighbors' and decided to stay" is pure gravy.

In essence the program of most voluntary housing groups or stabilization groups has been much the same. In Detroit, for instance, some citizens, both Negro and white, have joined in the task of permitting all citizens to live in the area of their choice, without regard to race, creed, religion, national origin. These organizations have assumed the forms like closely knit groups, like block clubs, and loosely knit groups like the Greater Detroit Fair Housing Practices Committee.

A few block clubs have resigned themselves to the possibility of Negroes moving in and are taking the steps to assure orderly move-ins. This assurance is in the form of reading, hearing, and talking about integrated neighborhoods. They talk in terms of neighborhood stability "regardless of racial factors" and the need for "intelligent self interest." A few are undergoing integration without adverse affects. The block club movement for racial integration seems to be "catching fire" throughout the city. The Greater Detroit Fair Housing Practices Committee, a non-profit, volunteer organization, is attempting to integrate all sections of Detroit. The Committee has over one thousand members. The Committee maintains a listing of persons willing to sell to minority groups and also minority persons willing to move into previously non-integrated neighborhoods.

LISTING SERVICES

Many persons active in voluntary housing programs, however, feel that their efforts are doomed to failure unless the tremendous pressure which is built up in the Negro community for better housing can be released. One of the ways some organizations have found to release this energy is the "listing service." The simple objective of each of these organizations is to bring together a willing buyer with a willing seller. In other words, they are merely trying to find buyers who will sell houses without regard to race, creed, or color and to match with them individuals who desire to buy homes in areas not otherwise previously available. Despite indications that an increasing number of citizens are prepared to end racial segregation, the nonwhite potential purchaser is confronted with formidable problems in locating a house which meets his requirements outside of areas of minority residence; the house owner in an all white residential area who wishes to make his property available to a nonwhite purchaser faces the dilemma in locating one; and the white purchaser who wishes to buy in a changing neighborhood encounters reluctant on the part of most brokers. In such situations normal real estate marketing channels break down. With rare exceptions, real estate brokers will handle the sale or rental of property to minority persons only in those areas which the broker deems appropriate. "Appropriate" areas are generally those in which minority families already reside or are immediately adjacent to them. In an effort to meet this problem, as well as other problems faced by minority home seekers, voluntary citizens groups have organized in many cities and communities to facilitate direct buyer seller communications, thus filling the gap created by this breakdown of regular commercial practices.

"Listing Service" ... "Clearinghouse" ... "Introduction Service" ... "Housing Registry" ... "Fair Housing Committee" are among the designations used by these groups.

One of the first of these services was undertaken by the Syracuse Friends Meeting as a six month pilot project and it ran from September 1954 to March 1955. While only one nonwhite family was assisted in purchasing a home in a previously all white area during that period, the experiment left its stamp on Syracuse. The director of the project, while no longer connected with the Friends Meeting program, has continued an informal listing service. This has resulted in the placement of many Negro families in formally restricted neighborhoods. Moreover, the "know how" developed by the Syracuse experiment has had national impact, serving as a guide for many groups. A number of these community organizations have been the natural outgrowth of a "welcome neighbor" or "open occupancy covenant" campaign. Many are related to religious organizations, a dozen or more may be found within the metropolitan expanse of several large cities. There are other common characteristics; they operate squarely at the grass roots; by and large, they are manned by volunteers, with occasional clerical or mechanical assistance provided by civic or religious organizations. Frequently intergroup relation professionals serve as advisors, a few have paid staff. Although programs and methods may vary considerably without exception, the groups are committed to the establishment of a community wide pattern of open occupancy as the only answer to the ghetto.

"Dispersion for Democracy" is the way one committee sums up its program. See Appendix B for a list of organizations offering listing services. It should be noted in passing, however, that the Westchester County Urban League, through its Housing Council has been operating such a listing service for sometime. Similarly the Urban League of Rhode Island conducts a listing service.

An example of the many facets activities which can be generated in a single area may be found in "poor little Rhode Island." The Rhode Island Committee on Discrimination in Housing is a non-business, non-profit, organization constituted in 1955, incorporated in 1958, for the purpose of promoting, among other things, the establishment of "equal opportunity for all residents in Rhode Island and acquiring decent, sanitary, and healthful living quarters, regardless of race, color or religion, national origin or ancestry, in order that the peace, health, safety and general welfare of all inhabitants of that state may be protected and insured." A number of state-wide and local organizations and individuals are represented on the committee. The purposes of the committee are as follows: (1) by providing an advisory service for persons with complaints concerning specific instances of discrimination in housing in Rhode Island based upon race, color, religion or national origin; (2) by determining which organization can best process each complaint, and by referring the complaint to that organization; (3) by processing complaints concerning conditions that this Committee deems itself best qualified to correct, by exposure or other means after careful and thorough study; (4) by providing an informational and educational service as a means of correcting and preventing discrimination and of promoting open occupancy in housing in Rhode Island.

The Rhode Island Committee, along with other groups in the community, was responsible for breaking down discrimination in Public Housing in Rhode Island and the appointment of a part-time race relations officer to facilitate desegration in Public Housing in Rhode Island. The Rhode Island Committee also has a plan to move families into integrated neighborhoods.

Other groups that work in Rhode Island are the Catholic Interracial Council, which has as its purpose the propagation among Catholics, in particular, the doctrine of equal rights, equal dignity and equal destiny of men of all races. Implementation will take place with catholic lay action in all fields of racial prejudice and discrimination prevailed. The Women's Intergroup Conference is a group of women who organized a campaign in Rhode Island to gain pledges from home owners and others that they would allow persons to rent or buy property in their neighborhood without regard to race, religion or national orgin. This is similar to other programs conducted in Washington, D. C., Syracuse, Des Moines and the Champagne - Urbana Illinois area. Universal Homes is a non-profit corporation made up of individuals who are interested in financially assisting Negro families moving out of urban renewal areas to buy homes in integrated areas. There are a number of social action committees that have come into being in some surburban communities and churches. These groups played an important role in assisting in the voluntary fair housing movement and collectively have changed the climate of opinion in Rhode Island. Some of these groups have a semi-independent status and are loosely affiliated with the Rhode Island Committee on discrimination in housing. Most other social action committees, outside of the Catholic Interracial Council, are affiliated with the social action committees of the Rhode Island State Council of Churches. The Urban League of Rhode

Island works with most of these groups, but its principal cooperative efforts are directed towards a group named "The Citizens United for Fair Housing Law," which is the main citizens' organization working to obtain the passage of fair housing legislation in Rhode Island. The League serves as a research arm of the group and has given a great deal of organizational, secretarial and office time and assistance to the fair housing movement.

FAIR HOUSING LEGISLATION

Early Legislation Against Housing Discrimination

The direct legislative approach to discrimination in housing was used only very sparingly up to recent years. True, one of the civil rights laws enacted by Congress during the post-Civil War Reconstruction Period declared that, "All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property. It is also true that this provision, unlike many of its companions, survives to the present day. Yet, it has had little impact on the course of events. The prevailing view is that it limits only government action and thus duplicates the restraints of the fourteenth and fifth amendments. It has been used chiefly as a makeweight in cases decided primarily on constitutional grounds. No other federal laws on discrimination in housing have been adopted, although attempts have been made to add anti-discrimination provisions to pending federal housing bills.

Early state and local laws dealing with housing discrimination followed no clear pattern. A 1921 Kansas law prohibited discrimination by planning commissions. In 1923, Colorado barred racial zoning restrictions. Illinois, in 1941, prohibited discrimination in hiring minority groups to construct redevelopment projects, and a similar law was adopted in Indiana in 1945. A 1919 Minnesota statute which displayed a nice sense of delicacy in prohibiting only those restrictive covenants that were based on religion was amended in 1953 to apply also to racial restrictive covenants.

One of the earliest effective anti-discrimination laws was adopted in New York State in 1939, applicable to all housing built under the state housing statutes. It provided simply, "For all the purposes of this chapter, no person shall, because of race, creed, color or national origin be subjected to any discrimination." Primarily, this meant public housing. Thereafter, a number of other states adopted similar prohibitions of discrimination in public housing, including Massachusetts in 1948, Connecticut and Wisconsin in 1949, New Jersey in 1950, Rhode Island and Michigan in 1952, and, most recently, Indiana in 1961.

Because of the absence of effective enforcement provisions from all but the latest of these statutes, they accomplished very little. Moreover, as we have seen, the "separate but equal" doctrine left room, even here, for segregated facilities. Finally, those statutes that supplied no enforcement provisions added nothing to the prohibition of discrimination by state agencies already embedded in the fourteenth amendment.

As publicly assisted housing became an important part of the housing market, pressure began to accumulate for legislation in this area also. An appealing argument supported such legislation. Housing built with government assistance should be open to all; else, some taxpayers would be excluded from sharing in benefits made possible by their money. An early example of legislation prohibiting discrimination in a particular form of publicly-assisted housing was that adopted in New York City in 1944, providing that no tax exemption was to be given to any future projects where discrimination was practiced. The first comprehensive statute barring discrimination in publicly-assisted housing was the Wicks-Austin law of New York State in 1950, which applied to all housing receiving such substantial forms of public aid as tax exemption, land write-down, and exercise of the power of condemnation. In the same year, New Jersey adopted similar legislation. In 1953, Connecticut adopted an amendment to its general civil rights law prohibiting discrimination in "publicly-assisted" housing, without defining that term.

By 1954, it had become increasingly evident that public and redevelopment housing, which was the principal subject of the laws adopted up to that date, was only a very small portion even of the publicly-assisted housing that was being constructed. It was the housing aided by the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration that formed the great bulk of the homes going up with government assistance. That housing has accounted for the major portion of all non-farm housing constructed since the war.

In 1954, New York City adopted the first Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law, barring discrimination in rental housing receiving FHA or VA mortgage insurance after the effective date of the law. The following year, the New York State Legislature adopted the first Metcalf-Baker Law which banned discrimination in new apartment housing and also in for-sale housing in projects of ten or more units, aided by government-insured mortgages. At this time also, the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission, which administers the Connecticut law barring discrimination in publicly-assisted housing, ruled that it applied to housing receiving FHA or VA assistance.

In 1957, four additional states, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Oregon, and Washington, and in 1959, one more, California, adopted laws of varying degrees of coverage, prohibiting discrimination in housing receiving government insured mortgages.

Meanwhile, attention was also being given to the matter of enforcement procedures. Simple prohibitions accomplish little or nothing in the area of civil rights and penal provisions accomplish little more. Since enactment of the first fair employment laws in 1945 in New York and New Jersey, the trend has been toward enforcement through the administrative process. Starting in 1948, a number of states broadened the jurisdiction of their fair employment agencies by directing them to enforce the already existing laws against discrimination in hotels, railroads, and other places of public accommodation. As early as 1949, Connecticut applied this approach to the matter of discrimination in public housing. On a larger scale, the enforcement of the detailed 1950 and 1955 New York laws against discrimination in publicly-assisted housing, described above, was placed under the jurisdiction of that state's Commission Against Discrimination by 1956.

By 1957, the stage had been set for a break-through into the general private (non-publicly-assisted) housing market. Pressure for action in this area had mounted. Moreover, while there was no proof that the laws against discrimination in publicly-assisted housing had achieved miracles, it was clear that they had not wrought any disasters.

The lead was taken by New York City at the end of 1957 when it adopted the second Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law, prohibiting discrimination in a portion of the general housing market - multiple dwellings (buildings containing three or more housing units) and one and two family homes in projects of ten or more units. A year later, a somewhat broader ordinance was adopted in Pittsburgh.

In 1959, four states enacted fair housing laws of varying degrees of coverage - Colorado, Connecticut , Massachusetts, and Oregon. In 1961, additional laws were enacted in Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, and the New York City, Connecticut and Massachusetts laws were strengthened in a number of respects. In a number of other states, fair housing bills received active consideration and are quite likely to be passed during the next few years.

The eleven laws mentioned above vary greatly both in their substantive provisions and in their enforcement procedures. Of principal importance is the "primary coverage"; that is, the kinds of housing as to which the law prohibits discrimination by the owner in sales and rentals.

The broadest law is that of New York City, as amended in 1961. It applies to all housing except the rental of one of the apartments in a two family home, where the other apartment is occupied by the owner. This is the only law now in effect that applies to the sale or rental of single family homes occupied by the owner.

The new Minnesota law applied to all housing except the rental of an apartment in an owner-occupied two family home and the sale or rental of an owner-occupied one family home. However, this last exception does not apply if the home is covered by a government insured mortgage or has received other forms of public assistance.

The Colorado law applied to all housing except "places maintained by the owner or lessee as the household of his family." It is not clear whether this extends to rentals or sales of an owner-occupied two-family home.

Pennsylvania prohibits discrimination in all housing except owner-occupied one and two family homes.

Oregon uses a somewhat different approach. Its law applies to any person who sells or leases real property "as a business enterprise" or "in connection with or as an incident to his business enterprise."

The New Hampshire law is difficult to classify. It rather ambiguously prohibits discrimination "in the matter of rental or occupancy of a dwelling in a building containing more than one dwelling." It is not clear whether this applies to sales as well as rentals.

The remaining states substantially limit the scope of their laws by numerical minimums. The Connecticut law applies to owners of three or more housing units on contiguous land. This covers both the owner of a three unit building and the owner of three single homes. The Pittsburgh ordinance places the minimum at five housing units without regard to contiguity. The New York State law applies to all multiple dwellings; that is, buildings, the minimum is ten units and they must be located on contiguous land. The Massachusetts law similarly applies to multiple dwellings and one and two family homes in developments of ten or more contiguous units. However, it also applies to housing which was at any time one of ten or more lots on a tract which was submitted to a planning board under the state's Subdivision Control Law. The New Jersey law applies to all real property except owner-occupied one, two, and three family buildings and those one and two family buildings that are not in developments of ten or more houses constructed or to be constructed on contiguous land.

The provisions described above are those applicable to "housing," that is, buildings available for human occupancy. However, a number of the laws go beyond this. The New York State law applies also to "commercial space." that is, space in a building designed for manufacture, sale, storage, and other business and professional purposes. The Minnesota, New Jersey, and Oregon laws apply to all "real property" and therefore include not only commercial space but also vacant land. The Pittsburgh ordinance applies to vacant land that is "available" for housing accommodations. The Connecticut and New York State laws include vacant land if the owner has indicated his intention to build housing on it.

All the laws except those in Connecticut, New Hampshire, and New York City use detailed language to prohibit discrimination based on race, religion, or national origin not only in selling and renting the covered housing but also in the terms and conditions of a sale or lease. The New York City law is less detailed, containing no provision on terms and conditions. The Connecticut law differs from the others in a number of respects, chiefly because it is not basically a fair housing law. This state prohibited discrimination in housing by adding housing accommodations to the definition of "place of public accommodation" in the law prohibiting discrimination in such institutions as hotels, railroads, and bathing beaches. The prohibition applies to "denial of such accommodations." The New Hampshire law is also primarily a law against discrimination in places of public accommodation. As already noted, its terms apply only to "rental or occupancy," leaving some doubt as to its scope.

Most of the statutes have express language making them apply not only to owners but also to their "agents." Even without such provisions, it may be assumed that a real estate agent who discriminates on instructions from his principal is participating in an illegal practice. However, that does not, by itself, take care of the whole problem of discrimination by real estate brokers. As we have seen, there is substantial evidence that much of the discrimination in housing is generated by real estate brokers who, on their own motion and independent of instructions from home owners, refrain from showing property in specified areas to minority groups they regard as undesirable. Moreover, even when the broker's discrimination has the approval of the principal, that fact cannot always be shown. Hence, the laws in Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York State, and New York City contain specific provisions prohibiting discrimination by real estate brokers and salesmen in all housing in which discrimination is prohibited on the part of the owner. The Oregon and

Pittsburgh laws go further. Although the primary coverage of the Oregon law, as already noted, is limited to persons engaged in the business of selling real property, a separate provision makes it illegal for a real estate broker or salesman to accept a listing of any "real property" with the understanding "that a purchaser may be discriminated against." The Pittsburgh law, in which the primary coverage has a limitation of five or more units, prohibits discrimination by real estate brokers and salesmen as to all housing and vacant land available for housing.

In California and Connecticut, the activities of real estate agents have been reached by a different route. In each of these states it has been ruled that real estate agents fall within the scope of the law prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation.

As in the case of real estate brokers, there is substantial evidence that some discrimination originates with banks, insurance companies, and other financial institutions, independent of the instructions of the seller or renter. Thus it is claimed that minority groups are sometimes prevented from buying property in specified areas, even after they have concluded a sales agreement with a willing owner, because they find it impossible to obtain a mortgage from any financial institution.

The laws in Colorado, Minnesota, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York City deal with this by expressly prohibiting discrimination by financial institutions in housing within the primary coverage of the various laws. New York State and Pittsburgh go further. New York State prohibits discrimination by financial institutions as to all housing accommodations and commercial space, and Pittsburgh as to all housing and vacant land available for housing, without regard to the limitations in the primary coverage.

All but one of the laws described above follow the trend toward administrative enforcement already mentioned. The exception is the New Hampshire statute, which provides only that violators may be fined \$10 to \$100. The New York City and Pittsburgh laws, enacted under the limited powers of municipalities, lack the full-dress provisions of the usual administrative statute. They provide for the filing of complaints with an administrative agency, which has power to investigate, to attempt conciliation, and to hold a public hearing. If that does not halt discrimination, the agency must turn the matter over to the city's law officer to bring enforcement proceedings in the courts. The remaining statutes all provide for enforcement by the state agency that has jurisdiction over discrimination in employment and places of public accommodation. The ultimate sanction is the usual provision for a court-enforced agency order.

Two unusual features of the enforcement provisions may be mentioned. The newly enacted Minnesota law was amended in its final stage in the legislature to provide that, when a proceeding is brought in court to review or enforce an order of the administrative agency, the proceeding "shall be de novo and the person complained against shall be entitled, at his request, to a trial by jury." This provision could seriously impair the effectiveness of the new law.

An amendment adopted in Massachusetts last year is designed to deal with a problem that is particularly acute under fair housing laws, including those dealing with publicly-assisted housing. It frequently happens that, by the time the statutory proceedings have been completed, there is no house or apartment available for the complainant. To meet this problem, Massachusetts this year adopted an amendment to its 1959 fair housing law. This provides that, after the administrative agency has investigated a complaint and made an initial determination that there is probably cause to credit its allegations, it may file a petition in court seeking appropriate injunctive relief pending final determination of the proceedings. The court is to grant "such relief; as it deems just and proper."

FEDERAL LEGISLATION

We have purposely omitted any discussion of the promised Presidential Executive Order to bar discrimination in federally-aided housing. We could play games all day on whether it is needed, what it will cover and whether it will be comprehensive enough. Whether the Order is ever promulgated or not, this one measure will not provide a panacea to the problems of housing discrimination. All of the efforts discussed here today, and more will be necessary to insure the distribution of housing without regard to race, creed, or color.

THE ROLE OF THE URBAN LEAGUE

Our Task Force was not unanimous on the role of the Urban League in promoting, relating to, or programming for voluntary fair housing programs and fair housing legislation. Exercising a privilege of the editor, I would say there was fairly general agreement that the Urban League movement must play two roles in promoting fair housing programs:

1. Use every tool available in its traditional framework to effect voluntary and legislative action in this area; and,

2. The League must prepare "ghettoed people for a primary role in seeking new and sometimes isolated housing facilities."

This Task Force, therefore, offers no pat answer to our future role. We see clearly the need for stepping up at all levels our housing programs:

1. To serve as a resource agency for housing information, facts and data in regard to the minority population;
2. To conduct informal housing education activities for the purpose of keeping the general public, particularly minority group residents, informed on facts and fallacies in housing attitudes;
3. To develop such relationships with Builders and Developers as to encourage these groups to build open occupancy houses in larger quantities;
4. To develop relationships with Realtors, property management groups and financial institutions, in efforts to secure for nonwhites a larger share of the prevailing housing supply; and
5. To render wherever practical and feasible, direct service to non-white residents who need assistance in finding suitable housing in areas where they wish to live.

To effectively program in each of these areas will sorely extend many Urban Leagues, but to do less will hardly justify the existence of a housing program.

APPENDIX A

STABILIZATION GROUPS - 1962

Allendale--Lyndhurst
725 Mt. Holly Street, Baltimore, Maryland

American Friends Service Committes (also Friends Com. on Race Relations)
160 No. 15th Street, Philadelphia 2

Ashburton Area Association
3510 White Chapel Road, Baltimore, Maryland

Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc.
10 Light Street, Baltimore 2, Maryland Room 1025

Bolton Hill, Inc.
1306 John Street, Baltimore Maryland

Burlington County Council
P. O. Box 181, Moorestown, New Jersey

Clinton Hill
26 Shanley Avenue, Newark, New Jersey

Committee on Civil Rights in Metropolitan New York, Inc.
225 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York Room 403

Elite Housing Corp. and Rochester Community Developers
40 Cypress Street, Rochester 20, New York

Friends Suburban Housing
53 Cricket Avenue, Ardmore, Pennsylvania

Great Neck Committee for Human Rights
Great Neck, Long Island, New York

Greater Seattle Housing Council
c/o Kelvin Greenstreet, 321 2nd and Cherry Building, Seattle 4, Washington

Homewood-Brushton Association
c/o Human Relations Commission, 518 City County Building, Pittsburgh, Pennslyvania

Housing Opportunities Made Equal
1547 Parker Street, Berkeley 3, California

Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference
1307 East 53rd Street, Chicago 15, Illinois

Ludlow Community Association
3021 Keswick Road, Shaker Heights 20, Ohio

Maple Valley Neighborhood Association
869 Winton Avenue, Akron 20, Ohio

STABILIZATION GROUPS - Page Two

Neighbors, Unlimited
c/o Donald Sullivan, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Park Hill Action Committee
c/o Anti-Discrimination Commission, 328 State Services Building, Denver, Colorado

Powelton Village Development Association and Powelton Neighbors
3601 Powelton Avenue, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Sedgwick, Neighbors, Association
361 E. Gorgas Lane, Philadelphia 19, Pennsylvania

Tri-Community Council (Kaurelton, Springfield Gardens and Rosedale)
218-10 - 130th Avenue, Queens, New York

West End Community Conference
950 Hamilton Avenue, St. Louis 12, Missouri

Winconneconna Lakes Improvement Association
7657 S. Normal Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois

Winsor Hills Improvement Association
c/o Mrs. H. A. Sachs, 2411 Talbor Road, Baltimore, Maryland

Neighbors, Inc.
5802 Georgia Avenue, Northwest, Washington 11, D.C.

APPENDIX B

Some Voluntary "listing services":

California

HOME (Housing Opportunities Made Equal), 1957
Parker Street, Berkeley 3, California

FAIR PLAY COUNCIL OF CENTRAL CONTRA COSTA COUNTY, INC.,
86 Gilardy Drive, Concord, California

PALO ALTO FAIR PLAY COUNCIL
Room 8, 180 University Avenue, Palo Alto, California

HOP (Housing Opportunities Program) Council for Civic Unity
437 Market Street, San Francisco 5, California

SAN JOSE GROUP
493 East San Fernando Street, San Jose 12, California

Connecticut

HOP (Housing Opportunities Program)
65 Wethersfield Avenue, Hartford, Connecticut

HOME (Housing Opportunities Made Equal)
c/o Human Relations Council of Greater New Haven, Inc., 39 Church Street
New Haven 10, Connecticut

District of Columbia

NATIONAL CAPITAL CLEARING HOUSE FOR NEIGHBORHOOD DEMOCRACY
1114 Rhode Island Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

NEIGHBORS, INC.
5802 Georgia Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

Illinois

COUNCIL FOR COMMUNITY INTEGRATION OF CHAMPAIGN-URBANA
1906 S. Vine Street, Urbana, Illinois

HOME, INC., OF GREATER CHICAGO (Home Opportunities Made Equal)
620 South Cuyler Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois

Iowa

DES MOINES COMMITTEE ON INTERGRATED HOUSING
4211 Grand Avenue, Des Moines 12, Iowa

Appendix B - Page Two
Some Voluntary "listing services":

Massachusetts

COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Minnesota

UNITARIANS FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING
900 Mt. Curve Avenue, Minneapolis 5, Minnesota

New Jersey

BURLINGTON COUNTY HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL
P. O. Box 204, Riverton, New Jersey

PRINCETON HOUSING GROUP
Princeton, New Jersey

New York

CITIZENS HOUSING COMMITTEE
31 Exchange Street, Rochester 14, New York

HOUSING COUNCIL, URBAN LEAGUE OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY, INC.
6 Depot Plaza, White Plains, New York

Ohio

METROPOLITAN COMMITTEE ON OPEN OCCUPANCY
Cleveland, Ohio

APPENDIX C

States which have adopted anti-bias, fair housing legislation applicable to the private housing market:

- Alaska
- California
- Colorado
- Connecticut
- Massachusetts
- Minnesota
- New Hampshire
- New Jersey
- New York
- Oregon *
- Pennsylvania

*The Oregon statute has been declared unconstitutional since it was applicable only to government supported housing.

City Measures

Fifty cities have laws or resolutions affecting discrimination in housing or have taken action covering specific projects. In addition to New York City and Pittsburgh, which bar discrimination in private housing they apply as follows:

Public Housing - Thirty-two cities have provisions applying to this area: Phoenix, Arizona; Fresno, Richmond and San Francisco, California; Hartford, Connecticut; Wilmington, Delaware; Washington, D.C.; Chicago, Illinois; South Bend, Indiana; Baltimore, Maryland; Boston, Massachusetts; Detroit, Hazel Park, Mount Clemens, Pontiac, Saginaw and Superior Township, Michigan; Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota; Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri; Omaha, Nebraska; Newark, New Jersey; Cleveland and Toledo, Ohio; Chester, Delaware County, Erie and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Providence, Rhode Island; Pasco, Washington; and Superior, Wisconsin

Publicly-assisted and/or urban redevelopment housing - Twenty-six cities have provisions applying to this area: Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento and San Francisco, California; Denver, Colorado; Hartford, Connecticut; Washington, D.C.; Chicago, Illinois; LaPorte, Michigan City and Mishawaka, Indiana; Des Moines, Iowa; Inkster, Mount Clemens and Superior Township, Michigan; Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota; Fargo, North Dakota; Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Hamilton and Toledo, Ohio; Providence, Rhode Island; Madison and Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

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[1962?]

HOUSING PROGRAM

INFORMATION FOR TEAM MEMBERS

CONFIDENTIAL

Because of the barriers facing minority groups in New York City in the area of housing, New York CORE's Housing Committee has decided to use an old and proven system of "teams" for persons interested in promoting OPEN OCCUPANCY.

In order for the "system" to be successful, there are a few particulars that must be followed. It should be understood that these particulars might vary according to the situation; however, the general principles must be kept in mind at all times since you are representing yourself, a technique, and the ethics of CORE.

DRESS:

It is necessary that all participants, whether minority or control, be dressed appropriately. It is conceivable that a housewife would go out on a Saturday afternoon looking for an apartment wearing slacks or pedal pushers. However, since we will be working on "soft" ground, ladies should refraim from wearing slacks. Young men should wear neck ties and be well-shaved, etc.

DECORUM:

Participants should at all times refrain from arguing or losing their tempers, although there might be provocation with superintendents, rental agents, or brokers. This might, in the case of the minority, be used as a "reason" for not finding you a suitable tenant.

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS ESSENTIAL FOR CHECKERS (white) WHEN ESTABLISHING THE AVAILABILITY OF AN APARTMENT.

I. Before Looking At Apratment:

A. Contact minority person to get the following information. This may be done by telephone but in person is preferable. If the contact between minority and control is made in person be sure it is a reasonable distance from the apartment or house that is being checked. You may use a coffee shop, or park for this meeting:

1. Number of rooms desired (get specifications such as separate dining area, window in kitchen, rooms off foyer, number of bedrooms, closet space, etc.) However, the checkers will not use all of the exact minor specifications, just enough to make requirements similar, number in family and their sex.
2. Rental Range (for example: $90 - $100)
3. How long at present address.
4. The approximate salary range that control should give.
5. Employment, where, how long, type (for checker this need not be real.)
6. Utilities, gas included in rent, electricity included in rent.
7. Will you do your own decorating.
8. Lease (term of Lease)
    A. security deposit.

The above information is necessary in order to avoid the element of competition between the minority and checker, and also it is necessary that both applicants, checker and bona-fide have like specifications.

Since the checker is only trying to establish the availability of the unit in question, it is hoped that all of this information will not be needed, but checker should have a plausible story prepared JUST IN CASE.

II. WHEN YOU VISIT APARTMENT

A. Identify yourself and ask to see the available apartment (s) mentioning how you heard of it (if feasible).

1. Get the name of persons showing apartment.
2. Find out if person showing apartment is the person that will do the actual renting. If not, try to see this person. Be persistent but courteous.
3. Get all the pertinent information on the amount of rent and the lease terms.
4. Make a mental note of obvious repairs needed and find out if owner will make repairs with no cost to you.
5. After you have asked pertinent questions, and established the fact that the apartment is definitely available, stop the interview by saying that you would like to contact your husband, or intended husband, or some reasonable excuse. If a husband and wife team is looking at apartment, simply say that you will call him, that you want to discuss it further. DO NOT SAY THAT YOU WILL TAKE APARTMENT. DO NOT LEAVE YOUR TELEPHONE NUMBER.

III. ON LEAVING APARTMENT:

A. Immediately contact your minority team member and pass on whatever information you have about the apartment. You then wait for the minority to make application. After the checker and minority have finished checking the apartment, the two persons will compare notes. If the minority would like to secure apartment and if there is evidence of discrimination, N. Y. CORE will aid in filing complaints. If there is doubt, a member of the housing committee should be contacted. (You will be given the name of the person to contact when you are given assignment.)

IV. ANSWERING NEWSPAPER AD OR SIGN OUTSIDE APARTMENT

In this instance a minority person investigates a sign outside an apartment building or newspaper ad. He feels that he was denied an apartment, or the apartment was not shown to him because of his race. The minority persons calls CORE. A checker is assigned to the minority. The same procedure is used, however, instead of a bona-fide minority making the second check, a minority member of the housing committee will pose as an apartment seeker.

V. APPLYIN AT BROKER'S OFFICE

The brokers office to be visited will be determined by the minority member of the team. This may be done by various ways:

1. A listing in the newspaper
2. At random from the yellow pages
3. Suggestion from a friend

The checker should follow the same procedure outlined under Section I - BEFORE LOOKING AT APARTMENT. Checker should, however, add one specification, LOCATION. By location, east side, west side, Bronx (east or west), Queens, etc.

After the cover information has been established, the checker should Proceed as follows:

AT BROKERS OFFICE

Ask to see someone who can give you information about apartments. Try to see an agent. In some offices the receptionist serves a dual purpose. Be sure to be specific in:

1. number of rooms
2. location - (be sure to give boundaries as to street).

3. rental range (lee-way should be allowed)

(this information will have been obtained from your minority team mate.)

IF BROKER OFFERS YOU AN APARTMENT:

Take the address, being sure that you have the apartment specifications (size, rental, lease information) and proceed to meet your minority teammate.

Minority proceed to broker's office.

Your teammate returns-you check to see if Broker has offered the same apartment to both of you, if so, well and good, if not you will proceed to investigate the apartment offered you (checker). The minority teammate will proceed to check-out apartment offered to him. It will be necessary for the team members to discuss the apartments seen. This is necessary to compare the "type" of apartments offered to the white applicant and the minority applicant.

[1962-1963]

IF YOU ARE ARRESTED

WHAT HAPPENS?
WHAT ARE YOUR RIGHTS?
WHAT ARE YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES?
HOW DO YOU GET A LAWYER?
HOW DO YOU GET BAIL?
DO YOU HAVE TO MAKE A STATEMENT?
WHAT HAPPENS IN COURT?

prepared by
CLEVELAND CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

WHEN YOU ARE ARRESTED . . .

The law says that arrest is "taking a person into custody so that he may be held to answer for a crime." If you are arrested, you have rights which protect you from unfair pressures. The policeman who may arrest you also has his job to do, and you must respect it. He stands for law and order, and he has a duty to his community.

I. THE ARREST

WHAT IF YOU ARE INNOCENT?

Even if you think you are not guilty, it is a crime to resist an officer who arrests you lawfully. Respect him. Be polite and not disorderly. If it turns out that you have been arrested illegally, you can sue the policeman for false arrest. But remember if the arrest was a lawful one, the fact that you are innocent does not give you the right to collect damages.

WHAT CAN YOU BE ARRESTED FOR?

Every criminal offense is either a felony or a misdemeanor. Any offense for which you can be punished by death or imprisonment in the penitentiary is a felony—all other offenses are misdemeanors.

CAN A POLICEMAN USE FORCE?

Yes, if you resist a lawful arrest. No force may be used by a policeman after you are arrested, unless you resist or attempt to escape.

WHEN CAN YOU BE ARRESTED?

A policeman may arrest you without a warrant:

1. If he sees you commit a violation of the law—or if he sees you try to commit one.
2. If the policeman has reason to believe you committed a felony, even if he was not there at the time.

In most situations a policeman must have a warrant to arrest you for a misdemeanor, if he did not see you do it himself.

WHAT IS A WARRANT?

A warrant is an order signed by a magistrate or a judge. It is issued on a complaint by someone, and it charges that you committed a crime. The warrant must list the charges against you. You can ask to see it.

II. AT THE POLICE STATION

DO YOU HAVE TO ANSWER QUESTIONS?

You should cooperate with the police and you may tell what you know, but you cannot be forced to give a statement in writing or orally to the police about a crime with which you are or may be charged. Physical force cannot be used, and the promise of a policeman to help you get a lighter punishment in exchange for a confession does not bind the court.

CAN YOU NOTIFY A LAWYER?

Yes. The law provides that you have a right to obtain a lawyer and a right to speak with him privately. A policeman or jailer will telephone or carry a message to your family or any lawyer you name.

CAN YOU BE RELEASED ON BAIL?

You have the right to apply promptly for bail. Bail permits you to be released from jail. Bail is an amount of money or other security deposited with the proper official to make sure that you will appear in court. For some minor offenses, the police may release you on bail. In other cases, a judge fixes the amount of bail, and you have a right to be brought before him without unnecessary delay. A professional bondsman may provide the bond. For this service you will be charged a fee. If you are charged with a very serious crime, such as murder or kidnapping, bail may not be permitted. Bondsmen's fees depend upon the size of the bail. There are no charges fixed by law, but the fee may be as high as ten per cent of the bail.

III. IN THE COURT

WHEN DO YOU FIRST APPEAR IN COURT?

After you have been charged, you are entitled to be taken before the court without unnecessary delay. You are entitled to know the exact nature of the charge against you. If you are unable to speak or understand English, you may and should demand an interpreter. You should insist that there be no proceedings until you have an interpreter.

WHAT HAPPENS DURING YOUR FIRST APPEARANCE?

This depends on the charge against you. In misdemeanor cases, the entire case may be disposed of the first time you are in Court. In felony, cases, the Court may determine only if there is reasonable cause for your arrest in connection with the crime named.

SHOULD YOU HAVE A LAWYER WITH YOU?

If you are charged with a felony, you should have a lawyer. If you do not know a lawyer, ask the police or the judge to tell you how to reach one. If you are without money to pay a lawyer, the Court, in felony cases, will appoint one for you.

If you have been charged with a felony, you may not be tried until the Grand Jury has found there is good reason to believe you committed the crime charged and returns an indictment. Then you will be brought before a judge to plead "guilty" or "not guilty." This procedure is called the arraignment. If you plead not guilty, your case will be assigned for trial. You can ask for a lawyer on arraignment.

If you are able to pay a lawyer, but neither you nor any member of your family knows one, you should call one of the following offices:

CLEVELAND BAR ASSOCIATION
CH 1-3485

CUYAHOGA COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION
MA 1-5112

IV. CONCLUSION

In summary, the usual procedure is for the police officer to take a person suspected of crime to a police station. They may question you, but you cannot be forced to answer questions which may be used against you later in court. If you are not released, you must be brought before a magistrate (usually a judge in police court) promptly (usually in one or two days). You have the right to be informed of the reason for your arrest and the crime charged. In misdemeanors, trial may be had. In a felony case, it is the magistrate's duty to determine only if there is reasonable cause for your arrest. You may ask to have a hearing. Then the prosecutor will present the main facts of the case against you. If you know why you are arrested and your connection with the crime, you may waive a hearing. Waiver is not an admission of guilt. The amount of bail will be set.

If you have a lawyer, you should ask for your case to be postponed to a later date so he can be present, before you waive a hearing or other action is taken.

If you are not discharged, a felony case will be "bound over" to the grand jury. Usually it hears only police witnesses. You do not appear. If it returns an indictment against you, you again will be brought before a judge for "arraignment." At this time you enter a plea of "guilty" or "not guilty," bail is reset, and a lawyer will be appointed by the court for you if you cannot afford one and so request.

This statement has been prepared by the Cleveland Civil Liberties Union as an outline of the rights guaranteed to all persons by the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Ohio, and by the laws governing criminal procedure. However, this is *only* an outline of your rights and should be used only as a guide until you have a lawyer.

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Mrs. [illegible] Comm.

DIGEST OF FAIR HOUSING BILL - House Bill #308

Introduced into the Ohio House of Representatives on February 12, 1963, by Rep. David Albritton (R-Dayton), and co-sponsored by Reps. Stanley J. Aronoff (R-Cincinnati), Carlton Davidson (R-Ironton), A. G. Lancione (D-Minority Leader, Bellaire), and Carl B. Stokes (D-Cleveland) . . .

I This Bill prohibits the following unfair housing practices:

A. Housing Transactions

On ground of race, color, religion, natural origin, or ancestry to refuse to sell, rent, lease or transfer housing, or refuse to negotiate for such purposes, or represent that housing is not available for inspection when in fact it is, or to discriminate in the terms, conditions or privileges of any housing transaction.

B. Financial Transaction in Housing

Inquiry by a financial institution as to the race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of any person seeking financial assistance in connection with housing or a similar inquiry about the prospective occupants of the housing for which financing is being sought. Also, discrimination in the terms, conditions, or privileges relating to obtaining financial assistance.

C. Housing Advertising

Printing or publishing of any notice or advertisement relating to housing which indicates any preference, limitation, or specification based on race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

D. Other

Aiding, inciting, or otherwise instigating the committing of unfair housing practices or obstructing compliance with the fair housing law; and soliciting housing listings or transactions by misrepresentation about the prospective racial, religious, or nationality composition of a neighborhood (panic-selling).

II The Bill applies to:

A. Property owners

B. Real estate brokers and salesmen

C. Real estate and property management persons or organizations

D. The state, political subdivisions, public authorities

E. Any other person having the power to transfer or rent property

III Coverage

All housing is subject to the act except two categories:

A. Rental accommodations in two-family units in which the owner maintains his family's home in one of the units at the time of rental.

B. Accommodations in a one family dwelling in which the owner or occupant rents one or more of the rooms to another person.

Also subject to the act is all vacant land for sale or lease for housing accommodations.

IV The Ohio Civil Rights Commission would administer the act.

Administrative procedures similar to those used in the employment and public accommodations acts are provided for. After a finding of just cause, the Commission would NOW be permitted to seek an interim court injunction to maintain the status quo of a housing transaction which is in the investigation or conciliation process.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
426 West 58th Street
New York 19, New York
JUdson 6-3460

June 25, 1963

PROGRAM SUGGESTIONS FOR ENDING DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY-AIDED HOUSING

I. Full-scale campaign for President to extend coverage of the Housing Executive Order to include

1) All housing produced, financed or assisted by any bank supervised by the Federal Government; i.e., Federal savings and loan associations which are chartered by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board or are members of the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation; banks in the Federal Reserve System or whose deposits are covered by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; and national banks supervised by the Controller of the Currency; and

2) All existing federally-aided housing.

II Suggestions for action or investigation by the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing. The President's Committee should lend its full support to pressing for extension of the Executive Order, as suggested above. In addition, there is tremendous need for a few dramatic successes under the Order and for public demonstration by the Committee of a tough, forceful position. Specifically, we suggest the following:

1) Hearing Procedures. A thoroughgoing analysis of the case processing procedures now provided by the various agencies under the Executive Order to determine their efficacy and fairness. Provision for appeal beyond the Commissioners to the President's Committee should be made. At the present time, the hearing officer is the local field office director with appeal to the Commissioner. Query: Should the person who is in charge of the program at the local level be the hearing officer in the first instance? Should not a reconstituted and reorganized intergroup relations service (see suggestion No. 6) play a role here?

2) FHA. Thoroughgoing analysis of the FHA and VA rules and regulations with particular reference to the following:

a) The administrative exclusion of one- and two-family houses which have been occupied by the owner. The President's Executive Order itself does not require this. Query: Why this exemption? What would it mean if it were eliminated?

b) The "hang-over" situation, as exemplified in the cases against William Levitt in Belair, Md., where commitments were issued prior to the November 20th cut-off, but remain unused. FHA will not use any sanctions, either withdrawal of outstanding commitments or refusal to issue more, to force open occupancy with regard to housing not specifically within the mandatory terms of Section 101 of the Order. A suggestion has been made that a doctrine of "clean hands" be applied; that is, compliance with even the "good offices" Section 102 before a builder could come in and ask for additional aid any place in the country.

We cannot overemphasize the symbolic nature of successfully handling Mr. Levitt. In addition to building in Belair, Levitt has reported that he will build in New York and Florida. Query: Will he ask for anything from FHA in these two new developments? If so, could not these be withheld until he complies fully with the spirit of the Order in Belair?

c) FHA and VA rules now require from the builder a promise that he will not discriminate. They do not, however, require the inclusion in the deed to the property a covenant running with the land prohibiting discrimination. Such a covenant is required to be placed on urban renewal project land. Query: Should not such a covenant in the deed to run with the land be

(1) required by FHA and VA? This flows logically from FHA's past history of (through 1949) including a model race restrictive covenant in its underwriters manual and prohibiting such inclusion in a recorded deed after 1949.

(2) required on all government-owned properties, such as FHA- and VA-acquired properties?

(3) required by all government agencies which aid in land development, such as the Community Facilities, etc.?

d) Is information readily available regarding what housing is or will be covered by the Executive Order in each community? At the present time, FHA requires that at the end of each business day all applications for commitments received be publicly posted on the bulletin board of each local insuring office. Query:

(1) Couldn't these lists be sent out to selected groups, particularly where local insuring offices spread out geographically? (Such mailing is done by the local FHA and VA office in New York State.)

(2) Shouldn't these lists be made up when the commitment (conditional or firm) is issued, rather than at the application stage? There is a high mortality rate between the application and the commitment, and in any event a lag of some 18 months before the subdivision is even begun.

3) Section 102 of the Executive Order provides for the use of litigation, when necessary, in order to carry out the Government's "good offices" to bring about open occupancy. Query: Should not the Department of Justice, in cooperation with the general counsels' offices of the various operating agencies, determine very quickly what litigation means in this context and in what areas it should be brought first?

Suggestion: Public housing, where the Federal Government provides subsidy payments each year to maintain the low-rent character of the developments, and where the constitutional principles of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments seem clearly to bar segregated facilities. In this area, local public housing authorities should be informed that unless they voluntarily open up all their existing developments, litigation will be resorted to. Similarly, multi-family FHA apartment houses constructed under the now-expired Section 608 or cooperatives constructed under Section 213. In both of these situations, FHA maintains a very close, continuing relationship with the property.

For example, FHA is the majority stockholder and sits on the board of directors of every 608 development (there are 400,000 units of such housing). In addition, FHA supervises the operation of these developments, requiring its approval for such things as re-financing, rent increases, approval of the managing agent, expenditures from reserve funds, etc.

4) Site Selection and Planning. It is often by planning and site selection that the racial characteristics of a particular project are inevitably determined. Are there not criteria that could be developed to insure that the planning, location, and price of all federally-aided projects contribute to an open housing market in order to be approved? This principle applies clearly with regard to urban renewal and public housing, and in many cases to FHA.

In approving a site which involves the dislocation of a substantial number of minority group families, the local public agency should be required to show that the site is not being selected for that purpose and that the dislocation itself is not discriminatory.

The new URA requirements with regard to Community Renewal Plans are a step in the right direction. These require identification by the community of population trends, where Negroes are living and where they are moving, and delineation of the steps being taken by the community to encourage open occupancy. Query: Should the Workable Program not have an additional element, i.e., delineation of how the community is meeting minority housing problems?

5) Relocation. What standards should be adopted in order to insure that relocation in reality be a positive tool that adds to open occupancy and fosters integration, and in no event contributes to further segregation? New URA regulations require that a local public agency may only list open occupancy housing as a relocation resource.

6) Race Relations Services. It is ironic that just at the time when this over-twenty-year-old arm of the Federal housing agencies could contribute most, it is being under-utilized. An immediate analysis should be made of how the race relations services of HHFA, URA, FHA, and PHA should be reconstituted, augmented, and their responsibilities redefined so that they may play a positive role with regard to community education, staff education, and program review.

7) Internal and External Education. Precise, hard-hitting materials must be prepared for the general public and for the staff of all agencies involved. Query: Who is to prepare these materials? What is being done? How much coordination is necessary?

8) Cooperative Agreements with Cities and States which have Local Fair Housing Laws and Local Enforcement Agencies. Are these cooperative agreements being worked out? If so, by whom? Should not the President's Committee coordinate this activity so that they are worked out similtaneously by all Federal agencies involved and the state and local enforcement agency follow a basic form, including reciprocal cooperation in implementing the Executive Order and the state or local law?

9) What is the President's Committee doing to "encourage educational programs by ... non-governmental groups," as required by the Order?

: : :

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November 1963

Dear Friend:

Since the recent court action, the subject of future operation of our state parks has had the attention of all South Carolinians. Although this matter requires an immediate decision, the issues involved are far reaching and will be a public concern for some time, since cities will be facing a similar situation. The decision is crucial; to what extent will the present and future generations of South Carolinians have facilities for leisure time activities?

In the interest of helping opinion makers and other thoughtful citizens to become more informed about the far-reaching effects of South Carolina's decision on state parks, we have gathered together data which is pertinent to the problem as a whole. By outlining various facets of the closed-park possibility, and by summarizing ways in which other areas have responded to the realities of the situation, we have attempted to put the problem in perspective for those who are concerned about it.

The booklet which we enclose has been prepared from sources of public information. We hope you will read it carefully, and we would appreciate having you send any comments that you care to make.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff
Courtney Siceloff

cs/bm

NOTES TOWARD A MASTER PLAN a proposal on unemployment by Arlon R. Tussing

Department of Economics
SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE
SEPTEMBER, 1963

One out of fifteen does not seem so many. Only about 6½% of American workers are without jobs, and half of them will find some work within six weeks. But who are the 6½%? Because they are concentrated among the untrained and uneducated, hundreds of thousands have no hope ever to find work. Because they are concentrated in certain industries and trades, whole communities are in crisis or decay. Since the jobs destroyed by new machines every day are mostly in organized mass production industries, labor organizations are shrinking and their power is on the decline. As long as the jobless include one out of every six Negro workers, the Civil Rights movement can not hope to win equality. Because the number of workers is growing faster than the number of jobs, one out of three young people leaving school can find no work, and we can expect unemployment and juvenile crime to grow side by side.

The effects and the atmosphere of mass unemployment pervade the minority ghettoes of our cities, and the fear of automation makes the possibility of unemployment a real one for millions more so far untouched. The question of jobs then has a special political significance. It is the one issue on which the unions and the Negro people can unite into the only political coalition which could break the power of the Southern oligarchy in Congress . . .

NOT "FULL EMPLOYMENT" BUT JOBS!

At one time, "the right to work" was a central labor demand. But even before that phrase was captured by the open-shoppers, the concept of the right of a job had been eclipsed by the Keynesian notion of "full employment". According to economists, the number of jobs depended directly on the amount of private and public spending, so that the cure for unemployment was more government spending or less taxation, or both. In the Employment Act of 1946, the Congress declared its intention to use the government budget to create and maintain". . . conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities . . . . for those able, willing, and seeking work . . ." But "full employment" never meant a job for everyone. Various authorities have suggested that we define full employment as a situation where 2, 3 or 4 per cent of those willing to work are unemployed, and the "tolerable" level of unemployment seems to be rising year by year. (A newer definition would make full employment a state in which the number out of work does not exceed the number of unfilled job vacancies.) So the abstract goal of full employment unites Republicans and Democrats, business and labor, conservatives and socialists, but no one seems to demand a job for every worker.

If the goal of full employment itself is vague and inadequate, the budget or fiscal approach to the problem has both political and economic shortcomings. Public spending is a very blunt weapon, and its operation is wrapped in technical subtleties. Under the American political system, the Federal budget is not considered or voted on as a whole, but each spending program must be justified on its own merits, and by who benefits by it. Each tax program raises first the question of who pays how much taxes. So it is unlikely Congress will ever write a budget primarily designed to promote full employment, and labor and civil rights organizations will have a hard time generating pressure from their members in favor of a tax cut as a solution to their employment problems. Today, every pressure group in the nation, including big business, is for the President's tax cut program, but public opinion polls show that the people are very skeptical, and the foot-dragging of the Congress reflects this fact.

Even the professional economists admit that more government spending will put to work only part of the unemployed. More spending will swell job vacancies for scarce, highly skilled workers in growing industries - - - much more than it will in unskilled and semi-skilled work in declining or automating industries. For this reason, inflation will become serious long before all the jobless can be put back to work; cost of living increases will surely raise opposition to continued budget deficits, and large sections of the working people will join this opposition as they have in the past.

THE RIGHT TO WORK

I propose that we abandon the confusing and misleading demand for a full employment policy, and raise instead the much more radical demand, *the right of every American, 18 to 65, to a job*! We demand a Federal Law to this effect, and propose a program to implement it. The demand itself is concrete and unambiguous, and all arguments against it are either cynically unsympathetic to the plight of the "other America", or are stuffy and technical, or both. Our emphasis should be on the basic demand, and on our insistence that wealthy America *can* provide a job for everyone who wants one. While every detail need not be spelled out, we can propose a concise and non-technical program to abolish unemployment. I feel that the program below meets these needs; the demands are stated in logical order rather than in their order of political importance:

I. *An effective job-finding service*. The USES is far less effective than it might be. The number of "frictionally" unemployed, that is, those who are "between jobs", is scandalously high. It is generally assumed to be about 3% of the labor force in the U.S., in contrast to less than 1% in Western Europe and in Japan. Among industrialized nations only the USSR's job-finding system is worse (it has none). A serious attempt to provide jobs for everyone requires someone to know what vacancies exist and where they are. Only a tiny fraction of job openings are listed with the Employment Service, and they are almost always the worst. *The first step then is to require that all job vacancies, their qualifications and rate of pay, be listed with the Employment Service*. With modern information handling systems, there is no reason why a worker could not walk into an employment office anywhere and within a few minutes have a report on any and all jobs for which he is qualified anywhere in the country. This plan would be bitterly resisted by employers, of course, because it would also give *employed* workers information about opportunities and wage rates elsewhere, and would reduce the opportunities for racial discrimination, nepotism and other forms of favoritism which are beloved as "management prerogatives."

II. *Retraining, retirement, relocation*. After (say) six weeks of unemployment, compensated in much the same fashion as present unemployment benefits, a worker would be able to choose between:

A. *retirement* on full Social Security benefits for workers over 50 who are unable to find suitable work in their local labor markets;

B. *relocation* at government expense (cash grants and/or long term loans) for workers who can find jobs which require moving. The Employment service might also assist the worker in selling his old house and in finding suitable housing at his destination;

C. *retraining* at government expense, plus subsistence and family allowances during training, for any occupation in which there is a labor shortage, and for which an aptitude test shows the worker trainable. This privilege must include remedial education for those in need of it, and ought to extend to college work or those able to profit from it, as well as more narrowly "vocational" training. All openings in apprenticeship programs and other private training opportunities would be listed with the Service in the same manner as job openings. Special emphasis on inclusion of minority groups by location of programs and emphasis in recruiting participants.

III. Public employment. The remainder of the unemployed, those who can not find any job for which they are qualified, and who can not for any reason be retrained or relocated, would be guaranteed public employment on projects to be established locally for the purpose. Such projects would supplement, but not replace, such programs as the proposed Youth Conservation Corps or Domestic Peace Corps. These workers would be paid the legal minimum wage, making it the absolute income floor for every person willing to work. I suggest a program conditional upon local participation (cities and counties could participate if a State rejected the program or failed to act), with 90% of the funds coming from Federal sources and 10% from the State (or community). The projects on which the workers are to be employed would be chosen and administered locally by committees including labor and minority representatives (to guarantee that the projects would not be used as a source of cheap labor in competition with employed and organized workers and significant numbers of minority employees would be included). The provision for local administration, and the high proportion of Federal funds, would undoubtedly make the program more attractive to the people of socially backward communities which need it most, but from whose ruling cliques most of the opposition will come. The fight over joining the program to get the 90% Federal share (carrying with it of course, minimum standards and anti-discrimination provisions) would "realign" the politics of a Southern town overnight.

EFFECTS

A program like this could eliminate unemployment as we know it; it would also have many virtuous side effects. By providing jobs or training rather than unemployment benefits or relief payments to the unemployed, we can minimize the demoralizing effect of long unemployment which now makes a man on relief for a year or two "unemployable" for the rest of his life. It reassures the "puritans" among the middle class and among workers that their taxes are not being used to support "chiselers". (The number of unemployment and relief chiselers is very small, but they are a big element in the psychology of opposition to social insurance.) It makes for a better allocation of labor, and for that reason should increase productivity. It provides a strong incentive for workers to improve their competitive position via education, and is a beginning of the principle that everyone is entitled to as much education as he is capable of using.

Above all, each of the items in the program is clearly and directly addressed to the problems of unemployment. Control over spending is still used to influence the number of jobs in the private economy, but because spending on training programs, pensions and public employment will vary directly with the level of unemployment there. If inflation becomes a problem, it can still be fought with monetary methods without the fear that tight money will cause mass unemployment. To the extent that anti-inflation policy did cause layoffs in industry, it would provide an additional impetus for redistribution and retraining of the labor force in the direction of greater efficiency.

Program Dept.
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MEETING OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE TO
WORK WITH THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING
October 11, 1963

Present: Frances Levenson, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, Chairman; George Schermer and David Gerard, President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing; Reginald Johnson, National Urban League; Harry Fleischman, American Jewish Committee; Dr. Frank Horne, Consultant, New York City Housing and Redevelopment Board; Edward Rutledge and Doris Beausoleil, State Commission for Human Rights; Ralph Showalter, Housing and Home Finance Agency; Charlotte Meacham, American Friends Service Committee.

Regrets: Marvin Gilman, Renewal Developers, Inc.; Boris Shishkin, AFL-CIO; Jack Wood, New York City Commission on Human Rights.

The Subcommittee addressed itself to (1) which city -- or cities -- should be chosen for pilot conferences with the President's Committee; (2) how and by whom such conferences should be initiated and implemented; and (3) who should be invited and the content, purpose, and follow-up of the conferences.

It was noted by the President's Committee representatives that those cities within the purview of state fair housing laws or local ordinances are also being considered as pilot possibilities and that the choice is not to be restricted to one area alone. Market areas where interest exists and nonwhite buyers seek to move was stressed as important since the ultimate goal of the program is the actual move of nonwhite families into previously all-white areas.

Strong support was voiced for this goal. It was pointed out, however, that the prestige and authority of the Federal Government were needed to achieve it, and it was felt that the President's Committee should initiate the conferences, calling upon the services of the Federal agencies within the HHFA to assist in setting them up. An example was given of HHFA's activity when it sent staff to its several Regions to work with local people in setting up conferences to explain the 1961 Housing Act. The Executive Order should be matter-of-factly handled in the same way.

It was therfore recommended by the Subcommittee that: (1) Conferences be held in those several cities where HHFA has Regional offices (plus Washington, D. C.); that responsibility be placed on the Regional HHFA Administrator to use his operational and intergroup staff, as well as those of the HHFA constituent agencies in planning with the President's Committee for area conferences.

(2) The conferences be initiated by the President's Committee, to be carried out by the HHFA agencies, thus utilizing to the fullest the prestige and moral authority of Government, bolstering the local and private agencies and providing them with more leverage and authority for their implementation and follow-up efforts with industry, the general public, and prospective buyers. It was recognized that the Federal agencies themselves might not be uniformly enthusiastic about participation, but that initiative from the President's Committee would help local efforts to enlist their participation (as in Chicago).

(3) Different cities might follow varied formats, including workshops, panels, luncheons, etc., plus wide use of the mass media. Civic, industry, religious, civil rights, minority buyer and fair housing group participation would be invited and Encouraged. The purpose of the conferences would be to inform the industry, the minority market, and the general public of the Federal Government's change in policy, the provisions of the Executive Order, and the importance of cooperation with the Order.

> It was deemed highly important that the industry and the minorities be brought together and the same thing said to both sets of people by the Federal Government. It was emphasized that a strong but matter-of-fact "line" be used, pointing out industry's responsibilities. Listening to this would be supportive and encouraging to minorities and help to counteract the cynical attitude that has developed toward the Order and the President's Committee. Those speaking to industry should be the top operational personnel from the agencies they do business with, as well as representatives from the President's Committee.

There was strong belief expressed that the private civic and religious agencies would give full support to the President's Committees in rallying enthusiasm for the conferences and in the all-important follow-up with the industry, buyers, and the community at large.

Respectfully submitted,

Charlotte Meacham, National Housing Representative,
American Friends Service Committe

Report by the

CITY COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS OF NEW YORK

on

BLOCKBUSTING

October 29, 1963

The City Commission on Human Rights of New York
80 Lafayette Street
New York 13, N.Y.

STANLEY H. LOWELL
Chairman

MADISON S. JONES
Executive Director

SUMMARY

In the fall of 1962 the New York City Commission on Human Rights initiated an extensive investigation of real estate practices and property transactions in the East New York Section of Brooklyn. This investigation was undertaken in response to a substantial volume of inquiries and complaints from individuals and organizations in the neighborhood, who were distressed by a pattern of operations and activities commonly described as blockbusting.

In the words of a national official of the NAACP, persons who engage in blockbusting seek . . . . . . "by deception, manipulation and the instilling of fear and anxiety, to induce white people to sell out at the lowest possible price in order to exploit the desperate need of colored people for a place to live and charge them exorbitant prices."

This investigation, which led to a series of public hearings on blockbusting, the first ever held by any governmental body in the nation, revealed sordid patterns of racial and economic exploitation of New York City families desperately seeking decent places in which to live. The information developed from this investigation and public hearing, and which this condensed report presents, is vital to the determined effort of the City of New York to achieve a truly open housing market free of artificial barriers based on race , color, creed or national origin.

The Commission's findings and recommendations which comprise the major portion of this report must also, in addition to their import for governmental action, be regarded as having serious implications for responsible leadership in the real estate industry and in the banking and lending community which engages in mortgage financing.

The East New York Section of Brooklyn has been described as one of the most improved areas in that borough. The area, consistent with patterns that have characterized the residential growth of many neighborhoods in New York City, has experienced many changes in population. Originally settled by families of Italian descent, it progressively has been occupied by Jewish, Polish and Greek Orthodox Russian families. During the past decade a small number of Negro families also has been attracted to this predominantly white community and the neighborhood has enjoyed this pattern of racially integrated living in peace and quiet.

According to the testimony of residents, the East New York Section has many attractions that makes its inhabitants reluctant to move elsewhere. Although many houses are 40 to 50 years old, the community as a whole was described by residents as "very desirable." It was reported to have new schools, new Y's, a new library, new parks, new shopping centers, a new street lighting system and excellent transportation. Many of the residents who appeared as witnesses in the public hearings had lived in the East New York Section from 9 to 20 years. Several others who filed complaints had resided in the community for periods ranging up to 38 years.

The crux of the complaints registered by these families was that over a span of two years, their previously stable, integrated community had become a target of intense speculation by real estate operators whose practices and procedures were not only disrespectful and exploitative, but also induced racial tension and disorder.

The testimony presented at the hearing revealed a clear cut pattern of sales practices and procedures designed to panic white home owners into selling their properties and then to resell these homes exclusively to Negro and Puerto Rican families at prices consistently far above market value. These practices ranged from the saturation of the neighborhood with postcards and flyers stressing the availability of ready cash for those inclined to negotiate a quick sale, to a barrage of telephone calls by day and night warning that Negroes were moving into the area, and that property values would soon collapse. Aggressively insistent home calls were made on busy housewives. At least one such caller warned a housewife that her daughters might no longer be safe on the street.

One dramatic technique reported by several witnesses was the deliberate parading of groups of Negroes, presumably prospective buyers, up and down a block to look at houses. These, and several other approaches calculated to panic white home owners into selling their properties in a hurry and at prices lower than the current market value, achieved the desired effect over a span of months. There was a record of extensive turnover in home ownership in the East New York Section and, in each transaction investigated by the City Commission, title always passed from white to Negro or Puerto Rican ownership.

This trend persisted despite the individual and organized opposition of leadership elements in the community. Signs reading, "This House Not for Sale"were placed in many windows but failed to discourage speculative operators. A Council for a Better East New York, comprising nearly 30 neighborhood and block organizations, also was created and worked in close cooperation with staff persons from the City Commission on Human Rights. It should be noted, however, that while this cooperative effort utilizing the Commission's services and professional assistance did have a marked effect, it was not until the entire situation was exposed to public view and public criticism that the speculative activity in the area appeared to end.

The East New York section of Brooklyn is only one of several areas of New York City, where the changing racial patterns of residency holds attractive potentiality for unscrupulous profiteers. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that Negro and Puerto Rican families in their desperate search for decent housing, continue to encounter obstacles which make them easy prey for speculators, sharpens the Commission's hope that this report may lead to corrective action and constructive change.

In this regard, it may be helpful as well as enlightening, to cite the pattern of stages which the Commission found to prevail in the real estate transaction it studied:

(1) Panic selling by the white home-owner. This took the form of willingness to accept a speculator's cash offer, which amounted to substantially less than the current market value of the property.

(2) Resale of the property, after only a short time lapse, to a Negro or Puerto Rican purchaser at an exorbitant markup.

(3) Resort by the minority buyer to the high cost of secondary financing with two or more mortgages, such mortgages being obtained for him by the speculator.

(4) After years of paying the high premiums required to carry the second, non-liquidating mortgage, the new home owner finds himself faced with a large sum due and payable immediately. His alternatives are borrowing a large sum of money to pay off a

second mortgage, attempting to obtain refinancing and facing foreclosure.

(5) In order to save this home he attempts whenever possible, to refinance the sum due. To do this, he again assumes the burden of high premiums because the same conditions that saddled him with heavy mortgage payments at the start still exist - lack of cash, the absence of substantial savings and the inability to obtain a loan through conventional channels. He is on a debtor's treadmill.

A detailed analysis of 11 specific property transactions in the subject area, selected at random, revealed additional facts. This information dramatized the fact that blockbusting activities are as exploitative of the economic interests of white home owners as they are of the economic disadvantages of Negro and Puerto Rican home buyers.

These financial transactions show that:

(1) Although the average price paid by a speculator to a white owner was just under $12,000, the average resale price paid by a Negro purchaser was $20,000.

(2) The assessed valuation of all but four of the eleven properties was less than $10,000, the highest was assessed at $14,000.

(3) The estimated fair market value of the eleven properties ranged from $8,125 to $13,125.

(4) Prices paid by Negro purchasers exceeded fair market value anywhere from 28.5 percent to 118 percent. The average markup was 73 percent.

(5) The interest rates paid by the Negro home owner for mortgages on his property were spectacularly higher than they would have been if he had been able to finance the purchase of his home through an FHA or VA loan or through conventional lending channels.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The information developed by the City Commission on Human Rights in conducting its investigation and public hearing of blockbusting activities, presents an unsavory picture of exploitation of racial prejudice for private profit.

The hearing provide insight into the conditions under which blockbusting thrives. It spotlighted the ignorance and latent prejudices of many white residents of a once stable community that made them easy prey to panic when the neighborhood began to change. It highlighted the desperation of minority group families whose difficulties in finding homes at prices they could afford were compounded by a prejudice that made them unwelcome neighbors and forced them to pay exorbitant prices for property that was worth substantially less.

While it is true that sellers and buyers both were victims of unscrupulous real estate operators, the fact remains that these operators, in turn, could not have flourished without the benefit of the adverse set of social and economic circumstances, which still plague most minority families in their efforts to obtain decent housing. These social conditions are represented in the continued prejudice and intolerance which denies the right of Negro and Puerto Rican families to bargain freely in an open housing market. The economic conditions, no less difficult to overcome, are the end result of inequality of opportunity in employment and restricted access to normal mortgage financing resources.

It also should be noted that the blockbusting studies undertaken by the City Commission on Human Rights clearly revealed that real estate operators and not state licensed brokers predominate in this shady market. While the incidence of involvement by licensed real estate brokers in the subject area was noticeably limited, the impression emerged with equal clarity that the real estate profession generally is equated by the public with all who deal in the purchase and sale of homes. This interpretation on the part of the general public has serious implications for the image and prestige of the real estate industry and it would seem to indicate that the profession must share an interest with the City Commission in the prompt correction of the problem of blockbusting.

The same reasoning applies with equal validity to the banking and lending industry in the City of New York. The image of the entire industry, which has the obligation to serve the whole market in compliance with law is affected by the malpractice of a substantial portion of it which declines to make available adequate mortgage financing to Negro and Puerto Rican families.

The issue of mortgage financing, and its availability to moderate income minority families bent upon purchasing their own homes is central to the whole problem of blockbusting. An appeal to the ignorance and prejudice of white home owners was the key factor in obtaining homes for speculation. The unavailability of normal bank financing was the contributing factor in their resale to Negro and Puerto Rican families. While it is true, of course, that no prudent institution should be expected to mortgage properties which have been priced high above their actual market value, the fact remains that Negro and Puerto Rican families would be far less likely to enter into such deals if they knew that adequate mortgage financing would be available to them on their own application. The families who purchased homes from speculators in East New York did so with a conviction that there probably were no other financial arrangements available to them.

The abusive practice of blockbusting as exposed by the City Commission on Human Rights clearly indicates a need for prompt and vigorous corrective action. Program efforts to eliminate this intolerable activity must be multi-faceted, reaching out not only to assist those families who are being exploited, and to restrict those operators engaged in such exploitation, but also, and perhaps more importantly, to promote with the support of responsible leadership in industry, a climate of business morality that rejects racial prejudice and racial exploitation, as both undemocratic and unprofessional.

Finding Re Legislation

There is a complete absence of professional standards and ethics among those real estate operators who, for reasons of financial gain, continue to exploit the racial and economic disadvantage of Negro and Puerto Rican families. The Commission's studies revealed that these speculators operated largely as principals. Since they were not required to carry brokerage licenses, they were able to operate outside the pale of existing City and State Laws and appropriate regulatory agencies.

Recommendation

The Commission's studies clearly indicate a need for the extension of existing laws affecting discriminatory practices in housing. Legislation should be passed to curb racial exploitation by real estate operators who function outside the purview of existing licensing and regulatory agencies. The Commission is aware that such proposals are being worked on by interested parties for consideration and recommendation by City Commission on Human Rights. These proposals will be given prompt and serious review.

Finding Re Housing and Home Finance Industry

There is an inability of minority families to obtain on the free market adequate first mortgage financing which would bring moderate priced existing housing within their reach. This exclusion from normal mortgage finance channels coupled with a complex pattern of mortgage placement practices and the easy availability of second and third mortgages at exorbitant cost make minority families easy prey for speculators.

Recommendation

Banks and lending institutions, including the FHA and VA agencies of government play a pivotal role in the local private real estate market. These institutions and agencies serve the best interest of the general public when they serve the maximum number of families.

I. We strongly urge that banks and lending institutions thoroughly re-evaluate and examine the entire scope of their operations including all practices, policies and regulations with an eye toward extending their mortgage finance services to a larger segment of the home buying public. Foremost among these considerations should be a review of criteria which are employed in the determination of property values and credit eligibility for mortgage financing.

II. Because minority families of moderate income have been found to encounter undue difficulty in procuring mortgage financing, the City Commission further recommends that responsible leadership in the lending industry make an affirmative and special effort to extend mortgage financing to them.

III. The brokers, managers, institutional and insurance investors in housing also have a role. We call upon these interests to take the initiative in a special effort to encourage the voluntary opening of neighborhoods presently characterized by an absence or paucity of minority families. Such an effort would complement the positive programs of various municipal housing agencies which, in cooperation with the City Commission on Human Rights, are working aggressively to advance a democratic pattern of residency in New York City.

There is a continuing shortage of an adequate housing supply for families of low and moderate income levels in the City of New York. Speculation on any basis, racial, economic, or otherwise, trades on imbalance betweer supply and demand. In the face of this shortage, many families who have been able to improve their economic circumstances, have not been able to enjoy residential mobility from low to moderate to middle income housing within the city. For minority families the problem is compounded by their continued racial exclusion from neighborhoods of certain economic levels.

Recommendation

There must be vigorous support of all responsible leadership in New York City for the City program to expand the low and moderate priced housing supply. The struggle to balance housing needs with the construction of an adequate volume of units, however, necessitates support and cooperation from every segment of government. In this regard the need for an increased allocation of public housing funds from the State of New York and renewed federal assistance is imperative.

Finding Re Educational Programming

There is a lack of complete knowledge and understanding on the part of the minority community in New York City of the security and coverage of the City's Fair Housing Laws. The Commission on Human Rights is expanding its educational program effort to meet this challenge. Making certain that the general public understands the City's laws against discrimination in housing, may not, however, be sufficient. There are indications that broader, more comprehensive information, including the basic fundamentals of sound real estate and mortgage financing transactions, may be necessary.

Recommendation

There must be a vigorously accelerated educational campaign to make known to the entire public, particularly the minority community, the right of all families to enjoy equality of opportunity in the rental or purchase of housing in New York City without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. Such an effort, asserting the scope and power of the City's Fair Housing Laws should be coupled with informational material and services designed to advise all families on sound principles and fundamentals involved in the purchase and sale of real property.

This latter type of educational effort however requires the services and counsel of the real estate profession. The City Commission on Human Rights calls upon local representatives of the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the National Association of Real Estate Brokers to join in the formation and presentation of an educational program designed to meet this need.

STATEMENT OF
COMMISSIONER ELEANOR CLARK FRENCH
CITY COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS BEFORE THE
TEMPORARY STATE COMMISSION ON LOW-INCOME HOUSING
October 29, 1963 - AT THE BAR ASSOCIATION BUILDING

The New York City Commission on Human Rights is pleased to have this opportunity to share with the Temporary State Commission on low income housing, its views and suggestions regarding the nature and direction of the state low rent housing program.

The responsibility of government in meeting the needs of its people and serving their general welfare, has greatly expanded during this 20th century, and in no area of activity has this role been more proper nor more imperative than in the housing field. The obligation of government to play a positive role in meeting and uplifting the housing needs and standards of its people no longer is subject to challenge or debate. We have learned on a federal, state and local basis that an investment in the housing standards of our people accures to the benefit of our schools, our economic growth and the viability of our community. A vigorous role by government in the housing affairs of our people becomes therefore an investment in the security and well-being of our nation.

This is especially applicable as regards the housing needs of our low income families. The unmet needs of these families in terms of their dwelling conditions and opportunities directly affect a wide range of other social and economic interest and the Temporary State Commission has a responsibility to examine these interests closely.

The City Commission on Human Rights believes that the development of healthy, democratic communities, racially and economically diversified is foremost among the benefits which accrue from an adequate low-rent housing program.

We do not, however, believe that the low-rent housing program of this state is geared adequately to achieve maximum results in this direction. The following comments therefore, seem appropriate:

The Need for An Adequate Supply of Low Rent Housing

In terms of the adequacy of supply and production, the state low-rent housing program is lagging far behind the needs and demands of our low income families. In the City of New York for example, there are over 200,000 low income families whose housing needs can only be met with subsidized low-rent units. The City is striving continously to meet this challenge supplementing its own subsidy program with an expansive rehabilitation and renewal effort. This struggle to balance the needs of our low-income families with the construction of an adequate volume of units demands support and cooperation from every segment of government.

We have drawn heavily upon the resources of the Public Housing Administration and our quota of federal funds is now exhausted.

State assistance for low-rent housing in New York City has been less readily available, however, and our effort to keep pace has been seriously threatened. During 1960, 61 and 62, for example, the state release funds for the construction of only 427 low-rent dwelling units. This diminishing rate of support, when compared with an annual average of more than 2,500 state-aided units in prior years seriously jeopardizes the city's effort to meet the expanding needs of low-income families.

The irony of this restrictive State policy during a period of urgent need in New York City is further compounded by the fact that the State has on hand more than $50,000,000 which could be allocated for public housing.

The City Commission strongly urges, therefore, that the temporary State Commission join in support of a vigorously accelerated state program which will expand the volume of low-rent dwelling units constructed with state aid.

The Need for Legislative Action

The interests of the City Commission on Human Rights in the low rent housing program extends far beyond the issue of adequacy in numbers and improvement in physical standards. In these days and times, nothing demands greater attention and emphasis by government than the dignity and self respect of its people and their civil and human right to enjoy full equality of opportunity. Low-income families, whose circumstances epitomize economic and often social disadvantage, must receive special attention if the goals of dignity, respect and equal opportunities are to have true meaning. Central to all of their needs, is a decent home in a healthy, democratic environment, free of any barriers of racial or economic limitation.

In New York City we have demonstrated that the development of communities on a free and open basis inures to the benefit of the whole city. We have established a legal standard of non-discrimination in housing and have moved, through positive planning and affirmative action to advance racial and economic diversity in housing.

The State of New York, through its executive laws and administrative standards supports this concept. State-aided housing programs are required to promote racial and economic integration as a condition of state financial assistance.

The City Commission suggests, however, that certain legislative housing policies and procedures affecting racial integration warrant revision.

The Neighborhood Preference Law which requires local authorities to extend priority to families residing within a one mile radius of a project should be repealed. Both the City and State of New York are committed to the advancement of racial and economic integration in housing. But the preference law operates in diametric opposition to these objectives by impeding racial integration in projects located in or near areas which are exclusively White or non-white in character.

There is an urgent need for legislative authority and support for the principle of affirmative action advancing racial and economic diversity in housing. The promotion of racial integration in housing as a counter effort in the elimination of segregated patterns of living requires special effort on the part of housing agencies and officials. Such efforts, backed by positive programs, are imperative if the established policies of the State of New York are to be given meaning and reality.

Existing statutory prohibitions against discrimination fail to reflect the forward-looking policy that the State already has adopted on this issue. In the absence of legislative support, there is confusion regarding both the responsibility of housing officials to comply with state policy and, the legality of their position. The City Commission therefore, strongly recommends an expansion of existing housing legislation which in recognition of the need to develop healthy, democratic communities, gives statutory authority to plan and program for racial and economic diversity in housing.

The Need for Revision in Current Practices

The City Commission on Human Rights also recommends a through review of development costs and administrative procedures affecting the feasibility of constructing small projects. The construction of small clusters of projects on scattered sites is a technique that has many social advantages. The impact of new project tenants on a neighborhood is diminished; the creation of a large economically stratified body of tenants is avoided. Moreover, vest pocket projects, by size and design, can be made to blend into the existing neighborhood and, of course, the prospect of racial integration is enhanced.

we must move beyond the mere advocacy of such techniques, however, and provide the state low-rent program with sufficient flexibility to make possible the construction of such units on a **feasible** basis.

The City Commission on Human Rights also is concerned with the matter of attractiveness and design. There is an obvious correlation between the dignity which responsible leadership in government is seeking to secure for all its people and the attractiveness of the housing developments in which many of these people will reside. We believe that low rent housing projects, in order to attract the broadest possible cross section of applicants should be dramatically beautiful. Public housing, when unattractive and institutionalized in appearance, presents a negative image to the public at large. The stigma of identification with such developments adds to the enormous burden which low income families already carry. When the challenge of blending beauty with location and practical design is faced imaginatively, many of the social problem attributed to public housing will disappear.

In conclusion, the City Commission regards the low-rent housing program as an integral factor in our joint efforts to uplift housing standards and develop healthy, democratic residential neighborhoods. The New York State Low-Rent Housing Program is a vital part of this effort and every phase of its administration, including volume of production, site selection, project size and design, must be geared toward advancing - a pattern of racial and economic diversity in housing.

[1963, Oct. 29]

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
80 Lafayette Street - New York, N. Y.

Stanley H. Lowell
Chairman

Madison S. Jones
Executive Director

FOR PRESS RELEASE: Summary of the Commission's Report on Blockbusting

The City Commission on Human Rights today (Tuesday, Oct. 29, 1963) made public its findings and recommendations resulting from its Hearing on "Blockbusting."

"Blockbusting" has been described as a neighborhood destroying tactic of real estate speculators who, by instilling racial panic in white home-owners, cause them to sell their properties, which then are resold to Negro and Puerto Rican families at prices far above market value.

The Commission recommended:

*Legislative action to drive from the market place unlicensed real estate manipulators whose discriminatory practices fall into the definition of blockbusting.

*A re-examination by banks and lending institutions, including the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration, of their policies and regulations on the granting of home loans and mortgages. The Hearing found that minority families have great difficulty obtaining first mortgage financing in the free market and are forced, therefore, to turn to speculators for easily available second and third mortgages, at exhorbitant cost.

*Vigorous support by all responsible leadership for the City's policy of expanding the low- and moderate-priced housing supply. Especially important in this is the need for increased State public housing funds.

*A vigorous educational effort geared to informing the entire public, especially the minority groups, of the right of all families to equality of opportunity in the rental or purchase of housing in New York City without regard to race or color.

Of primary importance in this recommendation is a City Commission program to enlist the help of the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the National Association of Real Estate Brokers. It is pointed out that the activities of the speculators, though acting as principals, reflect on the reputation of the entire real estate industry in the public mind and that it is to the interest of ethical realty persons to lend their assistance in combatting the blockbusting evil.

This report by the City Commission on Human Rights represents the culmination of an extensive investigation followed by a series of public hearings on blockbusting activities. The hearings took place during August, October and November of 1962.

* * *

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
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PHILADELPHIA

CORE GOES SLUMMING (Reprinted from Real Estate & Building)

Living conditions in decrepit Hawthorne Village have been the target of a militant campaign by a small but vocal group of moral vigilantes.

In the cluttered offices of the Congress of Racial Equality's North Broad Street headquarters (in Philadelphia) a band of determined individuals met last month to plot the strategy of an anti-slum campaign. For the relatively small (it has approximately 900 members compared to the NAACP's 26,000) but highly militant CORE organization the slum situation was so deplorable it cried for intervention. Unlike the NAACP, which on the national level, at least, prefers to redress old grievances by court order, CORE has been an ardent advocate of the non-violent direct action techniques pioneered by Gandhi and his followers in India. It has used them to good advantage here (e.g., sit-ins by CORE in Mayor Tate's office sparked the anti-bias action by the city against building unions). But, because of its approach, it often envelops itself in what can only be described as a revolutionary aura. A heavy air of secrecy hangs over the small, untidy rooms in which it holds its meetings, creating, for a fleeting moment, the impression of a conspiratorial organization bent on avoiding police detection. Unauthorized personnel -- in effect, those not members of CORE -- are excluded from the deliberations because, according to CORE vice-chairman Edward Hollander (the only white member of the interracial organization's Philadelphia hierarchy), "secrecy is to our tactical advantage.' His opinion is shared by a number of college students, Penn professors, local admen and corporation lawyers who prefer to labor anonymously in the CORE vineyards.

Project Slumlord. Mrs. Dell Graham, an employee of the City's Recreation Department who doubles as chairman of the national organization's Philadelphia branch, reports the organization has been concerned about widespread and neglected slum conditions here for some time. It decided to get into the area actively late this spring, choosing as its pilot area the Hawthorne Village section described in a magazine article as one of the worst slums in the city. "Unless we could bring pressure to bear on responsible parties, the City would only do a whitewash job," observed Louis Smith, a lean 34-year-old vaccum cleaner salesman who is a regional representative of CORE.

In a larger sense CORE's action could, of course, be seen as another expression of the rising tide of Negro resentment. The establishment of the slumlord project, together with the creation of Police Brutality and Employment Project committees was, said Smith, an attempt by CORE to move into "the bowels of the Negro community." Though CORE officials disclaimed any desire for "publicity alone," they had, by month's end, managed to steal the limelight, if only temporarily, from NAACP boss Cecil Moore, whose antics were, by now, old hat to Philadelphians.

Determined to approach the slum problem in what Mrs. Graham termed "a responsible manner," CORE sent investigating teams into the Hawthorne area itself early this summer to speak to the people and examine their complaints. "At first," said Mrs. Graham, "they thought we were City inspectors" and wondered why we "bothered to come since nothing ever happens." But it wasn't long before CORE had won the confidence of the community and, with the aid of a questionnaire returned by Hawthorne residents, had gotten a complete picture of housing conditions in the area.

Armed with specific information on Housing Code violations CORE sent letters to the family Levin (Leonard, Saul, and Howard) "who operate a real estate office in the neighborhood and William Lehrfeld whom the organization characterized as "one of the slumlords in the neighborhood"-- asking for an appointment to discuss the conditions they had discovered. What CORE had observed was that most of the houses didn't fulfill minimum requirements of the weakest code and, of those that did, many were still in need of improvement. The demands formulated by CORE and presented to the slumlords, Smith observed, exceeded the formal requirements of the Housing Code and insisted on the removal of such items as pot-bellied stoves, which were not covered by the existing regulations, but the presence of which, CORE felt, was detrimental to safe and decent housing. According to one CORE investigator "85% of the Levins' properties had Housing Code violations."

Bad Faith? The negotiations that followed with each of the Levins (Lehrfeld never responded) were labelled "completely unproductive" by CORE officials. It seemed that an impasse had been reached: Though the Levins, according to Mrs. Graham, "refused to admit there were substandard conditions in the houses they owned," the condition of their properties, she noted, was "disgustingly obvious to anyone with the eagerness and willingness to look." What further jammed the difficulty the two had in communicating with each other, observed CORE Housing Committee Chairman Nish Richerson, was the attitude of the Levins' attorney, Nathan Edelstein, who had recently been chairman of the City's Commission on Human Relations. Edelstein, reported Richerson, "bragged about his achievements in the civil rights field and said he wouldn't represent the type of people we described." (According to Smith, Edelstein later admitted he hadn't seen any of the apartments in question; when he eventually did get around to inspecting them he blamed their condition on the tenants.)

Though the Levins had requested CORE to provide specific examples of Housing Code violations, the negotiators refused. They insisted the burden of proof was on the owners, and it was up to them to take the initiative in maintaining their properties.

In a letter sent soon thereafter to each of the three Levins CORE charged them with "dealing in bad faith" and warned that "since our discussions had failed to help end the conditions we are concerned with and future discussions seem unlikely to do so either, we now have no other choice but to take other steps to see that they are ended." What form this "direct action" would take was left undefined. CORE itself was engaged in a hot debate over the appropriateness and effectiveness of the various steps it might take.

Out In The Open. For the most part what had happened so far had been pretty well-hidden from public view, for CORE had been dealing directly with the owners of sub-standard properties. As a consequence, the public officials charged with the responsibility for enforcing the Housing Code had not been stung by open criticism. This was one aspect in CORE's approach, however, which was soon to be changed. Blasting the City Administration for its indifference to slum conditions, CORE opened up the second front of its war against the slumlords by publicly charging that the residents of South Philadelphia slums were "trapped in a zoo without bars."

In response to this and other similarly vigorous criticisms, Mayor Tate announced a new "get-tough policy against slum landlords and declared that persistent violators of the housing Code would "have to fix-up or close up." He chided L&I Commissioner Barnet Lieberman for being "a little slow" in moving against the slumlords. "Sometimes," Tate said, "rigor mortis sets in. You just have to needle them."

In reply, Lieberman, now beginning to feel the heat of public pressure, declared that there was no laxity in his department and that the only thing hindering it was "a lack of funds and personnel."

CORE's reaction to this sudden display of concern was one of "skepticism and suspicion." In an open letter to Mayor Tate, CORE Chairman Graham called upon the Mayor to wage "a full-scale attack on the slumlords who profiteer at the expense of the poor and...the other forces and institutions which permit or abet this perpetuation of human misery." It was her organization's "sincere hope," Mrs. Graham concluded, "that your announced 'get-tough' policy is not a manipulative attempt to mislead the hundreds of thousands of citizens -- black and white -- trapped in the slums; that it is not only a maneuver which gives the impression of a real concern."

Visiting Day. In order to keep the heat on -- for CORE was, by now, solidly convinced that public pressure was the only way to bring about productive action -- Mrs. Graham announced that an open tour of slum properties in the Hawthorne area would be held by CORE. Under the direction of Mrs. Graham and Alice Lipscomb, President of the Hawthorne Community Council, and a long-time resident of the area active in the fight for good housing, the tour got underway a little after 8 p.m., on Wednesday, August 8th. Also present, among others, were L&I boss Barnet Lieberman, U.S. Congressman Robert C. Nix, Jr. and lawyer Thomas D. McBride, co-chairman of the Mayor's prestigious Commission on Civil Rights.

The tour, which some likened to a journey through an amusement park horror house, produced some interesting reactions, Lieberman, said CORE officials, expressed both shock and anger at the conditions he observed ("though I understand that's the eighth time he's been on such a tour," said Louis Smith) and, according to newspaper accounts of the journey, declared that the situation was so bad the whole area should be torn down." Mrs. Graham, commenting on the reaction of some of the participants, noted that the tour had more participants at the beginning than at the end. "Conditions got so deplorable," she said, "we lost some of the tourists."

For all the attention CORE's activities were now receiving in the daily press, however, little was being done to improve the conditions it criticized. L&I, to be sure, had conducted its own inspection of the Hawthorne area a few days after the CORE-conducted tour, and the City Law Department had instituted action against a number of slumlords with particularly serious violations to their credit, but these things had all been done before -- time and time again -- and CORE had little confidence in the ability (and, indeed, the desire) of City agencies to make a real dent in the situation.

Heating It Up. So, a short while after the tour, with public concern still focused on their activities, CORE began to picket the various offices of the Levin family. Some 75 demonstrators, Negro and white, carrying such signs as "Why Pay For Rats" and "Philadelphia Slumlords Must Go" opened the picketing phase of the campaign which was to continue, intermittently, over the next few weeks.

All this served to keep CORE in the news -- but to the chagrin of the organization there had not been any noticeable improvement in substandard Hawthorne properties. It was at this point that CORE decided to intensify its attack on the original slumlord front, and, to the cheers of Hawthorne residents, announced plans for a "dump-in" on Saturday, August 17th. The latest form of protest by an organization which had adopted every form of "in" from the kneel-in to the wade-in, the dump-in was to consist of heaps of refuse "and as many dead rats as possible" gathered from the cellars and back-yards of slum dwellers dumped in front of Bill's Laundry (a store allegedly operated by uncooperative target William Lehrfeld).

That Saturday everything went off according to schedule. But CORE, in a surprise tactic, added a new twist to the protest by loading the tons of junk onto a truck and, after driving out toward Saul Levin's home in suburban Wynnefield they attempted to unload it on his lawn. Stopped by the police, CORE dumped the load in the middle of the street instead.

Police officials present at the dump-in refrained from handing out litter tickets, according to Police Commissioner Howard R. Leary, because it was the Department's policy "to go along with it." Department brass, Leary said, "had a meeting a couple of days before it happened and decided on this approach."

(Two weeks later, however, Leary had a change of heart. After conferring with CORE officials, who refused to give any assurances that such incidents would not be repeated in the future, Leary publicly declared that he would seek to have the leaders of the dump-in cited for litter violations. The reason for the summons-gap, Leary said, was because the Department wanted to give the matter "due consideration.")

While the dump-in served to keep the spotlight on Project Slumlord, a number of responsible Philadelphians began to wonder aloud about the appropriateness of this newest form of protest. It was one thing, they reasoned, to blame the owners, for such structural shortcomings as no heat and no toilets; it was quite another to hold them responsible for the accumulation of junk. The existence of so much litter, many felt, was more a reflection on the tenants' hossehold habits than their landlords. Editorialized the "Bulletin": "The passive acquiesence in Saturday's breach, by police and city officials, was an open invitation to more such incidents. It should not be allowed to happen again."

Code Book. When CORE decided to concentrate its efforts on the slumlords themselves -- rather than the City agencies, such as L&I, whose job it ostensibly was to handle the problem -- it marked a radical departure from the traditional methods used by private organizations bent on improving slum conditions. One such group, the prestigious Philadelphia Housing Association had, in fact, been working for some time prior to CORE's big August push, on a detailed, foundation-financed study of "Impediments to Housing Code Compliance." In a 50-page report first made public late last month, the Association blasted the City for its monumental indifference and, in a remarkably detailed analysis of what has gone wrong with code enforcement lent intellectual support to the increasingly strident efforts of CORE.

"Philadelphia's Housing Code," the Association found, "is not vigorously or effectively enforced against persistent violators." After a careful study of L&I files and magistrate court proceedings the Association concluded "that the enforcement process is itself the biggest impediment to compliance; that the procedures employed by L&I to obtain compliance are needlessly slow; that the City's Law Department appears lackadaisical about Housing Code enforcement; and that the archaic and judicially inadequate system of magistrate court proceedings against violators has little effect in producing compliance."

Though the Association contended that "in the final analysis, the overall responsibility for failure to achieve housing code compliance rests with the City's chief executive," it saw the indifference of the magistrates as the root of the problem. The fact was, reported the Association, that "property owners had little reason to take the enforcement process very seriously" since "failure to comply with the code had no serious consequences." Court prosecutions, it disclosed, resulted in only nominal fines of $5 or $10, especially if the defendant appeared in person. It was only when the dignity of the court was offended by the refusal of a defendant to show up that more stringent fines of up to, say, $100 were imposed. But even this had little meaning, declared the report, since those who refused to pay never were forced to. Liens put on the property of convicted landlords were, in practice, never collected. "In many instances," charged the Association, it is "cheaper for a property owner to pay court costs (if any) than to do the work required by the code."

Lax L&I. To City officials concerned with Housing Code enforcement the findings of the Association were a comprehensive and convincing statement of facts they already knew very well. (Lieberman, himself, had seen preliminary copies of the report as far back as May.) And so, for those who sought to really understand the situation, two big questions stood out:

Why were the magistrates so lax in enforcing the Code?

Why had Mayor Tate and Commissioner Lieberman, all along aware of what was going on, failed to put public pressure (except for the mild and infrequent statements made only when they themselves were under pressure) on the reluctant magistrates to deal more severely with violators of the code?

These were not easy questions to answer -- but there were some, especially in CORE, who thought they had the solution, "It is," assert CORE Housing Committee Chairman Nish Richerson, "an obvious and simple and elementary deduction that there is collusion between L&I, slumlords, and the magistrates." The judges "don't enforce the code," he maintains, "because they want to be reelected."

If Richerson is correct, if, in fact, magistrate reluctance to penalize offenders is premised on something more than mere indifference, then his assessment of Lieberman's timidity is, at least, consistenct with the rest of his analysis. "Bill Green would never permit Tate to appoint a crusading L&I head," he says, "because powerful interests would be affected if he did."

The case against Lieberman is, indeed, a strong one. When the currently sitting special grand jury found that L&I was crippled by its own inaction and denounced Lieberman for behaving "as a chiding father urging compliance rather than demanding it," it hit on what was, perhaps, a larger truth than it suspected. For the sad fact of Lieberman's commissionership is that over the long years in which he has held his post he has failed to even begin cleaning up the conditions for which he is now being criticized. Early last month when the CORE commandoes were conducting their tour, Lieberman, by way of explanation, declared that "the real problem ...was the reluctance of the magistrates to mete out effective punishment." But, his critics wanted to know why he hadn't said anything earlier -- in his annual report, for instance, issued only a week or so before CORE began its operation -- and why was he seemingly content to identify the problem but not do anything about it? Eight months ago Lieberman asked the Housing Association to review Code regulations and determine whether changes were needed. An Association committee appointed to study the situation subsequently submitted a list of recommended improvements to him. Why, his critics wondered, hadn't he done anything about them?

Into The Fray. Faced by the monumental lethargy -- if not indifference -- of the responsible City officials CORE sees no other choice but to continue its frontal attack against the slumlords themselves. By the end of the month a slew of techniques designed to put pressure on the recalcitrant owners had already been used. But CORE was considering a host of other possibilities for what it terms "direct action." Under active consideration by CORE leadership was the possibility of a rent strike, a renewed City Hall sit-in, and an expansion of Project Slumlord into the other dilapidated areas of the city.

Where this would lead no one could tell. Of CORE's commitment there could be no doubt. Of the City Administration's one could only repeat the question raised by the Housing Association's report: "How committed to renewal can the City be when code enforcement is used half-heartedly?" At months end it shaped up as the proverbial struggle between the immovable object and the irresistible force.

DEC 30 1963

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING
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TENANTS CLAIM REHABILITATION WILL RAISE RENTS

A warning against big rent increases and weakened rent control was sounded today in a report on Rehabilitation idsued by the Metropolitan Council on Housing, city-wide federation of tenant groups. The Warning was contained in a statement analysing the City Planning Commission's program for rehabilitation of substandard housing in five neighborhoods.

The Council's statement pointed out that under the City's plan the total cost of rehabilitation would be passed on to tenants. The cost would include construction, profits to landlord and contractor, and interest charges. The Council attacked the proposed increases of $15 to $40 per month, holding that tenants could not afford such large increases.

According to the Metropolitan Council on Housing, the City's plan would cause extreme hardship to Negro and Puerto Rican tenants, raise rents above 25% of income, and undermine rent levels in the entire City. Rent Administrator Gabel's proposal using 25% as the proportion of income which should be paid for rent was also attacked. The Council contrasted the 25% figure with the 16% figure used by the Community Council of New York in its "Family Standard Budget".

Rejection of the City Planning Commission's Rehabilitation Report was urged by the tenant group. An alternative proposal for rehabilitation with government subsidy to hold rents down was offered. The complete statement, "REHABILITATION--WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO TENANTS?" is available from the Metropolitan Council on Housing, 215 West 23 Street, New York 10011.

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METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING
215 West 23 Street, New York 10011
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"REHABILITATION" — What does it mean to tenants?

"Rehabilitation" is the new word in housing circles. It sounds good. Of course tenants want their buildings "rehabilitated". But let's look behind the word, and ask some important questions. How much will it cost? Who pays for it and how much? Will tenants benefit from rehabilitation?

Last summer the City Planning Commission issued a "Rehabilitation Report", proposing to begin a rehabilitation program in five neighborhoods. After analyzing the Report, the Metropolitan Council on Housing, as well as other organizations, found that under the City's plan:

Rehabilitation means big rent increases!
Rehabilitation means weakened rent control!

Methods must be found to rehabilitate buildings without rent increases, and without undermining rent control.

What is rehabilitation? As outlined in the CPC Rehabilitation Report, it would involve clean-up and repair, putting new fixtures in bathrooms and kitchens; new plumbing and wiring if required; fixing up exteriors; halls and lobbies; repairing heating equipment and roofs; replacing rotting window sash; repairing plaster on walls and ceilings; sanding floors. Some of these "improvements" such as new fixtures are really unnecessary and add needless expense. No tearing down of walls or putting up new ones is contemplated, except where the apartment lacks a private kitchen or bathroom. The rehabilitation of rooming-houses is not included in the report.

What would rehabilitation cost? The City Report estimates the cost of the above as amounting to an average of $5,600 per apartment in the five areas. Half of this total is profit to the landlord and the interest on loans to finance the work. The other half is construction expense, including a 20% profit to the contractor.

The City Report assumes that the landlord is entitled to a 12% return on his investment—much more than the 6%+2% guaranteed under the City Rent Control Law. Interest on loans is estimated at 4½% to 6½%. Thus, rent increases based on cost would include a big slice to the landlord, and to the bank or other lender, as well as to the contractor.

Who would pay for rehabilitation? THE TENANT! All the expense of rehabilitation, under the City plan, would be passed on to the tenant. Here are some of the expected rent increases:

Bronx Park West area = up to $38 per month
Children's Museum area = up to $40 per month
Cooper Square area = up to $32 per month
Corona-East Elmhurst Extension area = up to $34 per month
St. Nicholas Park area = up to $25 per month.

The highest increases would be in the most run-down buildings, where tenants can usually least afford the increases.

In a few well-kept buildings the tenants would pay only moderate rent increases. But in most of the buildings tenants would pay large rent increases of at least $15 to $40 per month. These estimates are probably low. City agencies tend to under-estimate construction costs, as evidenced in the Housing Authority rehabilitation projects and in middle-income cooperatives.

What about the tenants? In the first five proposed areas there are large Negro and Puerto Rican populations. Four of the five are predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican. It is these minority families which suffer most from sweatshop substandard wages, and who can least afford higher rents. The tenants in these five areas are now paying more than the City average for rent. The average New Yorker pays 16% of his income for rent. The average rent paid by the tenant in the proposed rehabilitation areas is 19%-23%. Nearly one-quarter pay over 35%. And some elderly persons on fixed incomes pay as much as 46% for rent.

Can tenants afford rent increases? After rehabilitation, one-half of the tenants in the five areas would pay over 25% of their incomes for rent. Mrs. Hortense Gabel, City Rent and Rehabilitation Administrator, proposes that the City directly subsidize these tenants. Thus hundreds of families would be forced onto welfare or rent subsidies. In either case, they would be subjected to the indignities of income checks and investigations.

What about the cut-off point of 25%? The City Planning Commission and Mrs. Gabel assume that tenants can well afford to pay that much for rent. The Rent Administration itself uses 20% as the standard in relocation procedures. It dropped from 25% to 20% because of criticism. Even 20% is still too high. The Community Council of Greater New York uses 16% in its "Family Budget Standard", a meager, barely-decent budget, for a 4-person family. On this budget a family which must pay more than 16% for rent, sacrifices food, medical care and other needs.

If the 25% figure gains acceptance, it may be used as an argument for rent increases all over the City.

Does rehabilitation under the City plan weaken rent control? Yes. It is inflationary and pushes the general level of rentals upwards. It encourages landlords to rehabilitate with "improvements", for which the tenant pays...and pays... and pays. Landlords now, even without a rehabilitation report, and under rent control, replumb, rewire, put in new boilers and roofs, fancy front doors, etc. —whether tenants need them or want them, or not—and obtain huge rent increases. Tenants have been fighting this loophole in the rent law.

The proposed rehabilitation program would encourage even more phony renovations and "major capital improvements", resulting in even more and greater rent increases all over the City. This is the newest gimmick to weaken rent control, which would slowly and subtly be reduced to nothing.

What does the landlord gain from rehabilitation? Plenty! He gets advice and planning assistance; a 12% return on his own investment in the improvements; tax exemption on the improvements; and the City's support in removing tenants, where occupancy violations exist, or where extensive renovations would make removal necessary. This is implicit in designating rehabilitation areas. The Rehabilitation Report does not suggest any relocation benefits for tenants who would be forced out by the rent increases, or because they could not continue to live in the smaller space resulting from the improvements.

Big real estate investors who want to go into a rehabilitation area and demolish housing for new, luxury rentals will also benefit. Just as in other types of urban renewal areas, their investments will be, in effect, guaranteed by the general upgrading of property values. They will have the green light to build new high-rent, decontrolled housing. No control of such speculators or of demolition is proposed in the Rehabilitation Report.

The plan does not differentiate between large absentee slumlords and small homeowner-landlords. The latter, mostly Negro and Puerto Rican in the five areas, are discriminated against in getting bank loans for repairs. They should be assisted in getting loans.

The slumlords, on the other hand, should be prosecuted for violating the Multiple Dwelling laws and for victimizing tenants. They should be required to make long-overdue repairs immediately, without rent increases. Under the City plan these slumlords would not be punished for neglect, but would be rewarded with rent increases.

Is rehabilitation possible without rent increases? Yes. Just as middle-income housing and public housing are subsidized to hold down rents, rehabilitation should be subsidized to hold down rents.

City funds should be spent to improve run-down housing by the following methods:

1. Slumlords should be forced to make ordinary repairs and to obey the housing laws. This should be done without rent increases.

2. Where major rehabilitation is necessary, make loans directly to landlords, without interest, on the written gurantee that they will maintain the building, as well as repay the loan. Enforce the guarantee.

3. Give tax exemption equal to the amount of the loan to landlords who live up to the guarantee.

ABSOLUTELY NO RENT INCREASES should be allowed for rehabilitation. The tenants in the run-down buildings have suffered long enough. They are entitled to decent housing without inflating their rents still further.

* * * * * *

The City's Rehabilitation Report rewards the slumlord, punishes the tenant with rent increases, and contains too many booby traps to be adopted as proposed. The plan would not only drastically affect the lives of 47,000 families in the five proposed areas. It would eventually affect tenants all over the City. It needs more thought and study; more discussion by tenants; and many changes.

The METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING, a federation of tenant organizations, urges the City to reject the Rehabilitation Report. Instead it should adopt a program of REHABILITATION WITHOUT RENT INCREASES.

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We have spent much of the last two days in analyzing, dissecting, criticizing and faintly praising Executive Order 11063. We will return to our respective homes with a thorough understanding of at least the fundamentals of its meaning and potential operation. Having garnered this knowledge, then what?

The Congress of Racial Equality can discern some several things to be done. (~~And I speak in this instance of~~ by us, ~~not of~~ as distinct from the Federal Government.)

We hope, for instance, to influence our local groups to organize more "Operations Windowshop". These are integrated or Negro groups that visit new housing developments as prospective buyers. They interview salesmen, tour the model homes, learn about prices and financing, whether any effort is being made to acquaint the Negro public with the project. And---not incidentally at all---they educate the building industry to this new, aggressive point of view of the Negro buyer.

If that last statement seems a little farfetched, listen to the story of Philadelphia CORE. Last fall this group organized an Operation Windowshop. They went to the new development, entered the model house and asked for the salesman. The person there said he was the caretaker; the salesman was not then available. One of the shoppers, however, noticed the back door closing hastily; some of themtook out in pursuit. Eventually they found the salesman hiding in a closet! I hope that it does not seem a violation of the true non-violent spirit that the shoppers were somewhat upset by this. Shortly thereafter they met with representatives of the builders' association which owned the development. The builders agreed to issue a public statement of a non-discriminatory policy not only for that group of homes, but for their future developments.

In regard to racial discrimination, that case might be termed "prevention." At another time the situation may call for a cure. Take the case of Charles David. He and his family were in desperate need of an apartment. They had been burned out of one and were making-shift in a leaky old trap that had been condemned. This was in Englewood, N.J. The Davids learned of a vacant apartment in nearby Edgewater, a charming, delightful little settlement without a single Negro resident. Here necessity mothered determination; the Davids moved over into foreign soil and prepared to engage the enemy.

They found the apartment still vacant and offered a two-hundred dollar deposit to secure the place. They learned it was already rented. A little later a young white couple walked up and got the apartment with a ten-dollar deposit. They took possession ~~of the apartment~~, then went out to find the Davids. They were CORE-members. With their help and that of others, the David family moved in that night, lock-stock-and-barrel. The owners sought eviction by the court; the Davids appealed for possession to the state civil rights commission. The stalemate is not yet resolved after three months, but this little family still has a decent roof over its head.

Presidential Order 11063 does not affect existing housing such as the New Jersey apartment building, but---to quote Jim Farmer ---"If the order forbids something in one kind of housing, it's morally just as wrong in another kind. It has stated a principle that we will try to exploit." Then let us pursue remedies for discrimination where it occurs, whether or not it falls within the scope of this order. And as the President has urged the housing agencies, let us use our "good offices" to persuade local realtors' boards and builders' associations to follow the example of the Philadelphia builders: to place themselves on record as opposing housing discrimination. Visit the banks and mortgage companies and savings and loan associations and make the same proposal. Then publish the results so that all may know the innate gentleness and deep human concern that permeate our financial structure.

ghetto renewal.

We must accept the fact that at present 80% of all public housing is segregated, but we need not be resigned to it. Urban Renewal ~~is sometimes sadly referred to as "Negro Removal", but it~~ need not be ~~removal from old ghetto to new ghetto~~. These habits can be broken if civil rights groups demonstrate proper, sufficient and continuing concern for developing new habits. in our fed. agencies

~~One of~~ It is estimated that the housing order will affect about 25% of new housing. What of the other 75% What of existing housing on the market? For these we need Ohio's House Bill 308, now resting in the Government Operations Committee of the legislature. Mark you well; it will not be passed by wishful thinking. Try instead, thoughtful working. Persuade your minister to preach ✓on the brotherhood of fair housing, then pass out petitions to be signed. In your civic groups and social clubs, pass out petitions to be signed. On your job, ~~pass out petitions~~ in your neighborhood,--pass out petitions to be signed. And send every last one of them to the governor.

when

And there is yet more to do. Let me quote a current writer, Michael Harrington: "If all the discriminatory laws in the United States were immediately repealed, race would still remain one of the most pressing moral and political problems in the nation. If suddenly all the laws were framed to provide equal opportunities, a majority of the Negroes would not be able to take full advantage of the change. There would still be the vast, silent and automatic system directed against men and women of color." Robert Tebbel is ~~more brutal yet~~ in his book, The Slum Makers. He writes, "The fact is that the white man, North and South alike, wants the Negro to live in a ghetto, and in most cases sees to it that he does."

stiletto-sharp

Our problem is more than simply denial of access to housing on the open market. There are those who can't buy better homes, who can't rent better homes. Families plagued and beaten down by years of substandard housing, overcrowding, exorbitant rents, low wages rundown neighborhoods, juvenile delinquency, high-school dropouts---the works. To attack this problem we may have to become housing experts, like the CORE chapter at New York University. Under the sponsorship of a lower Eastside neighborhood council, these CORE members studied the fundamentals of the city housing code. They went out into the area---literally as inspectors---and checked building after building. In one extreme case they found over one hundred violations in a single building! More important even than that, they made a beginning toward convincing these little people---over whom we shed so many warm, comfortable, well-fed crocodile tears---that they, the students, recognize the reality of that shopworn phrase "The oneness of man."

Believe me, ~~this~~ that statement is no saccharine piece of living-room liberalism, to be soberly mouthed and then forgotten. The slum and the slumlord are millstones 'round the Negro's neck---an economic lynching. Theoretically housing standards are controlled by existing laws, but you and I have never in our lives known when or where there were not slums. So we cannot wait for the years and executive orders to do our work for us; we cannot give all our attention to the growing Negro middle class of which we are so inordinately proud. We must go into the slums, here and now; not so much to save these forgotten ones as to save ourselves from forgetting.

To pledge CORE, or any other single organization, to embrace such a spread of action is foolish. The co-operation of the ~~many~~ groups I have named, plus many more unnamed, is absolutely essential. I give this final charge: to seek help unceasingly from those around you, the organizations and agencies and individuals who provide still more statistics, manpower, influence, money and goodwill. In the words of Ben Franklin, "We'd better all hang together or we'll surely all hang separately."

[1964, Feb. 11]

DEVELOPMENT OF A HOUSING PROGRAM

I. INTRODUCTION: At this time there exists a substantial demand in Northern ghettos for the amelioration of housing conditions. CORE which helped to develop this demand now sees it growing at a rate far greater than anticipated. This situation presents enormous opportunities, for development of the whole CORE program in the North, for assuming a leadership position and for having a large scale impact on the lives of several millions of Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Although the slum problem, as distinguished from the problem of access to existing desirable neighborhoods, involves complexities and a diversity of approaches far greater than those in other CORE programs, the opportunity and the need of the people involved. are too great for CORE to make any decision other than to undertake the program. The plain fact is that no other civil rights group appears, at this time, to be either capable or willing to undertake a major effort in slum housing.

Bearing in mind the scope of the problem, CORE requires a carefully constructed program. This memorandum is written primarily to state problems and to raise questions. To the extent that suggestions are made, they should not be construed as expressing a firm position. Further, many of the references are to the New York situation, which in itself involves 40,000 slum dwellings occupied by more than a million people. It should be emphasized, especially with regard to tactics, any program must include considerable flexibility and allowances for local variations.

It is hoped that this memorandum will be useful as a concrete starting point for the formulation of demands to be made of public officials and to suggest chapter tactics.

II. THE PROBLEM : While it is well recognized that slum ghettos, existing in virtually every American metropolis, are undesirable, it may be useful to restate for these purposes aspects of the problem most germane to the CORE approach.

The slum situation affects millions of people, of whom a greatly disproportionate part are Negroes and Puerto Ricans. In New York the slum population is in excess of 60% Negro and Puerto Rican . Since slums are by their very nature illegal, their very existence constitutes a form of discrimination.

This form of discrimination has particularly far reaching consequences. Aside from the fundamental discrimination attributable to the failure of civic authorities to enforce their laws against slum landlords, the slums create opportunities for further discrimination and exploitation in housing and employment and education.

Many now share the view that housing, education and employment are so interlocked that a failure to change the conditions in one negates apparent successes in another. On an obvious level, slum ghettos, coupled with the de facto segregated neighborhood schools, create the situation which deprives intelligent young Negroes of the opportunity to secure professional and semi-professional training.

Of greater significance, however, is the conclusion of sociologists and psychologists that the hopelessness induced by slum conditions impairs the desire and ability of the tenants to demand and secure their rights.

The problem is,therefore, one demanding immediate attention if the objectives of the movement as a whole are to be achieved. Work done in the slums must be seen not merely in relation to the immediate problem of securing better housing but in relation to the need to organize the tenants and to secure their participation on a mass basis. It has already been shown that slum tenants are particularly sensitive to housing programs and respond to them, perhaps more rapidly than the programs in other areas. The fundamental hatred of the tenants for the landlords, coupled with the horrible conditions which exist in these slums, mean that a program which attacks the landlords and the city for permitting these conditions to exist arouses enthusiasm. Programs with regard to employment are in reality somewhat more remote than those which deal with getting the rats out of a particular tenant's house.

While a housing program may gather support slowly at the begining, once action tactics are adopted and any kind of success is shown, support comes almost more rapidly than the chapters can absorb it. This is a significant organizational problem.

Any slum program must be carried out in an awareness of the specific conditions which make a slum possible.

That is not to suggest that CORE acquiesce in these conditions. CORE must, however, be prepared to attack or to circumvent a variety of problems in an existing context.

First, a slum cannot exist without aquiescence of civic officials. There is no major city which does not have a building code, health code and other codes making slum maintenance illegal. Cities either do not have the resources or the desire to enforce those laws. Where the resources are lacking, cities have sufficient resources so that if they are properly concentrated the slum problem can be attacked immediately.

The question of desire is related to two classes of problems, of corruption and of attitude. The best way to meet civic corruption is to make it impossible and intolerable. Inspectors who are being watched do not take bribes. Politicians who are not relected cannot take bribes. Politicians who are afraid of not being reelected avoid taking bribes temporarily.

The problem of attitude relates to the failure of the public, and the public officials to recognize that landlord crimes have a serious impact not merely on the tenants, but on the community at large. The cost of slums in increased fire and police protection, loss of purchasing power and numerous other factors, (not to mention the human loss) are not generally emphasized. The man who robs a single individual does insignificant damage in comparison with the landlord who maintains his buildings as slums. Next, the slums are frequently related to land speculation. In this respect, there may have originated from speculation which resulted in overbuilding or they may have become slums as a result of speculation looking toward redevelopment. The fact is that many landlords do not have the resources to repair the buildings they own and must be induced to part with them before any serious reconstruction is possible. Only a tough line will serve to meet this problem. Slum dwellings must be made unprofitable and unsaleable to drive speculators out. In New York, there is a pattern of slum ownership, the key to which is that in each ghetto a comparatively limited number of people, through a complex of corporations, owns a large percentage of the bad buildings. If these people can be driven out or forced to repair buildings, the speculative value will have been destroyed. This in turn will make it possible for responsible public or private ownership to come in.

Next, it is recognized that banks do not lend money on slum dwellings as such. [While there may be exception, a slum swelling is simply not a safe risk for a lender. Consequently, much slum financing is accomplished by slum landlords and rather unscrupulous private lenders at a comparatively high cost.] To achieve anything on a large scale in slums, sound money must be induced to come in. This cannot, however, be expected from savings banks and others normally in the real estate market, because of the inherent high risk. Government money, therefore, must do the job. In fact programs are available for this purpose. Next, building laws and codes are antiquated, complex and not necessarily suitable for a major modern program. In due course, these laws must be changed. Programs for new law should not, however, be accepted as a substitute for enforcement of existing laws. Finally, no housing program can be completed in a year or two. The buildings which are slums now will, in all probability, never be really satisfactory housing unless a major investment is made in them. In many cases, the existing structures do not warrant any sort of investment. Nor is it in the interest of the community to perpetuate the existing ghetto neighborhoods. Taking all these facts into consideration, it is clear that, what amount to emergency repairs, must be required now without interfering with long range objectives. Since the long range objectives will undoubtedly require decades for completion, an immediately effective program is as necessary as a long range program; and indeed one will not work without the other.

III. OBJECTIVES : The immediate objective of the housing program as related to slum housing itself, should be to secure an adequate standard of law enforcement coupled with an influx of money sufficient to make the slum dwellings habitable. For these purposes, the standard must be one which is practical but which meets the significant demands of the tenants. Slum dwellings require cleaning, plastering, painting; removal of rats and roaches; providing adequate janitor services; removal of fire hazards and structural defects; providing adequate kitchen and bathroom equipment; and numerous other corrections which will bring the buildings into code compliance and keep them in code compliance. This immediate objective is attainable within a comparatively short period by application of the tactics discussed below. The result will not be good housing buthabitable housing.

The ultimate objective is to achieve integrated housing of a superior quality at rents which the tenants can afford. Part of the objective is to achieve this housing by relocation programs which themselves further integration and maintain reasonable rent level.

It must be understood that the ultimate objectives have to involve a series of stages extending over a thirty year period not because there is any necessity of delay, but because anything undertaken at this time will have an impact and will indeed determine the course of the next generation. It would, for example, be inane to plan in relation to a metropolitan area of 15,000,00 when every useful projection indicates that by 1985 the New York metropolitan population will be 23,000,000. It will also be foolishness to deal with a five borough situation, treating Westchester, Nassau and Suffolk counties as suburban, when in fact all reasonable projections indicate that the greatest population increases will occur in these counties and the New Jersey counties adjacent to New York. To the extent that any geo-political projections are useful, the indications are that those counties now adjacent to central counties will be metropolitan within the next twenty years. Anyone personally familiar with the changes which have occurred during the past twenty years in the suburban counties can readily appreciate that it will take a national disaster to keep Westchester from looking like Queens in twenty years. It is therefore suggested that while the present metropolitan counties require immediate attntion for remedial purposes, provisions must be made in the other counties for the reservation of land to prevent similar conditions from developing. If, for example, Suffolk farm land were now taken by eminent domain and leased until needed, it would be cheaply available for the construction of public housing in the next generation.

One of the main supportive objectives of any housing program must be that the government (for these purposes, federal state or city) assume the major reskonsibility for the construction and probably maintenance of the bulk of all housing. There is no fundamental reason why the federal government should support private profits in housing. This peculiar concept is having a short vogue for obvious reasons. It cannot be considered sound that this concept be extended into the next generation. To the extent thatthe federal, city or state government does not wish directly to control housing (to which direct control there are other objections), the cooperative or condominium approaches are to be favored. Union have experimented extensively with the cooperative approach. The condominium is probably more sound. The true cooperative is probably to be preferred, except that is not adapted to large scale housing.

The present cooperative concept gives merely a nominal ownership to the tenant and may be regarded as a deceptive way to secure financing for construction. By "true cooperative" is meant the acquisition of housing by an articulated group, with ownership vested in the group. If we cannot give the country back to the Indians, at least we can learn something of their concept of community ownership of real property.

The support of governmental housing does not have a political basis as far as CORE is concerned. The basis, it is suggested, is that no other device will provide sound housing at a reasonable cost for the bulk of the population. The problem of private housing becomes too complex to make possible the mass construction and maintenance of private housing under the pressure of a real estate boom extending over several generations. There is no practical alternative to public ownership.

It must, however, be considered that to attain the ultimate objective with regard to ownership will require considerable time. For this period, it will be necessary to deal with privately owned housing and new private construction. CORE should, therefore, support programs which create improved private housing. CORE should oppose government investment in private housing unless coupled with the planned acquisition of such housing.

IV. STRATEGY : To secure the objectives will require a sophisticated strategy capable of breaking down a number of entrenched interests. This strategy may be called one of reward and punishment or of conditioning. Each kind of step taken should serve the objective stated. It should serve these objectives by weakening an existing structure which opposes the objective or it should strenghten an element necessary to achieve an objective or both. Similarly, steps should be regarded as weakening or supporting those who oppose the objectives. This kind of generality sounds far removed from a picket line; it will, however, be seen in practice that, when it is necessary to deal with complicated questions, analysis in these terms helps to establish the desirability or undesirability of a given course of action.

The action program is basic to CORE and will be basic in housing. While a great deal must be said which does not directly deal with the action program, nothing will ever be as important as the action program in the housing arena. At the same time, it must be recognized that action alone will not achieve the objectives.

Strategically, action will in the first instance organize the tenants, that is, organize support. This is by far the most important strategic reason for the action program. The organized support will then make itself felt either through further action or at the ballot box or in the political clubs.

As usual, an action program always results in informing public opinion, and, in some cases, bringing public opinion onto the CORE side. It is noteworthy that, whatever inaction there is in city enforcement agencies, a case of rat bite invariably brings immediate response if it is brought to the attention of the authorities. The reason is that if the public ever becomes aware of the degree to which rats are a physical and ever-present danger to slum infants, the public will insist on changing both the slum landlords and the slum government. In a New York city demonstration case, the District Attorney was more incensed about the fact that the demonstrators brought a caged live rat into the City Hall area than about virtually anything else that happened. Public information, therefore, particularly public information on the true horror of slum conditions, is vitally important and likely to be very effective.

The action program, which will include rent strikes and demonstrations, will not however secure repairs of the slums. It must be balanced by a constructive program.

The constructive program has, strategically, a dual importance. Getting those slums fixed will harden the support of the tenants for the overall program. It may be suggested that any organization which actually secures the repair of substantial number of slum dwellings will secure long lasting tenant support; while the organization which merely organizes demonstrations will actually lose support once it is seen that the demonstrations do not produce concrete results.

The constructive program is strategically important for the additional reason , that it induces commitments to change on the part of landlords and public officials. When in the face of demonstrations a public official meets with an organization on the subject of better enforcement and then actually provides better enforcement, he is admitting that he was wrong in the past and he is taking the first step in a sequence from which he will be unable to withdraw. The initial cooperation makes the official more vulnerable to public attack than he was theretofore, since his cooperation is an admission of his recognization of the problem.

Having a constructive program also distinguishes the organization which presents it in the public mind as a "responsible" organization. The statements of that organization gain greater credence and newspaper support because of the "constructive" approach than would be the case otherwise. In the New York school boycott situation, CORE occupied largely that position because of the fact that CORE alone published a specific program for school desegregation and school improvement.

The existence of a constructive program has the additional advantage of attracting other organizational support. Since all organizations in a given community do not have either the time or the facilities to develop a substantial program, there is a natural tendency for at least some of these organizations to ally themselves with that one which does have a program.

Concentration of support is an important strategic objective. In each area, where there is more than one group subject to discrimination, every effort must be made to align all such groups. In New York the combination of Negroes and Puerto Ricans promises to be virtually unbeatable if it is fully realized. In California, the Mexican population must be brought into cooperation with the Negro movement, In housing generally, it may be anticipated that additional support will come in if emphasis is placed on the slum, rather than the racial aspect of the problem.

An important reward element of this strategy is to lend strong support to those legislative proposals propounded by government groups which in fact have merit. The support of such proposals does not commit CORE to stop pressing additional demands. Further, support of a proposal does not in any way insulate government from strong CORE effort to secure full implementation of the proposal.

The central element of this strategy, in a way, is illustrated by the last point. The difficulty of the present situation is that demands are made which city government and state government can resist because they are piecemeal, isolated and lack mass support. The strategic effort should be to change this situation by making government (and landlords) respond to an alternation of mass demands and "constructive" demands, or in other words, making city government responsive to the program. Once the response begins, the scope of demands can be readily expanded, government responding to an ever widening series of oscillations. The constructive demands show the city how to escape temporarily from the mass demands. The escape is terminated by renewed greater mass demands. In essence, once the city commits itself to doing what CORE demands with respect to one building, the city is theoretically committed to doing the same thing with respect to thousands of buildings or committed to getting an acceptable substitute for some of those thousands of buildings. Once government starts to respond, the response cannot be stopped if the pressure is kept on.

This essentially dual strategic approach has the inherent flexibility necessary in view of the varying capability of CORE chapters or groups of chapters as well as the capacity to meet the variable requirements to be encountered in the housing program.

V. TACTICS OF TENANT ORGANIZATION : To achieve anything significant within the scope of the above stated objectives, a CORE chapter engaging in the housing program should be prepared, directly or with the aid of regional field secretaries, to undertake both organizational activities and negotiating activities. In the first category falls the intensive work of meeting tenants, persuading them to cooperate, arranging rent strikes, appearing in court with tenants when the landlord is to be convicted of violations or when a tenant is subject to dispossess proceedings and defending the tenant against dispossess. In addition, this phase calls for possible sit-ins to avoid dispossess together with arranging massive demonstrations when useful.'

The negotiating phase involves securing accurate information as to existing violations, bringing them to the attention of the appropriate city authorities, attempting to get the landlord to make repairs, attempting to get the city to enforce the law and in some cases arranging for the disposition of the building when the landlord is prepared to surrender it or securing action by the city in the nature of a receivership or condemnation action.

Securing actual repairs to the building has humane motives, first of all. In terms of the movement, however, repair of the building is that immediate success which will have a wide-spread effect on the willingness of tenants to participate with CORE in this program and others. This work depends on a particular sequence of tedious activities. It is necessary to make a list, apartment by apartment, of major violation conditions. At best, this list is submitted to the landlord. He is given a reasonable brief period in which to make repairs. If he then fails to make repairs, the list is sbbmitted to city officials, action being taken to have violations posted. This step in New York and some other cities is also essential to protect tenants against dispossess in the event of rent strike . The next step is the rent strike itself, coupled with a procedure for having rents deposited in escrow. The escrow prodedure makes certain that the tenants who participate are able to pay rent if it is absolutely necessary and, further, that a fund is created out of which repairs can be made. If such a fund exists, a landlord can sometimes be induced to make repairs in the hope of getting his money after all. The enforcement procedure will require constant contact between the chapter or designated representative and the city. It is necessary to avoid having violations "lost", having violations passed over lightly in court by city attorneys and judges alike and above all it is necessary to secure reinspection so that the landlord understands that whatever he is able to do to avoid the consequences of his unlawful conduct once merely makes it worth for him the next time.

This grouping of tactics, dependent as it is on utilization of existing enforcement procedures, is tactically very effective. First of all, a building under rent strike which is in fact subject to numerous violations (as many as 50 to 100 per building) becomes unsaleable, thus weakening the landlord economically. The profit is taken out of the slum. The landlord's expenses in court, one sequence requiring as many as six or seven court appearances, have the same effect. Once the seriousness of the attack is realized, the landlord will recognize that it is cheaper to repair the buildings than to continue this kind of campaign indefinitely. The impact of this type of tactic on one landlord will be feared by other slum owners, some of whom may seek to avoid it by making repairs voluntarily. The tactical sequence also places the city under pressure and commences government cooperation. It is under pressure of demonstrations that special efforts to place violations are made.

As a corollary, when a landlord can be induced to make repairs voluntarily, he should be held to a reasonable but strict standard and should be subjected to the same degree of inspection and listing of defects by the chapter as where the city is forced to act. In this way, if a landlord seeks to mislead the chapter, no time is lost. In other words, if a landlord says that he will make repairs but does not within the time agreed, the list is simply taken down to City Hall.

When a building or a group of buildings is adequately repaired, steps to end the rent strike should be taken, as part of the reward aspect of the scheme. In this connection, it should be noted that repairs sometimes bring efforts to increase rents. These efforts should be vigorously resisted since the landlord by making the demanded repairs is simply obeying the law and not furnishing any significant improvement.

It is entirely possible, bearing in mind what has been said before, that a landlord will, after a bout with CORE, wish to dispose of his buildings. He may, in fact, be willing to give them away. This may be because he cannot afford to effectuate repairs or for other reasons. It is in CORE's interest that such a landlord be able to dispose of his buildings. Such a disposition constitutes a demonstrable tactical victory and carries with it a likelihood that, if a responsible party can be found to take the buildings over, substantial repairs or rehabilitation will be undertaken. CORE itself should not, of course, assume ownership. CORE can, however, encourage unions or civic groups organized for the purpose, or other civil rights organizations to assume such ownership on suitable conditions. These would include an undertaking not to raise rents. It may also become increasingly possible to turn the buildings over to cooperatives of tenants. These would not be cooperatives in the New York real estate sense, but true cooperatives. It is necessary, however, to have a well organized and reasonably sophisticated group of tenants to manage a cooperative of this type successfully. Such groups can secure federal, state and city loan funds for the purpose of rehabilitating buildings. These programs will make available as much as 90% of the value of the building after completion of repairs, the funds to be used to make the repairs. The terms of the loans are comparatively easy. The fact that these programs have not been utilized on a large scale in the past is partially due to the inertia of government in this area and partially due to the understandable reluctance to lend money to slum lords. It should be understood that any program of this type would involve not more than perhaps one or one and half percent of the buildings in an area. The program should be discretionary with CORE, that is, CORE should at any time be free to disavow the organization taking the buildings if it fails to live up to its promises and should further be free to stop offering buildings to anysuch organization or organizations. Such a program offers a tool or tactical device for effectuating the repair of a limited number of buildings which landlords cannot or will not repair and which, for one reason or another, government cannot take over directly.It also closes the landlord's escape, that he cannot afford to repair.

In each area there should also be undertaken a program requiring government to take direct responsibility for some buildings, particularly the very detoriorated ones. Funds for such purposes exist under present programs of the federal government and some local governments. The New York receivership program is comparatively unwieldy; but it can be utilized for this purpose. The difficulty with such programs is that they tend either to cause rent increases or to cause very slow and very expensive repairs or tenant removal. Considerable care should be exercised in utilizing such programs without adequate safeguards.

Wherever necessary, legislation which strengthens law enforcement and legislation which permits aid to reconstruction of housing or direct government involvement in reconstruction of housing should of course be encouraged. CORE members should be encouraged to participate in local political clubs, not as CORE people, but on their own. CORE itself should undertake demonstrations in support of sound legislative programs.

VI. TACTICS - INTERGROUP RELATIONS : While CORE should plan to be the leadership force of the housing movement, CORE should welcome the cooperation of other groups, whether or not they have housing experience. While the structure of joint groups may vary from area to area, CORE should plan to lead if only because most of the existing groups have in the past shown themselves incapable of securing any significant gains. CORE is a militant organization and the logic of the housing situation demands militancy. The existing groups, even when temporarily militant, have been unable to face the necessity of attacking the central structure of the landlord-tenant relationship. The landlord has no inherent right to break the law or to make profit out of the misery of other people. When a landlord so conducts himself, the community interest supervenes any property rights which he might have. When a group of landlords so conducts itself over a long period of time, there is no significant alternative to public housing. The use of governmental funds to encourage private construction has , from an overall standpoint, proved to be a total failure. It has encouraged bad construction, speculation, enormous increases of rents, discrimination and structuring for future slums. Since the private sector has proved itself to be totally unwilling to meet its responsibility in housing, the only significant demand which makes sense is that government serve its fundamental purpose directly in this area. This is not a political approach; it is purely a functional approach: to secure what the people are entitled to as rapidly as posiible and at the lowest possible cost. At the same time, CORE has the clearly defined objective of integrated housing, planning for future neighborhoods which will be naturally integrated and which will not become ghettos. These views go past the objectives of most neighborhood tenant groups and certainly exceed the capacity for realization of such groups. While, consequently, CORE should cooperate with groups seeking to ameliorate housing conditions, CORE must persuade these groups to support CORE's much larger demands. This inevitably commits CORE to a position of leadership and makes CORE's participation in a grouping for other purposes of questionable validity. While CORE is in no sense inimical to the efforts of any group to secure better housing by law enforcement, commitment to abide by a common leadership with groups having very limited objectives would tend to delay CORE's program.

Another problem relates to CORE's position with regard to tenants. Tenants, with numerically small exception, cannot be expected to become CORE members or to subscribe to the CORE's rules of action. Inevitably, incidents of violence or situations approaching violence must be expected. The relation between tenants and the superintendents in the buildings, for example, is usually potentially violent. Surprisingly enough, police cooperation can be secured to prevent such outbreaks or to deal with them in a proper manner. CORE should not, in the Northern cities, disregard making contact with responsible police officials on the highest available level. Such contact will not keep CORE demonstrators from being arrested, on the contrary. Such contact may keep tenants from being arrested. If such contact is established, experience in New York has shown, incidents which could become needlessly complicated can be dissipated without any tenant being arrested. Similarly, the police can be prevailed upon to provide protection for CORE people against landlord goon squads. This tactic is another aspect of the inducement to government to cooperate, from which government cannot easily withdraw. Once the police recognize the problem about which the demonstrations occur, they become committed to preventing violence against tenants and demonstrators; at the same time another fragment of the city government becomes committed to enforcing the law against landlords.

The expectation that tenants will not, on the whole, become CORE members, emphasizes the importance of establishing tenants' councils. In this respect, it must be recognized that slum tenants move frequently. It is therefore important to select tenants with some stable occupancy in a particular building and to organize councils around them. These councils will have a continuing importance in the program at all levels for a long time and are also the foundation for any cooperative program which may be developed. Tenants'councils further are the foundation for bringing the slum tenants into wider contact with the community, whether for employment purposes, education purposes, or simply for making available those social services which are now available but about which many tenants know nothing. New York, for example, has a series of excellent but totally unpublicized preventive health clinics. These provide physical examinations for which private physicians would charge a substantial sum . The clinics further provide free prenatal medical services. This is only one of nemerous equally important services now under utilized.

VII. TACTICS - LOCAL ORGANIZATION : It is implicit in the foregoing that a special kind of organization will be required to make a housing program effective. The following suggestions are based on experience in New York. In each area, particular diplomatic problems and personnel availabilities will determine the necessity for different approaches.

The essence of the housing situation is that it requires coordination between all CORE chapters ina city, county or other basic political subdivision and, for some purposes, coordination of all CORE chapters within the state. Further, because it will be tactically useful to develop a talking relationship with a number of key city officials, it is important to designate one or two people on a citywide level who will make these contacts. Generally speaking, a specific designated CORE man who repeatedly deals with the same city official will be more useful than a sequence of chapter chairman or committee chairman. The essence of the problem is to have one man capable of reaching the highest level rather than a dozen people calling low level officials. This is not to suggest that deals can or will be made; on the contrary. The persons having contact with city officials on a negotiating level will alternate with the chapters' action activities to make the program work.

There is, therefore, required one citywide regional CORE representative who will be able to coordinate the activities of several chapters.

In addition there should be enough qualified full time CORE people to work in key neighborhoods, again coordinating chapter activities and coordinating activities with other groups.

In addition, the chapters should be relieved of the burden of the tedious work of making lists of violations and pressing these on city officials to the greatest extent possible. One technique for this is to find one or two people in each chapter willing to undertake this work on a part time basis. These people will do virtually nothing else. They will also assume the task of negotiating with landlords and seeking as much as voluntary landlord repair as possible. Acting in close cooperation with the chapter and with the citywide staff, they will relieve the chapter of the necessity of training numerous people in the legal technicalities of code violations and enforcement.

The chapters will have the responsibility of organizing the tenants and maintaining contact with them. This will include getting the detail man to make specific complaints when, for example, the heat is turned off. Generally, this separation of the work with the tenants and the work with the landlords should save considerable time.

A chapter undertaking a serious housing campaign will probably find that, other than participating in major demonstrations, it will have time for little else until there is a thorough-going tenants' organization. One reason is that if the drive is at all successful, people will come to the chapter from buildings not yet organized requesting intervention. Generally speaking, if the chapter is able to achieve an initial success, it should be able to spread rent strikes as fast as it can add people to do the necessary work.

Each chapter should secure the services of one or more volunteer lawyers with considerable experience in real estate. It is inevitable that attempt to evict tenants will be made. It is tactically most important to prevent this and, if proper arrangements are made, such evictions can be prevented. The services of lawyers specially qualified are necessary forthis purpose. Such lawyers should under no circumstances be permitted to negotiate with landlords or city officials unless they are prepared to assume such functions on a citywide basis.

The last point is emphasized because the landlords in a given area tend to have organizations which are closely coordinated. Unless such organizations are countered by a similarly coordinated organization, the program may be impaired. Landlords may misread negotiations in one area as a show of weakeness of the whole.

VIII. DEMANDS : The following program of demands is necessarily general. In each community other demands may be necessary because of the existing state of the law. In some communities there may be pending acceptable legislative proposals which should be supported. Wherever there are slums, however, the following demands should be made, with the addition of such detail as fits the local circumstances:

A. Law Enforcement: CORE demands that the laws affecting housing maintenance be equally enforced in the homes of all. No person should be permitted, by conivance of law enforcement officials or on the excuse of inadequate numbers of law enforcement officials to make a profit from the failure to obey the law.

B. Strengthening Law Enforcement : There should be minimum fines for violations of laws relating to building maintenance as well as maximum fines. The tendency of courts to impose fines less than the maximum encourages disrespect of the law and the maintenance of slum conditions. Law enforcement officers and the courts should recognize the seriousness of housing crimes and should impose jail sentences on every slum lords. Legislative bodies should support this demand by increasing the penalties which a court may impose. Legislative bodies should particularly require a separate sentence for each violation, contrary to the present law in some jurisdictions which permits the imposition of a single sentence for all violations found in a particular building at a particular inspection.

C. The Standards of Inspections of slums should be substantially the same as the standards of inspections of other buildings of similar age. While it is recognized that a building 70 years old cannot be in mint condition, the practice of law enforcement officials to condone major violations because the buildings are slums is outright discrimination.

D. Housing violations should come before a particular part of court having a specific panel of judges. Frequently judges required to deal with housing problems are unfamiliar with the seriousness of the situation.

E. Speed is an important aspect of the enforcement procedures. Procedural delays should be eliminated to the same extent that they have been eliminated in summary dispossess proceedings. Enforcement officials should be required to prosecute violations in the misdemeanor category and all violations endangering health and safety within five days.

Encourage Rent Strikes

F. Legislation should be adopted freeing any tenant of the obligation to pay rent while two or more code violations exist in his premises, which violations are in the misdemeanor category or which endanger health or safety.

G. Enforcement officials should require the making of substantial repairs when they are needed, not repairs which bring a condition to minimum compliance. Minimum compliance repairs are likely to require additional repairs within a comparatively brief period. This approach to inspection alone multiplies the need for enforcement officials without justification.

H. If any department believes that it does not have sufficient inspectors or other enforcement officials, additional enforcement officials should be allowed in its budget. At the same time, police officers and firemen should be permitted, by administrative regulation or legislation, to place code violations upon the complaint of a citizen (as in the case of all other crimes).

I. Each municipality should designate a single official or office to coordinate the activities of the various departments having jurisdiction over housing, health, slum clearance and renovation. Such coordination would make possible proper utilization of the existing facilities without the need for new appropriation.

J. District Attorneys, Corporation Counsel or other attorneys in charge with prosecuting housing violations should provide adequate personnel for these purposes.

K. Each city should develop, or utilize, a program for the receivership or condemnation of buildings not properly maintained by a landlord where, upon reasonable notice, the landlord has failed or refused to bring the building to code standards. Condemnation programs are to be prefered to receivership programs, the latter being temporary takings for the purpose of effecting repairs. Condemnation programs would value the buildings as they stand, the value being discounted for the cost of making adequate repairs. Condemnation would also take into account the effect of rent strikes and other activities, reducing the saleability of the building.

L. Municipalities should, or should be empowered to raise taxes on slum dwellings on the ground that they create a disproportionate cost for city services.

The foregoing demands are basically in the punishment category as regard the landlord. Some of them are obviously in the reward category as far as city officials are concerned. Supporting city officials in expanding their departments is one useful device closely fitting the strategy outlined. The following demands are in the reward category:

A. Tax concessions should be given to landlords who make substantial repairs on buildings and maintain these buildings properly for a period of time.

B. Loans should be made to landlords for the purpose of rehabilitating buildings without raising rents and without removing tenants. Existing programs of federal and local governments can be used for this purpose. The terms of the loans should be favorable, as permitted by these programs.

C. Rent increases should be permitted (where rent control still exists) where major improvements are required and made but, where the increase is substantial,city, state or federal government should subsidize the increase directly or indirectly.

D. The city should purchase an interest in buildings which a landlord cannot repair with his present resources on such terms that the city acquires the landlord's entire title at the expiration of a period of time. The purchase price would be utilized by the landlord to make repairs and to have a profitable enterprise during the interim period. At the end of that time, the city would have the building available for total redevelopment. This plan eliminates the building from the speculative market altogether. It also provides repair funds at no interest for buildings to which loans could not be made and which are, for practical purposes, worthless, since they return no net income at the present time.

E. The city should acquire an option to acquire the title to any building on which it makes a major repair loan, paying an additional consideration for the option. This would combine the benefits of the preceding plans. It would have the additonal advantage of requiring a smaller city outlay at the present time.

The preceding two groups of demands relate principally to immediate remedies and to a utilization of existing programs. The following demands relate to the full realization of CORE objectives:

A. All existing housing programs should be reconsidered to determine whether they meet the criteria of maintaining rent levels, securing integrated neighborhoods and providing good, attractive housing.

B. In each area a long range development plan should be set up, taking into consideration not merely present conditions but the expectation of the next generation.

C. Not less than 50% of all housing to be required at the end of the thirty year period should be planned as government housing. Commencing upon the completion of the plan., housing should be constructed on a government owned basis which meets the previously stated criteria. The housing should be constructed at a rate or rates such that existing slums will be replaced during a period not exceeding 10 years and all required housing will be available at the end of 30 years. In effect the plan should call for a maximum replace-

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ment effort at the outset.

D. The zoning ordinance of the city should be rewritten so as to require housing for different income levels to be part of every block or subdivision. This is consonant with the constitutionality of rent control and the city's right to require set backs and other building restrictions for the benefit of the public.

E. There should be a rent equalization program requiring the city to furnish adequate housing to any person for not more than 25% of the person's net income after federal and state taxes. This could be in part financed by requiring those who now pay less than that percentage in rent to pay the difference to the city as a tax. It is to be noted that the existing municipal tax structure is neither logical nor defensible and will have to be revised in any event.

CONCLUSION : It should be emphasized that the foregoing is not definitive and nothing more than the undersigned's opinion. Some of the notions presented will undoubtedly have to be discarded. It is hoped that all will stimulate discussion and constructive ideas which can be made part of a program.

George Schiffer

February 11, 1964

Housing

NOTES FOR A CORE TALK - March 1964 by Walter Thabit, City Planner

The keynote of CORE action is confrontation with society. In the housing field, this means displaying in clear precise terms the inequities, the injustices, the indignities heaped on minority families, to display these facts in a dramatic and unmistakable way, and finally, to demonstrate a way or ways in which these injustices can be corrected. CORE must awaken in its potential constituents a fighting spirit of social revolution, and in the society it confronts, it must inspire a feeling that the demands of the revolution are reasonable and actionable. It is on this basis that we move forward to a discussion of housing.

Let us first discuss the housing situation. We find, first of all, that there are still 240,000 households living in substandard conditions according to the Delaney report; many reports put this total at 400,000. We find that the average wage of those living in substandard apartments is less than $4,000 per year, that two-thirds are minority households, that half are aged persons, that a third are welfare tenants, that exploitation of the lowest income groups is extreme, that 90,000 households are overcrowded.

We find also that urban renewal and other public improvements hit just these families, displacing them from their precarious foothold in the community. We find that the public housing programs are insufficiently large and flexible to accommodate the displaced families, that relocation is difficult if not impossible for most of these families without substantial increases in rent, that rent control is coming under increased fire and has become less capable of holding down rents for low-income families - though without it, huge percentages would be worse off than before.

Finally, we find that code enforcement is a flop. In a study of one housing clinic's records, RRA rent reductions took six months to process, and Buildings Department action (which is largely ineffective) took four and a half months to initiate. Though 80 or 90 new inspectors were added to the Building Department last year, they fell further behind in processing complaints; the IBM machines slowed the process further. Irresponsible landlords are on the rise; the rent strikes are a direct result of this breakdown of city and private responsibility.

The Delaney Report Recommendations

The Delaney report deliberately tried to evade the state's responsibility for these conditions. It proposed to continue the low-rent public housing program at its present level for three years, a pitifully inadequate program which would provide less than 3,000 units a year. It did not suggest reducing rents in public housing projects to levels people could afford, nor did it suggest changes in its relation to the urban renewal program, in the program's administrative and operational structure or in the oft-repeated proposals for more vest-pocket housing. The report did propose some low-rent apartments in middle income projects, and while this is fine, who is going to get "selected" for these projects; who with an income under $4,000 can afford them?

Then the report slashes at the city for its failure to eliminate slum conditions all by itself. It goes wild in its criticism, not only hitting the well-known code enforcement failure, but going on to attack rent control as the culprit (implying that minority families are most exploited in rent controlled buildings), and concludes that landlords should be given more inducements to keep their buildings in good condition. What the report doesn't suggest is that the state has a responsibility in this area. It doesn't propose state subsidies or programs for rehabilitation, for taking over buildings that landlords won't take care of, or for encouraging local non-profit ownership and management of slums.

The state does have responsibility in these areas: there should be state aids for rehabilitation and city takeover; modifications in the low-rent program, that it should be double its size, that subsidies be provided for lower rents in new construction; public housing should be mandatory in urban renewal.

What's Wrong with Urban Renewal

Urban renewal grew out of the public housing program. The same technicians who processed public housing now process urban renewal. In public housing, the early projects covered less than a block, then grew like Topsy into projects of thousands of units covering upt to a dozen blocks - without a store or community facility. Projects disrupted communities, displaced thousands of families, and sent them into unfamiliar communities. But it was all accepted because public housing would give some poor people better housing. Urban renewal is public housing for the middle income groups, however, not for the poor. Because of this, it has been opposed.

Opposition has been somewhat successful, but not greatly so. Some changes have been made in the program, in some areas it is not so clearance-oriented, in some areas, relocation is better handled, in some areas, luxury housing has been replaced with middle income housing. But by and large, whether middle income or luxury, whether clearance or rehabilitation, the net effect of renewal is to displace minority and poor families from the site and often from the area - and give it to people who are better off. The decline of the public housing program, the rise in minority clearance, is a big reason for public housing program, the rise in minority clearance, is a big reason for the loss of whites in public housing projects. Clearance also reduces the number of low-rent controlled apartments available, tightening and keeping tight the squeeze on low income families. Overcrowding in Manhattan, despite loosening in other boroughs, was as bad in 1960 as it was in 1950.

What is needed to stop this minority removal, this use of public housing as a dumping ground for urban renewal displacement, this loss of low-rent controlled units? Several basic changes are needed to provide improvements in the area for the people who presently live in it:

1. Enough public housing or low-rent housing must be provided on the site to take care of the people displaced.

2. Housing must be staged to permit the construction of the low-rent housing first, even on small pieces of vacant land, and to rehouse the people into those

ldings before other clearance takes place. This may have to be a long process, t gradual renewal is good because it means the strengthening of the community hile it remains intact.

3. Save the housing that can be saved, provide rehabilitation subsidies for non-profit or city ownership and management wherever landlords refuse to responsibly discharge their duties.

We need even more than this. We need a basic change in the whole renewal concept. To get better housing, the first attack must be made on landlords who are irresponsible wherever they are found, and not only in renewal areas as we know them today. Whole sections of the city must be considered renewal areas and federal and state funds made available for their improvement. Massive building in vacant areas must go along with this effort to reduce overcrowding and to permit the ultimate construction of schools and other community facilities needed to revitalize these areas and their people. "RENEWAL FOR US" should be the citizen slogan in renewal activity.

If renewal is not for us, it should be fought, and it is difficult to fight. Renewal is complicated technically, is ever-changing in rules and regulations, needs constant watching and fighting. There are two alternative methods for use by CORE which make sense. First, a project can simply be opposed (as in West Village and Cobble Hill telling the city you don't want their programs). This does not require you to know too much about it or get too involved in it and is a good tack to take in areas where housing is not all bad. Second, you can support a local site organization which will do the detailed watchdogging by helping them dramatize their needs at crucial points in their confrontation with the city.

CORE can also act as a national clearinghouse for urban renewal information, as a national body through which local areas can make known to the federal government what is wrong with urban renewal locally, and can act as a vehicle through which changes can be demanded. It could - with a little financial help - also provide intermittent technical assistance to cities throughout the country where they can't find planners locally. In New York, it could help (though it may not be able to do the job alone) to develop a coordinated Citizens Urban Renewal Committee which would help and service local groups as well as press for needed city-wide, state and federal reforms.

Code Enforcement and Rehabilitation

No matter how fast we build public housing, no matter how well we do urban renewal, no matter how much vacant land we use, the difficulties of rebuilding the older and central portions of our cities are extreme ones. Relocation will be a major problem for a decade or more. Built-up areas will never be easy to clear and rebuild, much less redesign, because of the variety of the interests involved. Therefore, we must face the fact that much of our housing will still have to be used long after it should be torn down even by our own desires. The majority of our old law tenements will have to be used for at least thirty years - no matter how good the replacement program.

Because this is so, we must make sure these houses are fit to live in for thirty years and that people can afford the rents in those buildings. Both code enforcement and rehabilitation have been proposed to do this job, neither of which has yet been successful.

In the case of code enforcement, the present system is unable to respond. The complaint system has broken down over large segments of the city. It is even impossible for the city to control the rents being charged in rent-controlled buildings; fully 25 per cent are charging more than the registered rent. In single room occupancy buildings, our best estimate is that 60 per cent of the units are priced at an average of $17 above the registered rent. In the Department of Buildings, 39,000 complaints were filed in 1962 but only 26,000 of these complaints were inspected. And when the Department of Buildings finally gets to inspect and certify violations, the courts are too lenient and landlord-oriented to be effective. For every slumlord that goes to jail, there are a thousand whose violations go unpunished. If we got a thousand more inspectors, the complaints would be inspected, compliance might increase, but somewhere along the bureaucratic line the procedure would bog down; most landlords would escape. The code enforcement mess is something like population pressures. It is so massive, so powerful, so irresistible that our most basic standards can be made to crumble before it. In 1954, after twenty years of restriction, the City of New York legitimized cellar dwelling. Tenements are so difficult to deal with, the building codes still permit toilets outside the apartment, bathrooms in the kitchen, rooms of less than 70 square feet, and similar low standards

The solution therefore is to rehabilitate these buildings and to put them under proper management so that code enforcement will not be necessary - except on a low level complaint basis. While the city proposes to do this, its programs will price people out of their homes, will leave most of the worst buildings untouched, and will not result in the degree of community improvement needed to guarantee code compliance.

The city's proposals start with the idea that the tenant should pay the increased rent necessary to improve the buildings, that present landlords are willing to and capable of doing the job. The city wants to concentrate its efforts in renewal areas - covering only part of the community, and has made no plans for effectively rehousing tenants, such as vest-pocket building on vacant land.

The city's proposals are therefore unacceptable. Again, as with the urban renewal program, a change in emphasis is required. Tenement improvement must be of such a nature that it improves conditions for the people who live in them at rents they can afford. The basis of rehabilitation should be a subsidization of the rehabilitation effort at a level which will guarantee tenants rents they can afford in rehabilitated structures. Puerto Ricans and Negroes live in the worst buildings, where rent increases would be highest because the repair costs are highest. These costs could amount to $60 per month as shown in buildings rehabilitated by Roger Starr It must be possible to subsidize improvement costs to this high level in order to accommodate the people living in these buildings. Thus far, we have no program to do that job.

Secondly, present landlords are not capable of rehabilitation unless their buildings are in good repair and well maintained at present. This would eliminate a third of the tenement owners from inclusion in the program. The city must take ov buildings, turn them over to local non-profit owner-operator organizations cooperatives, and provide money for their rehabilitation at low or no interest ra. It might also have to provide grants. It could also take over and operate buildings itself, but the local organization is probably better for this job. Additional loan funds should be made available for environmental improvements where local organizations can get several buildings adjacent to each other.

Here we might discuss rent struck buildings and buildings in which rents have been reduced to $1. What do we do now? Since the value of the buidling is severely reduced by these actions, they can often be bought for little more than the outstanding mortgage. A local non-profit corporation could be organized to acquire these buildings and manage them. It could apply to the city or to banks for loans with which to refinance and improve the buildings. Using the rent strike organizatio they could demonstrate until such funds are made available, and even boycott the banks Since most of the bank's money is locally deposited, they should make loans for the improvement of the area. In the worst buildings, the demands would be much higher, including heavier subsidies to reduce the rent increases which would result from rehabilitation.

None of the foregoing is supposed to suggest that we stop talking about code enforcement or receivership. They are excellent strategies for continually exposing the inadequacy of current city programs. They should be pushed to the hilt. But they should not be made the basic demands of a rent strike. The demands should only start with the idea of inspections, certified violations, reductions of rent to $1., prosecution and jailing of the landlord, emergency repairs to the building, quick receivership for the buildings and improvement to code levels. All this should be a sort of pre-condition for getting down to the discussion of real demands.

What are the most effective ways of getting these pre-conditions met? By careful documenting of the violations on the buildings, by equally careful presentation of these complaints and demands from the various agencies responsible for code enforcement or building improvement, by vigorous and constant pressure on the city agencies to carry out their obligations under the law, and by continuously presenting the facts and figures on their progress to the general public. These activities can best be handled by a full-time staff of trained technicians. It is worth considerabl effort to try and finance such a staff operation.

Once on the road to having these pre-conditions met, the rent strike can move toward its real and more basic demands: Demands for decent housing that is going to last for thirty years in tenements and for new low-rent construction without disrupting the community. These should be the real demands, and they should be backed u with a plan for accomplishing the objectives. To start with, it could be a skeleton plan which merely says that subsidies for rehabilitation of buildings that can be improved be provided, assurances that relocation will be successfully undertaken through the provision of vest-pocket housing on nearby vacant land, provisions for encouraging non-profit local corporations or cooperatives to take over buildings must be provided, etc. Our demands must stay ahead of their responses, and should be geared to basic changes in housing policy and programs. To develop such plans, exper planning assistance will be necessary. Only with such help can you aggressively confront the city in terms its technical bureaucracy cannot ignore.

Citizen Participation

The efforts of citizens to participate in the governmental process, in the improvement of housing conditions and the rebuilding of cities is going to become most meaningful when it is related to a general philosophy of the kinds of changes required and the ways of accomplishing such changes. Up to now, we have not been too successful because we have not had such a philosophy and have tackled problems in uncoordinated and piecemeal fashion. Our cooperative efforts are often marked by dissension and intrigue, our programs are well-meaning but ambiguous and sometimes quite poor.

In housing, the kind of philosophy we might all be able to align ourselves with is a dual concept of housing as a public utility and local participation in change. In practise, we would support and initiate programs and actions which would further the notion of publicly owned, or at least rigidly controlled housing on the one hand, and be equally adamant about putting this control into local hands on the other. We want to establish responsible management of all property through public ownership (preferably local), and we want to have a good deal to say about what should be done in our areas, how it should be done, and who is going to do it. In fact, we want to do it ourselves - with the government footing the bill.

To get to this point, we will have to organize more satisfactorily on city-wide as well as local levels. There are too few programs of action on which we are united, too few actions which are coordinated and integrated. While we fight urban renewal in different ways in different cases, and while this flexibility and individuality is good, we also have to develop common grounds for opposition and unified demands for change. While civic groups have in the past agreed on such items as rent control, and in the more recent past, have received impetus for more such combined actions from the civil rights movement, the gulf between the objectives of housing and civil rights groups is also wide. And the only way to close this gap is to make a continuous effort to find bases for agreement, to broaden the scope of housers, to sharpen the civil rights movement's concept of housing improvement, to develop an overall umbrella under which we can all ride with comfort.

Communities in this and other cities have proven their ability to tackle practically every aspect of housing and reneal. They have undertaken to plan for their own areas (Cooper Square and elsewhere), to relocate tenants (Philadelphia), to undertake local improvement programs, including rehabilitation (Philadelphia and Baltimore), and to address themselves to comprehensive economic and social problems of local communities (Mobilization and HARYOU). While the success of these actions has varied, the local communities have generally done better than central authorities. And in the case of housing integration, central authorities have generally proven helpless. We owe it to ourselves, therefore, to press for self-determination and to propose self-operated programs. We should press for appointment as agents of the city in planning and renewal, for contractual arrangements similar to those given private sponsors, for the opportunity to use government resources in the way that would most benefit the community.

Housing Integration

Staff members of CORE have been increasingly interested in finding ways of dramatically confronting society with the problem of housing integration. This has always been a difficult problem, not only because it seems so complex (what with blockbusting and problems of compliance), but because there seems to be an antipathy toward housing integration among Negroes themselves. Not only must whites open the door to their communities but Negroes must be found to enter them.

It has often been noted that a middle-income government aided project has had difficulty in finding non-white tenants even though it had no policy of discrimination and even thought the availability of units was advertised in the Negro and Puerto Rican press. While many reasons can be advanced for this, one seems to stand out: Negroes do not want to move into a project in which they may turn out to be a "token" minority. This, when added to the discrimination he may be subjected to, the inadequacy of the location in many cases, the completely unfamiliar section in which he may find himself, and the potential insincerity of the advertisement in the first place, may well sour him on attempting any such move.

To counteract this general apathy, the concept of group applications should be tried A group of prospective cooperative or middle-income rental tenants should be gotten together and their applications processed for general housing purposes. When a middle-income project comes along, a group representing a certain percentage of the total number of apartments is formed to specifically make application for housing. This does two things. First, it confronts the sponsor who is only making a token gesture to integration and has no intention of following up and second, it eliminates a host of uncertainties in the mind of the individual applicant. He knows there will be many other Negroes in the project, that his rights will be somewhat more protected than if he attmepted to apply on his own. Under such auspices, Negroes will more likely apply for project they have thus far disdained.

This general notion can be carried further - into areas of already built-up housing Thus far, all efforts in this direction have ended in failure. Though some 300 groups are reportedly working on opening occupancy to Negroes, the 1962 conference of the National Committee Against Discrimination reported only 125 families who had been found housing by this method. Obviously, the individual approach, the "nice" approach, is severely limited in its effectiveness.

What could be tried, however, is a massive "visit in" on white neighborhoods by Negroes. Where one Negro will fear to tread, several hundred or several thousand will not. Let Negroes make themselves visible in areas where they might want to live. Let Negroes walk into white areas to see whether they find the area desirable, whether they would like to live there. Have a "Visit the Neighborhood of Your Choice This Sunday" demonstration, or get one of these open occupancy groups to invite Negroes to visit with their white neighbors in Kew Gardens or Bay Ridge or other white areas with reasonable rentals.

Gaining access to white areas in the city through this open confrontation will be dramatic. Simply bringing Negroes into an area every Sunday could have an electrifying effect. If enough pressure is put on local white communities, we could look for at least some of the following results:

1. Low or no-interest loans for ownership in the suburbs for families of low or moderate income (especially for those displaced by renewal) might be offered.

2. Public housing may be accepted in an area like Queens much more readily - particularly small projects. (CORE can help this along with torch-light parades or mass meetings in vacant Queens lots.)

3. The city may take a stronger stand in its relocation practises in white areas.

4. The community "visited" may actually open occupancy to Negroes.

Conclusion

What we have really been talking about is the development of a movement which confronts the existing power structure and which proposes changes of a fundamental nature. Since the low-income groups are not represented in the existing power structure, the grass roots groups and civil rights movement must represent them. And in order to properly represent these people, in order to present the demands in an unmistakable form, in order to keep politicians and technicians from slipping off the hook, we need to develop our own program to a point fine enough to convince others of the rightness of our demands and the rightness of the proposed social revolution.

Our tactics are the rent strike, the urban renewal oppostion, the Albany march, the dramatic confrontation of the city at every turn where city policies and programs work to the detriment of or are indifferent to the needs of the people. The housing programs are part of an overall philosophy of government for the elimination of poverty. Our demands must always be geared to education and employment in additon to housing, but also to the kinds of education and employment which will help to eliminate poverty. This includes the bootstrap improvement of the community which utilizes local labor, the education of the poor to the point where they can hold jobs in modern society, and the utilization of research to plan and program for full and satisfactory employment or its equivalent in the future.

If we want freedom now, we will have to march out of our ghettoes. Let Negroes march, strike, go out in droves to look for apartments. This is the CORE spirit, the winning strategy which must be present. Without it, the best programs in the world will be ineffective. With this spirit, only the best programs are good enough to fight for.

- END -

[1964?]

ECONOMICS OF EQUALITY

Tom Kahn

The civil rights organizations have produced no detailed studies of the Negro's economic plight as it relates to national trends. Not until the March on Washington did the movement project a clear set of economic demands. They were essentially correct, but sketchy, and have since been pretty much forgotten. They need to be revived and popularized.

Several of the organizations, notably SNCC and CORE, have begun to recruit numbers of working class and unemployed Negroes, many of them youths. Attracted by the militant direct-action of these organizations, the new recruits become restless when activity ebbs and often drift away. To a large extent, this will be a perennial problem. Still, more intensive internal social-educational programs will certainly polish some rough diamonds and yield high-level leadership with deep roots in the community.

The task is not easy; it would be a pioneering effort in many ways similar to the worker-education programs developed by the early labor movement. Occasional area conferences are not enough. In techniques (though presumably not subject matter,) the civil rights organizations might take their cues from some of the radical political sects. Infused with the spirit of the movement, continuous classes in politics, economics, Negro history, etc., might take on a meaning they never had in the formal classroom. They should be combined with practical training in leadership and organization skills (writing, speechmaking, stencil-cutting, mimeographing, etc.)

Again, the civil rights organizations will not ultimately be able to enlist and maintain the participation of the Negro masses on the basis of a middle-class integrationist ideology. Nor can they do so on the basis of abstract economic analysis. But such analysis can lead to -- must lead to -- the formulation of dramatic economic demands that express real needs, arouse popular support, and stimulate greater awareness of basic issues.

The civil rights movement, as a first step, should make its economic demands explicit. The March on Washington, I believe, points the way with its key demand for a massive federal works program to put all Americans back to work.

A number of proposals have been advanced to solve the problem of unemployment. While space does not permit extensive analysis of these proposals, the major criticisms of each may be briefly outlined as an argument for the massive federal works program.

1) The Administration's proposed $11 billion tax-cut is the centerpiece of the Administration's program to reduce unemployment to ...4%! One fourth of the dollars involved go to the corporations to stimulate investment, the remainder go to individuals to stimulate consumption. But corporate profits are already at an all-time high; why assume that tax savings would be invested when available capital is not. Besides the Council of Economic Advisors estimates that 70% of current business investment in plant and equipment is for modernization and replacement (read: automation) rather than expansion.

Professor Killingsworth makes a more profound criticism of the tax-cut in terms of the structural or class character of unemployment:

> Despite a steady (but slow) improvement in the average educational level of the work force, the change in the pattern of demand for labor has created a large surplus of poorly-educated workers and serious shortages of certain kinds of highly-educated workers. Because of the new employment patterns in the economy, a general increase in spending for goods and services by consumers and an increase in investment by business firms -- which are the hoped-for effects of the proposed \$11 billion tax-cut -- would soon result in acute shortages of many kinds of highly educated workers without greatly reducing the present surplus of poorly-educated workers. The bottleneck in the supply of workers at the top of the educational ladder would seriously impede the continued economic expansion that is essential to reduce to tolerable levels the shocking rates of unemployment that we find today at the middle and bottom of the educational ladder.

Like Myrdal, Killingsworth emphasizes the need to improve the quality of the labor supply, and wryly observes that "while the Administration urgently presses for the \$11-billion tax cut, we are actually spending around \$100 million this year for manpower retraining."

2) Manpower retraining and education on a massive scale is indispensable to achieving and maintaining full employment in a technologically revolutionary society. But the immediate employment benefits of retraining are limited. Many blude-collar workers are beyond retraining, eg., miners, laborers and other unskilled workers over 40. Nor are educationally disadvantaged youth likely candidates for training in skilled jobs. And for what jobs do we retrain service personnel, who will soon feel the impact of cybernation? Before retraining could reach maximum effectiveness, the primary and secondary school systems will have to be radically improved. Even then, large numbers of marginal workers will not be able to make the necessary adjustments.

3) A shorter workweek has been advocated by the labor movement, on the grounds that rising productivity means that fewer manhours are required to create ever greater abundance of goods and services. Andrew J. Biemiller, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, has estimated by purely arithmetical calculation that another million jobs would result from each hour cut from the standard workweek; hence, a cut to 35-hours would produce five million new jobs.

The problem is that "purely arithmetical calculations" are wide of the mark since manhours are not exactly interchangeable units. There are skilled manhours and unskilled manhours. How does the shortening of the workweek of an automobile worker create a job for a displaced miner? It could, in fact, create a job for a machine. In his study on cybernation for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Donald N. Michael writes that the shorter workweek approach

> is intended to maintain the ability of workers to consume the products of cybernation and, in the case of blue-collar workers, to maintain the strength of unions. This would retain the consumer purchasing power capacity for x workers in those situations where the nature of the cybernation process is such that x men would do essentially the same work as x plus y men used to do. But when the task itself is eliminated or new tasks are developed that need different talents, shorter shifts clearly will not solve the problem. The latter conditions are then more likely ones as cybernation becomes more sophisticated.

The shorter workweek will doubtess be a concomitant or result of full employment, not the cause. Walter Reuther and other labor leaders most prominently associated with the shorter workweek demand before it loomed so large in official AFL-CIO policy have indicated that they do not consider it a full-employment panacea, but see it as part of a program including a tax cut, public spending, and a liberal monetary policy. Nonetheless, so long as the shorter workweek remains the labor movement's key demand, the AFL-CIO will be suspect of protective unionism and indifference to the plight of masses of unemployed workers.

By contrast, the demand for a massive federal works program can be a natural rallying point for virtually all the unemployed. Such a program would do what others cannot--abolish class unemployment by providing job opportunities even for unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

Says Mr. Michael,

> If our understanding of the direction of cybernation is correct, the government will probably be faced for the indefinite future with the need to support part of the population through public works. There is no dearth of public work to be done, and it is not impossible that so much would continue to be needed that an appropriately organized public works program could stimulate the economy to the point that a substantial portion of the work force could be re-absorbed into the private sector. That is, although the proportion of workers needed for any particular taks will be reduced through the use of cybernation the total number of tasks that need to be done could equal or exceed the absolute number of people available to do them.

The civil rights movement should have a special interest in massive federal works program because it can provide jobs and additional purchasing power for the unskilled and semi-skilled categories in which Negroes are so heavily concentrated. No less important, Negroes will especially benefit from the fruits of public works: slum clearance, school and hospital construction, decongestant highway and road construction, new parks and playgrounds, carefully-planned public housing, etc. We can at least begin the rational reorganization and decentralization of our cities.

Some economists object that a public works program would have an air of "make-work" or "handout" that would demoralize workers. This need not be true. It depends upon the value society assigns to the work being performed. Certainly a public works program carried out by the guardians of the status quo -- who regard poverty as a moral flaw and those on relief as chiselers -- would have the predicted results. But under new political leadership genuinely committed to "getting America moving again," such a program could be cast in radically different terms: not as a "make-work," not even merely as an assault on unemployment but as a historic crusade for the physical and social reconstruction, literally the rebuilding, of the nation. If unemployment did not exist, a national face-lifting would still be needed if our social services, our very patterns of life, are to catch up with Twentieth Century technology. In a rational and humane society, conscious of its own developing needs, participants in a reconstruction program would be accorded the respect reserved in the past for the financially successful.

To achieve its economic and social goals, a public works program would require democratic central planning. Which public projects, in which locations, will maximize employment? What kinds of financial control should be devised to assure independence from private banks and insurance companies? Prospective public housing tenants must have a way in determining where their new homes will be and what they will look like. Only intelligent planning can create neighborhoods that are racially, culturally, educationally and economically integrated.

Fair and full employment through a massive federal works program -- this is a civil rights demand. Vigorous agitation and direct action around it should become central for the movement.

[1964?]

Ronnie Moore

The CORE SOUTHERN EDUCATION PROJECT PROPOSALS FOR A CORE NEGRO CULTURAL PROGRAM - Revised

(This analysis is submitted for study, improvement and a basis for programming)

-- Benjamin A. Brown, Staff Associate, C.S.E.P.

As we stand at the crossroads and take a serious recapitulation of where the civil rights movement has come from, where we stand today, and where we are going tomorrow, the C. S. E. P. submits for consideration an outline for the development of a Negro cultural program. During the past decade CORE has won the admiration and respect of Negro communities across the country by its militant and determined drives to end segregation in public accomodation, housing, employment and schools, etc., and for this we are all justly proud. However, since the Negro people aspire to achieve full equality in all walks of American life, including economic, social, political and cultural life, we believe that the study of, and the development of a Negro cultural program in CORE is essential to helping the Negro people win full equality, and essential also to achieve success in our community action program. (In a minute way the C. S. E. P. has already launched a Negro book study program through our shipment of tens of thousands of volumes on Negro history, literature and culture to CORE community centers in the deep South) Responses that we have received from recipients of these books in the South reflect universal pride in the discovery of Negro contributions to American life. Moreover, the C. S. E. P. receives many requests for information about books on Negro life and history, how to establish Negro history programs, and for speakers to lecture on the role of the Negro in American life.

We believe that an essential aspect of a Negro cultural program would be to bring pressure to bear upon the publishing industry to eliminate stereotypes and distortions of the role of Negroes in books of history, literature and culture, and to wage a campaign to eliminate discrimination in employment in the publishing industry. The noted dean of American Negro critics, J. Saunders Redding, writes: "Although they are losing the power to annul the Negro's simple human dignity, white people retain the authority to disallow the Negro's participation in American civilization... The standard anthologies do not contain the writings of Charles W. Chestnut, who was a far better novelist than his better known contemporary, William Dean Howells, and W. E. B. DuBois, whose beautiful book, The Souls of Black Folk, is a classic by whatever standards of excellence one cares to set, graces no readily accessible anthology. Although Margaret Walker won the Yale Younger Poets Award in 1942, and Gwendolyn Brooks won the Pulitzer Poetry Award in 1950, neither is represented in Malcolm Brinnin's new anthology, nor in Pack, Hall and Simpson's New Poets of England and America". We add to Mr. Redding's critique that no Negro writers are represented in Clifton Fadiman's The American Treasury. We cannot win the full confidence and support of the Negro people, then, without developing programs to help them to achieve full equality and participation in the cultural life of our country. Moreover, to the extent that Negroes and Whites are enlightened on the true role of Negroes in American life, to that extent may we expect: a) a new pride and a new militancy among Negroes, and b) a greater respect and a deeper understanding among Whites for Negroes. We believe that a CORE oriented Negro cultural program would rally and consolidate our relations in Negro communities, and at the same time undercut the antagonistic black nationalist currents that hamper Negro-White alliance and cooperation.

HOW COULD A NEGRO CULTURAL PROGRAM BE DEVELOPED?

A) Complete the CORE GUIDE TO NEGRO HISTORY & LITERATURE (OR CULTURE), a comprehensive bibliography of all major books by and about Negroes that is being compiled by the C. S. E. P. with synopses and illustrations, and make this printed booklet available for sale all CORE chapters, centers, freedom schools, and to the public. (We would hope that the CORE GUIDE would carry an introductory statement by the National Director on CORE's program) It will be popularly priced, depending on the cost of production, and should be a profit-making venture for CORE.

B) Use the CORE GUIDE as a basis for developing chapter/center/project educational programs about Negro life, history and culture.

C) CORE would select books of fiction, history, poetry, sociology and social comment by and about Negroes, along with books on non-violence, etcetara, for sale to our associate membership and for the public.

D) CORE would make a special point of including Negro artists in its art show benefits along with White artists.

E) Local CORE chapters would be encouraged to invite Negro authors, historians, sociologists and artists to participate in fund-raising community programs.

F) CORE would set up a small bookshop or library in its National Office for the sale of books on civil rights, Negro history, literature, culture and selected social comment.

G) CORE would help develop a greater appreciation of Negro contributions to society by including Negro history, literature, and especially poetry in lectures to organizations.

H) Finally, CORE would establish closer liason with such groups as the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, The Anti-Defamation League, etc., and take the initiative in helping the Negro population achieve more honest representation of their contributions to society in the publishing industry.

Mindful of the financial difficulties of National CORE, we project this program not as a new departmental function of the organization but as one that could very easily be incorporated into one of the existing departments, such as, for example, the Organization Department. Also existing staff could be used to develop this program. The CORE Southern Education Project has already begun this work. We ask now that the National Organization adopt it after making any necessary corrections and develop it.

CORE SOUTHERN EDUCATION PROJECT Committee: Benjamin A. Brown, Robert Daniels, Ashley King, Mary Brown, Marilyn Einhorn, Virginia Hood, David Holderidge, Loraine Fox, Virginia Tallarico, Susan Lowry, Samuel Akesson, Pamela Day, Nancy Jacobsen, Norman Goodwin, Rose Gordon, Sarah Guilford, June Corbett, et. al.

MSS CORE -
85 SOUTHERN
Z-4 REGIONAL

Regional Office

Projects - Summer Project

1964, [illegible] -
1965, August

Apparently c. ~~[illegible]~~ April, 1964

NORTH FLORIDA SUMMER REGISTRATION PROJECT

Revision

For the sake of maximum efficiency during the summer registration period, the number of counties suggested for inclusion in the project has been cut from 16 to eight. Thus, although half of the original counties will not benefit from a registration campaign, the total number of potential registrants who will not benefit is only 2,959. Due to increased registration in all 16 counties the potential total for all 16 is 29,759, while the registration potential for the eight now under consideration is 26,800. The original total potential of 33,044 was calculated before thelatest registration figures were available to us. In conclusion we feel that by including only those counties with significant potentials we gain much by dropping eight from the point of view of efficiency and lose very little from the point of view of total effect.

Geographic Areas

On Page Two of this report is a map of Florida with the counties under consideration marked in yellow. Beginning at the West with Escambia and Okaloosa, we have indicated at least two staff members should be assigned to that section. Escambia has 6,966 unregistered Negroes while Okaloosa has 959. Both could live in Pensacola(Escambia) to begin with, working both counties together. Later the heavier work of Escambia would require the great majority of time to be given there.

Jackson and Bay counties, with a total potential of 3,498 would also require two persons. In the beginning they would work together, acquainting the communities with the program. They could live in Marianna(Jackson). Later it would likely prove more practical for one to locate in Bay County.

Gadsden County, due to its high number of unregistered Negroes, should have 2 staff-members who remain in that county during the entire project. (10,836 unregistered).

The Jefferson-Madison-Suwannee area should have at least 2 staff-persons. Madison(the town) would be a good central point for these staff to begin from, being no fartehr than 25 miles from the county seat of the other two counties.

Staff

We have suggested here that there be eight field staff for these counties. For maximum effectiveness there should also be a field secretary who could help in all areas with information and be free to co-ordinate activities. If this is not possible, it would probably be best to have seven field staff with the field secretary living in Gadsden County, which is central, and helping with the program there also.

It would be necessary for the project to have one central office in Quincy where the field secretary could work in order to co-ordinate distribution of materials and where staff could make contact with operations. Quincy seems the best place for a number of reasons. First, the office could serve as a center both for the entire project and the Gadsden County project in which nearly half of the unregistered voters are. Second, the office we are now using is free. It would be necessary to install a private phone because the phone there now belongs to Rev. Crutcher, and we might interfere with his living conditions severely. Also, his phone is a 4-party line which has its limitations. We should also be prepared to give a small sum, perhaps $15 a month to him for the utilities and use of his bathroom. In this way he can continue to justify our use of the office to his parishioners, who support it now.

Other Offices

It is very possible, that as in Leon County, a registration office could be set up in the other areas, supported by the communities themselves. These offices, however, would not come under the expenses of the project itself.

Transportation

For maximum mobility and effectiveness it would be helpful if there were a car for each county area---one for Escambia-Okaloosa, one for Jackson-Bay and one for Jefferson-Madison-Suwannee. In Gadsden County there are a number of teenagers and adults willing to drive staff most of the time, and one man will loan his car any time it is really necessary, even for long trips. The field secretary should have a car.

Gas and other transportation

Based on our experience here, total transportation costs either in the form of gas or cars run about $15 per week per person. This includes most repairs, except unforeseen major repairs---which have run about $100 per car for four months---although I can't remember earlier repairs. This figure would vary of course, particularly after the project gets well under way.

Supplies

Supplies such as stamps, paper, etc., not used directly for county projects but in correspondence with other staff, etc., seem to run around $2 per person per week. The community would be expected, of course, to provide paper, etc., for leaflets and other projects in the specific county.

Occasional emergency telephone calls will undoubtedly occur. With good co-ordination however, these calls should not exceed $80/month.

It would probably be the case that these calls would be to or from the Quincy office. Unless large amounts of funds could be collected in Gadsden County or from occasional benefits in Leon County, we should expect that the project be prepared to bear this cost.

Length of Project

The expected length of this project is from around the 5th of June to the 5th of September. All calculations are based on this period.

~~Tentative~~ Tentative Schedule

Assuming that the staff could be in Tallahassee around the 5th of June, it seems necessary to have about a week here of staff orientation. Housing(free) could be arranged for all staff, with perhaps a number of free or inexpensive meals provided by the community. We would cover the following:

1. orientation to Florida, esp. North Florida
2. registration figures and developments in counties under consideration
3. geographic orientation
4. political orientation—which candidates have Negroes generally supported in these counties and why
5. social and economic problems for Negroes here
6. registration techniques: canvassing, block work, mass meetings, posters, bumper stickers.......Mr. Hunter, etc.
7. fund-raising--such as musical benefits---Mrs. Shaw
8. fund-handling
9. community participation: attending church, etc.
10. involving teenagers
11. what to do in case of arrest
12. reports on program, projects, expense accounts.

After this period of training staff would go to their various areas. For the first four weeks there would be a staff meeting once a week, probably in Gadsden County or Leon County, with the field secretary visiting each group of staff during the week. After the first month one staff meeting every two weeks would probably be sufficient with frequent visits from the field secretary. These meetings would be useful in sharing problems and solutions, getting new materials and renewing the feeling of being a part of a large total effort.

It is very likely that as the project progresses some staff would be shifted in either area or emphasis, as suggested earlier.

PROJECT EXPENSES

Staff:	8 Task Force for 3 months @ $100/month	2400.00	
	1 Field Sec. for 3 months @ $400/month	1200.00	3600.00
Central Office:			
	Utilities 3 months @ $15/month	45.00	
	Telephone(incl. estimated long-distance charges) 3 months @ $90/month	270.00	
	Co-ordinating supplies for 3 months @ $30/month	90.00	
	Mimeograph machine	50.00	455.00
Transportation:			
	$60.per month per person for 3 months	1620.00	
	$100 for repairs for four cars(each) for 3 mo.	400.00	2020.00
Project Supplies for Staff:			
	$2/week per person for 3 months	216.00	216.00
Bond Reserve for Arrests		1000.00	1000.00
Orientation		75.00	
8 subsequent conferences @ approx. $15 each		120.00	195.00
Miscellaneous		500.00	500.00
		TOTAL	$7986.00

NON-WHITE REGISTRATION STATISTICS--1964--COMPARATIVE

COUNTY	ELIGIBLE	REGISTERED	% REGISTERED	POTENTIAL
Escambia (Pensacola)	18,041	11,075	61.5	6,966
Okaloosa (Crestview)	2097	1138	54.1	959
Bay (Panama City)	4964	3473	70.0	1491
Jackson (Marianna)	5390	3382	62.7	2008
Gadsden (Quincy)	12,261	1425	11.5	10,836
Jefferson (Monticello)	2600	636	24.5	1962
Madison (Madison)	3067	1602	52.2	1465
Suwannee (Live Oak)	2159	1046	48.4	1113
		TOTAL POTENTIAL		26,800

SUMMARY REPORT

LOUISIANA FREEDOM SUMMER

June 10 - June 25, 1964

On June 10, 1964, approximately 34 workers from across the United States came to Plaquemine, Louisiana to work on voter registration in 17 Louisiana parishes. The names of the workers have been submitted to your organization under separate cover. From June 10th to June 14th, the workers attended day and night classes in a training session headed by James T. McCain, director of organization, Ronnie Moore, Field Secretary of CORE in Louisiana, and seven regular Task Force workers. During the training session we taught the history of voter registration in Louisiana, Louisiana voter registration procedures, techniques of canvassing, principles of community organization, philosophy of non-violence, and other pertinent subjects, outlined to some extent in the enclosed brief prepared by the Louisiana Task Force and entitled "Louisiana in Brief".

After four days of training and voter registration activity in the parish of Iberville, the 34 workers were assigned in groups to carry on voter registration campaigns in five Louisiana parishes, namely: Tangipahoa, St. Helena, Iberville, Jackson, and Ouachita.

After the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered the registrars in East and West Feliciana parishes to open their books, we moved there to work.

The headquarters of the project is located at 306 Ivey Street, Plaquemine, Louisiana, phone: 687-9131. The coordinating center for northern Louisiana is located at 103 North 10th St., Monroe, Louisiana, phone: 322-9103.

Field reports on individual parishes are enclosed for detailed consideration.

From June 25 to 27 all workers will be in Iberville parish for a staff conference. Afterwards they will be dispersed into parishes as the enclosed parish assignment list indicates.

From June 28 to July 26, 1964 we will be concentrating on "registration education" training persons how to fill out the Louisiana VR forms and spurring community interest so that we will have stand-ins when the registration books reopen for three days (July 27 - 29, 1964).

Although we may not show large registration gains during the project, we know that the groundwork laid during this time will pay off when the books reopen in the month of September. For persons trained during the summer VR clinics will be already prepared to apply for registration. Many will show then.

However, let me not lead you falsely. Voter registration in Louisiana is not easy. Registrars are highly technical. Discrimination exists in every parish. Harrassments and intimidations are used daily to instill fear in the Negro community. Supplementary fact sheets are provided in your package.

Ronnie Moore
CORE Field Secretary
June 27, 1964

COPY

STAFF MEETING
Louisiana Freedom Summer
Friday, June 26, 1964 at noon
Saturday, June 27, 1964

Ronnie M. Moore, Presiding   Mimi Feingold, Recording

I. Freedom Songs

II. Field Reports & Area Discussions
  A. Tangipahoa -- Howard Messing
  B. St. Helena -- Loria Davis
  C. E. and W. Feliciana -- Mimi Feingold
  D. Ouachita -- Mike Lesser
  E. Jackson -- Danny Mitchell
  F. Iberville -- Spiver Gordon

III. Financial Reports and Budget Limitations

BREAK

IV. Louisiana Voter Registration Procedures

V. Group Leaders' Conference
  A. Mimi Feingold
  B. Loria Davis
  C. Howard Messing ?
  D. Spiver Gordon
  E. Danny Mitchell
  Sharon Burger
  F. Mike Lesser
  G. Ruthie Wells
  H. Catherine Patterson
  I. Frederick Brooks
  J. Lawrence Mitchell

BREAK

VI. Drivers' Conference
  A. Mike Lesser
  B. Danny Mitchell
  C. Bob MacPhail
  D. Howard Messing ?
  E. Lawrence Mitchell
  Charles Fenton
  F. Spiver Gordon
  G. Sharon Burger
  H. Frederick Brooks
  I. Dave Kramer
  J. Robert Hurwitt

Break

VII. Complaints in U.S. Dept. of Justice

VIII. Actual Registration in July
June 30, 1964 State Board of Registration
Appointment of Freedom Registrars

IX. Freedom Registration in July

X. Farmer's Rallies -- July 24, 25, & 26.

COPY

XI. Stand-ins -- July 27, 28, 29, 1964

XII. Presentation of Application Forms to Parish
Registrars -- August 3, 1964

XIII. Presentation of Application Forms to Federal
Judiciary, August 5, 1964

XIV. Second Leadership Conference, August 6, 1964

XV. Termination of Project, August 9, 1964
"Perspectives on the Civil Rights Program in
Louisiana

XVI. Anything for discussion

BREAK

XVII. Parish Assignments & Area Discussion
Morning -- June 28, 1964
leave Plaquemine by noon Monday June 29, 1964

BREAK

XVIII. Personal Conferences

XIX. August 9 -- August 30, 1964
6 month program, Permanent Staff Selection

COPY

V.E.P. FIELD REPORT

I June 19–June 24

II Ouachita Parish

III West Monroe

IV Statistics
  A Ouachita Parish
  1 Total Population 102,000
    Negro 50,000
    White 52,000
  2 Registered 1,400
    White 28,000
  3 Registration Potential
    Negro 18,000

  B West Monroe
  1 Total Population 16,618
    Negro
    White
    Negro Reg.
    White Reg.
    Negro Potential

V Contacts
  1 Mr. Alsie Hicks—704 Mill West Monroe, La.
  2 Rev & Mrs. P. Mayfield Brown—209 S. 9th St. West Monroe, La.
  3 Mr. Montgomery Bell—1202 Joe Bill West Monroe, La.

VI Volunteer Workers

1	James Brown	209 S 9th St. West Monroe	17 years of age
2	Calvin Williams	1702 Breard St. Monroe La.	22
3	Diane Gordon	2705 Coolidge	17
4	Carla Brown	2403 Short Washington	15
5	Vera Stewart	7 South 21st St.	14
6	Jackie Smith	125 S 21st	14
7	Sandra Bowie	1801 Adams	20
8	Leo Saucier	1900 Adams	21
9	Sarah McCoy	2306 Wood St	22
10	Jimmie Burrell	100 S 29th St	17

VII West Monroe. Socio Economic Evaluation

The economy of the city of West Monroe is dominated by the Olin-Mathieson Chemical Corporation, which has a paper mill and four container plants located there. Total employment of these 5 facilities is 2,700, of which only 122 are Negro;

Although ½ the population is Negro there is no participation by Negroes in political decision-making within the community. This is true except for the electoral process and here Negroes are to a great extent, systematically excluded from participation by discrimination in registration procedures

VIII Evaluation of Negro Community

In West Monroe there seems to be no laws of power-no organized community and no reconprized ledership.

There are two Negro unions for workers at the Olin-Matherson plants. The one at the paper mill is completely inactive in civil rights. But the one for the factory operations has five members who have been working with us on equal employment activities and in voter registration.

There is also an "Independent Voters League" which meets infrequently, it has helped us on two ocasions in the past by holding voter registration clinics. Otherwise it seems inactive.

In general the Negro community live in a state of fear of the official white power structure and the K.K.K.

IX Voter Registration Activities

A Clinics

Calvary Baptist Church South 9th St.
Clinics held Monday June 22, 1964 and
Tuesday June 23, 1964
7-9 PM
People were taught at home while canvassing

B Registrar Mrs. Mae Luckey

Fails people on technical errors most difficulty encountered on identification. She requires at least 3 pieces of identification and has varying standards.

X Direct Action

None engaged in this period. Young people are ready.

XI Chapter Development

A CORE group already exists here and it activities have been reported previously. At present it is assisting in the V.R. drive.

XII Community Attitudes Towards CORE

A White

They dont like us. We continually receive harrassing phone calls. This past week any number of cars have followed us and we have been threatened by the K.K.K. A cross was burned Sunday night near our house.

XIII Intimidation and Harrassement

(See attached report by Peter Teachout

Submitted by:

Mike Lesser
Ruthee Wells

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT REPORT

ORGANIZATION: CORE
306 Ivey Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana

PERSON REPORTING: Ronnie Moore

PERIOD COVERED: June 1 to June 25, 1964

DATE SUBMITTED: June 27, 1964

PARISH	CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	NUMBER REGISTERED AS A RESULT OF THIS PROGRAM
Tangipahoa	6	35
St. Helena	6	44
East Feliciana	6	4
West Feliciana	6	8
Iberville	6	97
Pointe Coupee	6	33
Ascension	6	41
Jackson	5	38
Ouachita	5	17

[1964, June]

DRIVERS

Mike Lesser

Spiver Gordon

Bob McPhail

Bob Hurwitt

Danny Mitchell

Lawrence Mitchell

Sharon Burger

Dave Kramer

Joanne Darkin

Calvin Williams

COPY

[1964, June]

What We Expect To Gain From The Summer Project

1. 600-800 Negroes to be registered.

2. Community organization leading to chapter development.

3. Training of persons to be ready to apply for registration in September which is the last month for registration before the presidential election.

4. Freedom Registration

    A. Freedom Registrars
    B. Presenting of application forms to parish registrars, Federal Judiciary, and at National Democratic Convention.
    C. Freedom Delegates to National Democratic Convention.

5. Direct Action aimed at implementation of the Civil Rights Bill.

6. Stand Ins at the registrars offices in protest of disfranchisement.

7. To service and / or scout 17 parishes and to make contacts for continued programs after the project.

COPY

CORE SOUTHERN WORKSHOPS

December 24, 1964

The CORE Southern Program is a broad undertaking which attempts to touch the lives of southerners at many points. Each of our workers is concerned with one or several such points, but few have the opportunity to see our full program in depth. This workshop is the first of three scheduled to be held before summer, 1965: Jan. 21-23, March 25-27 and May 27-29.

The subject matter of the three conferences will not vary appreciably. There are three general topics: program, CORE organization and procedures, and non-CORE services(legal aid, etc.). Sessions will be set up in small-group workshops. For the most part, resident staff-people will serve as discussion leaders, but some non-CORE resource persons play an essential role in explaining their special activities.

Either in part or in toto, the conference may handily consider these basic questions:

1. To what human need(s) is this program(or project) addressed?
2. Can you state a goal for it?
3. What methods or activities are presently employed to carry out the program?
4. Can you evaluate the effectiveness of these methods?
5. What programmatic changes and/or additions are necessary?
6. How does your project fit into the total program?

There are presently sixty-five field secretaries and Task Force workers on the CORE staff, plus fifteen or so volunteers. We plan for at least five additional resource people, a number that had best be considered as ten. This adds up to an approximate total number of ninety people, of whom eighty will be from out-of-town. A budget is appended, together with an agenda for the workshop.

(DO NOT WRITE ABOVE THIS LINE)

This is about all for now - Rest. So I guess I will
have to close hoping that you will alway write and
let us know how you are making it out there in
that Sinful Evil World. And I am sure that
you will get this letter, and I will always get
response. Because these are nice Christian People
running this Prison and they are glad to know
that Gospel Christian People I tell you are interested
enough in us to write us, telling us how we
must turn to God.
I have A nice radio and I am getting the
orning Advocate every day. But the speaker in
adio is busted. and I will appreciate it
much if you will please go to an appliance
Paly for me A Speaker, size 4 INCH, and two
Wst. Have the store to mail them here
mp I Angola, La.
you Know time. I receive these
al good care of yourself and the

Letter to man in jail -
Apologize for lateness
praying for the release of
you Ernest & others.
will try to write.

Call Murphy re parole

~~D1 32843~~

D1 21851
Mrs. Kelly

elections
ome involved
elections in their
l activities as such
e distinction must be made
and political organization. Al-
unity organization, can turn its in-
problem. In fact, it is likely that

CORRESPONDENCE REGULATIONS - LOUISIANA STATE PENITENTIARY

RULES: 1. ALL LETTERS MUST BE LEGIBLE AND IN ENGLISH (UNLESS PERMISSION IS OBTAINED FOR CORRESPONDENCE IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE.)

2. DO NOT SEND PACKAGES WITHOUT REFERRING TO MAILING LIST TO DETERMINE WHAT ITEMS INMATE MAY RECEIVE.

3. LETTERS MUST BE ADDRESSED TO INMATE CORRECTLY, GIVING HIS NAME (NAME HE IS USING IN PRISON), P.M.B. AND LIVING QUARTERS, IF KNOWN.

EXAMPLE: JOHN DOE
P.M.B. 70482 - PINE 4
ANGOLA, LOUISIANA

4. CASH MONEY SHOULD NOT BE ENCLOSED IN LETTER. ONLY CHECK OR MONEY ORDER SHOULD BE SENT.

Inmate's Name Frank White PMB No. 59475 Quarters Camp I Date 1/13/65

Dear Reverand Moore:

I recived your nice letter last Week and was very glad to hear from you. It Was the most Soul stirring letter that I had ever recived in my life and it really did Move me the Most. Because Knowing that People like you are on my side out there make my every day trials A Millions Per Cent easier. So I am trusting in God and doing more of the things in life which are right. And Praying harder that I won't have too much time for Wrong doings as I had before.

I am so Proud of the good Work that you and your staff are doing out there, until I find myself Praying for you and your Kind more than I Pray for myself. So Keep up the good Work and may God Bless you Always.

Brother Earnest is Cooking at the Reciving Center, (R.C.) is all you need to use for his address just like you address me at CAMP I. I told him I got a letter from you, and I also told him your address. I am sure he will write you as soon as he can.

Please Keep on Writing me as often as you Wish. I will alway answer Promptly. And I am going to Come see you as soon as I get out. I am going up on the April Pardon Board. So I Want you to go and talk to Judge Elmo Lear for me. and if you can't go to his Chambers or office. Be sure and Write him a nice letter for me. At the 19th Judicial District Court East Baton Rouge Parish. Baton Rouge, La.

(USE BOTH SIDES OF PAPER. DO NOT WRITE BETWEEN LINES.)

(DO NOT WRITE ABOVE THIS LINE)

This is about all for now Rev. So I guess I will have to close hoping that you will alway Write and let us Know how you are making it out there in that Sinful Evil World. And I am sure that you will get this letter, and I will always get yours. Because these are Nice Christian People running this Prison, and they are glad to Know that good Christian People like you are interested enough in us to Write us, telling us how we must turn to God.

I have a nice radio and I am getting the Morning Advocate every day. But the speaker in my radio is busted. and I will appreciate it very much if you will Please go to an appliance store and Pay for me a speaker, size 4 INCH, and two 35-W-4 tubes. Have the store to mail them here to me at Camp I Angola, La.

I will let you Know time I receive them.

So take real good care of yourself and the family. And keep on Praying for me. I am Praying too.

May God Bless you and your family, and all of the good Christians like yourself, that are going so much for People like us.

("ANSWER SOON")

TAKE CARE.

MAIL ROOM
1965
LA. STATE

Yours Always,
Frank White
59475
Camp I
Angola, La.

O.K. J.W. Perkins

A Brief Description of Each Element of the CORE Southern Program To Be Included in The January Workshop(1965)

Community Organization. This is not really a programmatic item, but a technique to be used in all the CORE programs. The technique centers around our efforts to determine:

1. What socio-economic problems are most important to members of the Negro community?(*)
2. How can we adapt CORE's ideas and resources to those needs?

(*) For instance, CORE southern staff tends to regard public accommodations campaigns as superficial compared to such fundamental concerns as job-training. But it is recognized that success in the latter may only be achieved by using public accommodations as a means of establishing solid rapport with the people.

Food and Welfare Program. Many Negroes have lost jobs, customers or local credit because of their participation in the civil rights struggle. Others, already unfortunate, have been dropped from subsistence programs or relief rolls. The CORE Food and Welfare Program attempts to provide sufficient subsistence that these people will not be obliged to give in to segregationist pressure to "Come back in and be a good boy." Rsources for this program are obtained from donations and from such federal agencies as the Food-stamp Program. Solicitation, transportation, storage and disitribution of these goods are all problems.

Community Center. This may house any number of programs: library, game-rooms, freedom school, nursery, adult literacy program, etc. Its function varies according to needs, available resources and imagination.

Freedom Schools. This institution usually works on a four-point program: basic literacy, communication and mathematics; Negro history; human relations in the immediate community and in American life generally; popular subjects not included in the current curriculum of local Negro schools. In most instances the Freedom School draws exclusively from the teen-age group.

Political Education. There are three areas of inquiry: procedures of voter registration, study of local and state government and local organization for most effective use of the ballot.

Federal Programs. Up to now, most of our concern has been in those programs designed to help rural people. Still to be explored are federal assistance in housing, job-training, community welfare and all the elements of the Economic Opportunities Act.

CORE Policy and Procedures. There are not many CORE chapters in the South. In Mississippi, COFO is a more familiar organization than CORE. The "project"(Canton, Meridian, etc.) has developed its own modus operandi. Thus it is necessary to acquaint the staff members with many particulars of the organization of CORE.

BUDGET
FOR FIRST SOUTHERN CORE WORKSHOP, Jan. 23-25., [1965]

It is likely that some of the listed expenses may not amount to as much as estimated. There is the possibility of some free housing and free rental of conference facilities. In any event, an accurate record of receipts and disbursements will be kept, and submitted to the national office at the conclusion of the conference.

Housing for eighty people @ $4.00 per da.	$320.00/	3 days	960.00
Travel expense(see below) round-trip			330.50
Food 2 meals daily @ 75¢/meal	120.00/	3 days	360.00
Rental of conference facilities @ 25.00/da.			75.00
Information kits @ 60¢/person			48.00
Incidentals and emergencies			75.00
	Estimated TOTAL		1848.50

Note: Travel expense is computed on a mileage rate of 5¢/mile for one car each from North Carolina, South Carolina, Jackson, Miss. and Alexandria, La.; two cars each from Florida, Baton Rouge and Monroe, La.; three cars each from Canton and Meridian, Miss.

REPORT TO THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL
SUBMITTED BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE

OUTLINE OF SOUTHERN PROGRAM FOR SUMMER 1965

April 9, 1965

INTRODUCTION

The following proposals are the results of numerous meetings and conferences involving Southern staff, local people of the various project areas, and the Southern Regional Program Director. They represent the culmination of interpretations of direction, of feasibility, of what we are equipped to do and of what is needed in order to do more.

CORE Southern program for summer 1965 is designed to fit the needs of each community being worked, but at the same time establish a coordinated, meaningful South-wide effort to achieve our goals. It has taken many weeks of hard thinking and discussion on everyone's parts, both CORE staff and the people within the communities, to put their ideas together and come up with a workable program to accomplish the changes that are so badly needed. Often the line between dream and practicality has worn mighty thin, but the job was done and the "fruits" of these labors comprise this series of reports.

The intent of all work being done in the region is to reach more deeply and widely into the problems that face the Negro community and develop indigenous leadership to deal with those problems through basic, community organization. Our role is not to lead, or to "do for", but to share what knowledge and skills we have gained through our various experiences so that the people of a community, themselves, can see alternatives and use this knowledge and skill to accomplish those things which they feel are most important. Integral, too, is the concept of state-wide, more abstractly South-wide cooperation and coordination to accomplish larger, less immediate goals.

We submit the enclosed to you, in hopes that you might help in every way possible to make the programs now presented on these pages a reality.

LOUISIANA

Current projects deal mainly with problems confronting each individual community--such as the desegregation of employment and unions at the tremendous Crown-Zellerbach plant in Bogalusa, and establishing mail delivery to the Negroes of Jonesboro who have no such service because the streets (dirt roads) and houses have never been marked by the city. Voter registration is emphasized everywhere.

The 1965 summer project in Louisiana will enable the civil rights projects in the state to better meet the needs of the Negro community. Freedom schools and community center programs will be carried out, including the development of libraries, adult education, literacy and medical programs. Freedom school and community center programs will vary as the needs and interests of the communities vary.

New projects, and a state-wide effort to register Negroes on a massive scale will be put into operation. We will initiate a food-and-clothing-distribution program, administered by committees of local people, to help alleviate economic reprisals on those Negroes who attempt to register or participate in civil rights activity. Work will also be done in the area of federal programs to establish farmers leagues and cooperatives to represent a strong political force as well as help the Negro farmers achieve economic independence.

Many volunteers will be involved in research on various aspects of the political, social, economic and educational structures of the state.

The project will involve approximately 34 parishes in 6 of the 8 Congressional districts. About ½ of these parishes have never been worked by CORE staff.

LOUISIANA SUMMER PROJECT ESSENTIALS

I. 44 subsistent staff workers (emphasis on Negro college students)--we hope to have at least ½ of them staffed by SEDF. Training session in Plaquemine June 10-15, agenda to be submitted later.

II. 13 project cars: one for each base and one for state coordinator.

III. 60 self-supporting volunteers to implement phases of the program that call for specific skills.

IV. Budget:

A.	10,000 voter registration form sets	$ 1,000
B.	Office supplies for 12 bases, $100 per month per base for 2½ months	3,000
C.	Telephone (same basis as B)	3,000
D.	44 workers, housing and food to run $2.50 per day per worker for 82 days	9,020
E.	13 cars, gas and care to run $5 per day per car for 82 days	5,330
F.	Car rental (excluding 5 project cars), 8 cars for 2½ months to run $600 per car	4,800
G.	Gas and maintenance for volunteer cars	1,500
H.	Miscellaneous (fines, minor bond, etc.)	1,500
	TOTAL...	$29,150

IMMEDIATE NEEDS

Presently, the Louisiana staff is composed of only 10 paid staff (including Ronnie Moore and Oretha Castle) and two volunteers. Most of this staff is tied up in "hot spots" such as Bogalusa and Jonesboro. They have five operating cars; they are working in Shreveport, Jonesboro, Monroe, Alexandria, Baton Rouge, Bogalusa, Clinton, St. Francisville and Plaquemine.

There are approximately 20 parishes which need scouting as proposed project areas for summer. The Louisiana state office in Baton Rouge is presently unmanned because of the lack of personnel.

To prepare for the summer, the Louisiana staff will need at least two more cars and ten additional workers immediately. The additional workers will be used to prepare communities for the upcoming project, and some to staff the Baton Rouge office.

A major concern involves a two-way radio system for the state. Such a system, in order to be as effective as possible, should be set up before the project officially starts. The technical skill needed to advise and actually set the thing up is available to us; funds for the equipment, as yet, is not. This is most urgent, as we should begin work on installation in a month in order to afford as much protection as possible to the workers who will be arriving in June. None of us wants to repeat Neshoba's performance of a year ago.

SOUTH CAROLINA

The Negro population of South Carolina has great political power, and this potential is ripe for realization. The state is divided into 46 counties. 24 of them have a Negro population of 40% or more; 20 of these counties are located in the 1st, 2nd and 6th Congressional districts. The 1st district Negro population is 43.8%; the 2nd is 37.2%; the 6th is 46.5%. The South Carolina staff is composed of two field secretaries, nine Task Force workers and James McCain, presently working on voter registration. The project is financed by SEDF and will continue to be so until June 15.

1966 is an important year in many states across the South, but especially so in South Carolina: Strom Thurmond stands out as a racist challenge to all of us in and concerned with the civil rights movement. We hope to be able to create real opposition to Senator Thurmond and his machine during the 1966 election. To accomplish this, the number of Negro votes must be increased tremendously and Negro political organization must be greatly strengthened. A political challenge means an awful lot of work must be done in South Carolina during the next year and a half. To many, 1966 may seem to be a long way off, but from past experience we know it's just around the corner.

We propose a massive project of voter registration and political education in the 1st, 2nd and 6th districts of the state. To accomplish meaningful results, six additional Task Force workers are needed: three for each district and others to operate the state office, keep records, handle publicity, etc. There will also be a need for four additional cars.

We could easily accommodate between 30 and 40 volunteers to work in the same areas, who would be responsible for their own transportation, subsistence and bail bond. In two communities the people have promised to provide for room and board for 15 workers--these should be Negro students from South Carolina, with a weekly allowance of $5 from CORE.

The workers will conduct voting clinics, set up voter registration campaigns and develop community organization to carry on this program. They will also try to organize some Community Action Projects under the Anti-Poverty Bill; this would include organizing local people around projects that would qualify for aid under the Anti-Poverty program. Information centers should be established to inform peple of their rights under the 1965 Civil Rights Act.

In areas where it is possible, Freedom Libraries can be set up concentrating on Negro History. Negro students from the local colleges should be encouraged to participate in these programs.

BUDGET

A.	40,000 voter registration forms	$ 500
B.	Office supplies for state, $150 a month for 3 months	450
C.	Telephone for state calls, $200 per month	600
D.	15 Task Force workers, $100 per person per month for 3 months	4,500
E.	15 semi-volunteers at $20 per month per person	900
F.	Purchase or rent 4 cars at $150 per month each	1,800
G.	Gas for 4 new cars, 1 Chevy and 5 local staff cars at $2.50 per day per car	2,475
H.	Miscellaneous	1,500
	TOTAL.....	$12,725

Labor Market Trends

East Baton Rouge Parish April, 1965 Release Date: 5/19/65

HIGHLIGHTS

Nonagricultural Wage and salary total reverses direction, experiences a loss.

Unemployment climbs again, to 3,775... Highest this year, highest since June.

Insured unemployment up to 1753 . . . Initial claims totaled 1759 for April.

Outlook for June and July, 1965 . . . Summer job shortage is expected.

* * * *

NONAGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT DOWN

The total number of nonagricultural wage and salary jobs declined by 2.9 per cent, from 80,000 in March to 77,675 in April. Numerically, this is a decrease of 2,325. The loss is centered around construction employment, although a few other industries experienced declines.

Despite the reduction in employment totals which developed during the March-April period, total employment for the latter month was estimated to include 2,800 more persons than were employed during April, 1964. Only construction and food production, which lost some 25 persons, were employing fewer persons this April than was the case for that month last year.

CONSTRUCTION AT STAND-OFF

As of the end of March, demand for construction work was at or near an all-time high in Baton Rouge. A great deal of industrial expansion was in progress; the Louisiana State University was adding housing facilities; a hospital was partially completed; office buildings were going up; much work remained to be done on the Interstate Highway System here, and residential construction was to be found throughout this Parish. By mid-April, only residential construction was continuing unchecked. Causes for the curtailment of building activities are the two strikes, called simultaneously as of midnight, March 31, 1965. Both strikes involve local construction workers' unions in disagreement with contractors' associations, and concern the negotiation of new contracts. Estimated total number of strikers is 2,000. In addition, a separate strike causing some 160 persons to become unemployed during April occurred near the end of the month, but was of short duration.

Released by:
LOUISIANA STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
742 Laurel Street
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Since so many jobs were closed down because of the strikes, gains made by the firms not affected by the strikes could not offset losses. Result was an overall decrease of 29.2 per cent from the 9,000 working in March to the 6,375 in April. Some firms found their payrolls reduced by more than ninety per cent during the two-month period. Nearly as severe were the downward changes in personnel reported by some manufacturing firms engaged in producing supplies for contractors. Only among these firms were any employment losses discovered in manufacturing not attributable to normal fluctuations.

MANUFACTURING DOWN SLIGHTLY Those manufacturing firms not tied to heavy construction held stable from the levels reported for March, or, in some cases, made slight gains. The Petro-chemicals industry usually grows in its working population during this period, and this year was no exception. There was a gain of 25 persons to be found among the producers of concrete and cement which is used in residential construction. Outside of manufacturing, services and government added approximately one hundred persons each to their respective industry division totals, and employment in retail trade added 150 people to the March total.

UNEMPLOYMENT IS REVERSING The estimated total of unemployed members of the work force in East Baton Rouge Parish has been diminishing for years. Meanwhile, the work force itself has been growing. This changing relationship is revealed by a glance at tables showing the unemployment rate such as the following:

Total Unemployment and Rate

	1962	1963	1964
Annual Average	4,525	3,875	3,350
Peak Month	5,350	5,025	4,175
Rate, Annual Average	5.0	4.3	3.6
Rate, Peak Month	5.9	5.6	4.5
Average Work Force	90,075	90,875	93,550

During 1965, unemployment for January, at 3,125, began the year with a 3.2 per cent rate. During February, unemployment increased slightly to 3,225, which was a 3.3 per cent of the Labor Force. Good weather in March helped to lower the unemployment total and rate to 2,875 and 2.9 per cent, respectively. Average unemployment for the first quarter was 3,075. As an indication of the health of this economy, compare that figure of 3,075 with the comparable first quarter figures of 5,125 for 1962, 4,750 for 1963 and 4,100 for 1964. Then consider the strikes in April, which, largely, brought unemployment up by 31.3 per cent. That much of an increase in the number of unemployed persons caused the rate to go up to 3.9 per cent, which is only slightly above the average rate for the entire year of 1964, as shown in the above table. The year of 1964, observed from any angle, is considered to be a "boom year".

LABOR DEMAND AND SUPPLY Demand continues for workers capable of filling such jobs as these: Engineers, Bookkeepers, Stenographers, Cooks, Waitresses, Cabinet Makers, Auto Mechanics and Welders. During the Summer, there is a demand for Camp Counselors, and other such seasonal jobs, such as Lifeguards. Currently, labor supply is quite high for construction needs, but this situation will end when the strikes do.

THE OUTLOOK Employment will drop somewhat, particularly in government and services, when the schools close for the Summer. Current information suggests that the strikes may be ended within the next few weeks. Should this transpire, construction employment may increase to such an extent that any losses in other industries will be offset.

Please note the enclosed letter, which gives a current, representative sampling of applicants registered with us.

Active Applications on File
Baton Rouge Office

Occupational Group	April - 1965		March - 1965	
	Total	Females	Total	Females
Professional & Managerial	179	56	123	39
Clerical & Sales	368	248	425	290
Service	579	378	558	360
Skilled	159	16	191	15
Semi-skilled	343	25	394	26
Unskilled	515	41	429	26
Other 1/	323	173	394	124
Total	2566	937	2514	880

1/ Includes beginners and agricultural workers.

TRENDS IN LABOR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT
BATON ROUGE AREA

	1/ Apr. 1965	2/ Mar. 1965	Apr. 1964	Change From: Mar. 1965	Change From: Apr. 1964
TOTAL CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE	98,050	97,550	93,650	+ 500	+ 4400
UNEMPLOYMENT	3,775	2,875	3,550	+ 900	+ 225
Percent of Labor Force	3.9	2.9	3.8	xxx	xxx
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT	92,125	94,675	89,325	- 2550	+ 2800
TOTAL NONAG. WAGE AND SALARY*	77,675	80,000	75,275	- 2325	+ 2400
MANUFACTURING	15,750	15,800	15,475	- 50	+ 275
Food & Kindred Products	1,725	1,725	1,750	0	- 25
Lumber and Wood Products	250	250	250	0	0
Printing and Publishing	900	900	850	0	+ 50
Chemicals & Petroleum Prods.	10,350	10,325	10,200	+ 25	+ 150
Stone, Clay & Glass Products	825	800	750	+ 25	+ 75
Fabricated Metal Products	850	950	850	- 100	0
Other Goods	850	850	825	0	+ 25
NONMANUFACTURING	61,925	64,200	59,800	- 2275	+ 2125
Crude Petro. Prod. & Mining	250	250	250	0	0
Contract Construction	6,375	9,000	7,250	- 2625	- 875
Transportation, Communications and Public Utilities	4,650	4,650	4,450	0	+ 200
Trade - Wholesale & Retail	16,875	16,725	15,825	+ 150	+ 1050
Finance, Ins. & Real Estate	4,025	4,025	3,875	0	+ 150
Services	10,650	10,550	10,050	+ 100	+ 600
Government +	19,100	19,000	18,100	+ 100	+ 1000
OTHER NONAG. EMPLOYMENT #	13,250	13,475	12,850	- 225	+ 400
AGRICULTURAL	1,200	1,200	1,200	0	0
INVOLVED IN WORK STOPPAGES	2,150	0	775	+ 2150	+ 1375

* Estimates prepared under joint BES-BLS State Agency Statistics Program and are based on a 1964 Benchmark. Estimates rounded to nearest 25.

+ Includes all regular government functions and government operated facilities.

# Includes nonagricultural self-employed, unpaid family workers, and domestics in private households.

1/ Preliminary - subject to revision.

2/ Revised - later data available.

AVERAGE HOURS AND EARNINGS IN BATON ROUGE AREA MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES*

Compiled by Louisiana Division of Employment Security
in Cooperation with the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics

Industry	Average Weekly Earnings			Average Weekly Hours			Average Hourly Earnings		
	Apr. # 1965	Mar. + 1965	Apr. 1964	Apr. # 1965	Mar. + 1965	Apr. 1964	Apr. # 1965	Mar. + 1965	Apr. 1964
ALL MANUFACTURING	$132.48	$128.79	$128.17	41.4	40.5	42.3	$3.20	$3.18	$3.03
Petro-Chemicals	$149.64	$146.37	$141.58	41.8	41.0	40.8	$3.58	$3.57	$3.47

Averages for all manufacturing cover approximately 10,400 production workers during the current month.

* Data are for full and part-time production workers who worked during, or received pay for the pay period including the 12th of the month. Excluded are managerial and supervisory personnel, sales, clerical, office and related workers. Average earnings are gross. Workweek information relates to average hours worked, or paid for, and differs from scheduled hours because of such factors as absenteeism, stoppages, etc.

# Preliminary - subject to revision.

+ Revised - later data available.

April 26, 1965

To Whom it May Concern,

Enclosed you will find a check made out to the CORE Task Force in Baton Rouge La.

This money was raised independently by one of the members of the Students For Integration club on the Minneapolis campus of the University of Minnesota. This money was raised due to the return of Ronnie Sigal because of a shortage of funds. Since Miss Sigals return, she has become Mrs. Howard Keibel, and will not be returning to the South for a while. So at her request, the club is forwarding this check to you to use as you see fit.

In Peace,

Judy Barnes

Judy Ann Barnes
Treasurer

$55

April 25, 1965

TENSAS PARISH
NEWELTON-

Rev. Alber Durham
Louisiana St. (Turn left off Hwy 4, last house on block on right side
phone 4951 white house near church.)
Not home when we stopped.

ST. JOSEPH-

~~1~~.Mr. T.J. Ellis

Aa barber. Very much afraid to risk his position in community. Will not be any help.

Mr. Jesse B. Bilbery Jr.
Box 4 8
Principal of Rosewald High School

Mr. Washington
Teacher at H. S. and farmer

Mr. Jackson
supervisor of Tensas Parish Negro schools
All three of the above are perfectly content with the "good white folk" . They want to give the new young superintendent a chance to make good his promises. Housing of workers would be a problem due to "lack of space." I imagine they informed the good white folk of our presence when we left.

RECOMMENDATION:
Discouraging. The only hope is Rev. Durham in Newelton. He has communicated with CORE in the past.

April 25, 1965

CATAHOULA PARISH
   SICILY ISLAND-

Mr. D. V. Tolliver
Principal of Martin High School
Felt there was not much to be done in the parish due to the relatively few Negroes in the area. Won't be much help to CORE.

   JONESVILLE-

Mr. Johnson
Principal of Jonesville consolidated High School
No problems at all. "Good wholesome race relations", but the town is totaly sgregated! Doesn't feel Negroes wolud be interested in CORE, it might get the white folks hostile. "We got a good thing going." Needless to say, a satisfied Uncle Tom.

RECOMMENDATION:

Discouraging. As much as we would like to turn Mr. Johnson's town upside down, considering the lack of cooperation and low Negro population it would probably not be worth the effort.

April 25, 1965

FRANKLIN PARISH
WINNSBORO-

Mr. Lee Wilson
Blanson St
A barber who is somewhat concerned but not a real leader. His wife is a librarian.

Re. Van Major Brass
1007 Gum St
435-4637
A cautious person. Felt the Negroes didn't get the right kind of support from the /older leaders, but didn't offer to lead himself. CORE would have difficulty getting local leaders and the people to follow much less lead. Housing would be a problem. Main complaints are job opportunities fear of reprisals in case of attempts to register.

Rev. R. N. Teats
1111 Blansom St
5608
Frightened , not willing to help.

Ephriam Cosey
2006 Cypress St.
4355222
70 years old. Tough old man. Speakes out, but doesn't have ability to be a leader. Stated that nobody sticks their neck out, the teachers and preachers are scared.

Agnus Hick
1205 Gum St.
Leader in the Azalea Garden Club, but has not been active in civic affairs recently.

Other contacts that couldn't be reached

Winnsboro-
Rev. D.W. Allen
914 Newman

Mr. A.J. Richardson
1010 Newman

Rev J.H. Wesley
1010 Gum St.

Rev. E.G. Lumpkin
801 2nd St.
Vice-President of Parish Baptist Association

Wisner-
Mr. Jessie Ernest, Jr.
Mr. Allen Luckett
MR. D.S. Brohaw

Gilbert-

April 25, 1965

EAST CARROLL PARISH
LAKE PROVIDENCE-
Mrs. Ethel Smith
Smith's Cafe or pink house on right before R.R. tracks on
Lake and Levee St. Hwy 65 south.
A concerned woman, but not especially dynamic. Would be very useful in dealing withthe women in the town.

Mr. Frank Nervis
Rt #2 Box 43
Lakeview Road
712-w-3
A good follower

Mr Clyde Robinson
Lakeview Road only brick house. 1 mile north of Mr. Nervis on right.
phone 944-j-1
Successful farmer. Potentially a good leader, but he is a very busy man.

Other possible contacts:

Mr. Adam Milliken
pink roof, three houses south of Mr. Robinson on same side.
944-J-3

Anderson Lee
Lakeview project

Mac Hardin
Lakeview project.

Rev. Scott
Chairman of Citizens Committee for Voter Registration. Was in Calif. when we stopped.

Mr. Josep Atlas Vice- Chairman "

Rev. Fred Jones
Rose Hill Baptist Church
We were told he hasn't been active in community affairs recently.

East Carroll is almost exclusively agricultural and needs center on the farmer— eg. farmers' co-op, extra allotments for small farmers, elimination of discrimination in buying and selling of farm supplies and products. Another problem is discrimnatory employment. Both Mr. Robinson and Mr. Nervis felt housing could be arranged.

RECOMMENDATION:
Workers could be very effective in Lake Providence, but the area must be scouted further in order to involve more people and make definite arrangements for housing.

FRANKLIN PARISH (cont.)

~~Wisne~~
Gilbert-
Mr. Benjamen Franklin
Mr. Ernest Curtain

Crowville-
Re. Sam Johnson

RECOMMENDATION-

Winnsboro is scared. All the people we talked to admitted problems especially job discrimination and Negro fear of registering, but none were willing to risk anything. There would be a real difficulty in getting cooperation from the community and the leaders for housing or to carry out any program.

As much as Winnsboro needs to be worked, I doubt that energy spent there would be productive.

April 25, 1965

MOREHOUSE PARISH
BASTROP-

Rev. E.W. Smith
121 w. Haggerty St
281-0464
Was not anxious at all for CORE to stir up the town. He feels that the ministers would be indifferent and the the community is not ready for Civil rights workers An Uncle Tom.

Mrs Julia Smith
527 Haynes St

An elementary school teacher. Not at home when we called.

RECOMMENDATION:
Area should be scouted further.

Other contacts:

Rev. Franklin

Rev Henry Richardson
Providence St.

Mr. Luther Smith

Mr. Melvin Smith
Principal of Union High School
Mer Rouge

April 25, 1965

RICHLAND PARISH
RAYVILLE-

Mrs. Wilbur Hill
405 Rescue (?)
phone 8-4859
She is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Rayville Community Civic Club.

Dr. George D. Merrick

phone -3638
He was the spokesman for the Civic Club when they submitted a list of recommendations and grievances to the School Board and the principal.

Dr. Merrick feels that the principal, Mr. J.P. Smith, purposely tries to divide the community and does not want any community participation in school affairs. No meetings can be held at the school and the P.T.A. did not fucntion at all this year. The list of recommendations that was submitted was apparently disregarded. Both Mrs. Hill and Dr. Merrick expressed a desire for the community to handle their own problems but to ask CORE for help if it became necessary. Other members of the executive committee are: Mrs Olivia Simms Cook, Mrs Augusta F. Brown, Mr. Jasper W. Williams, Mr. Moses Wilkins, Rev. H.R. West, and Mr. Leon Brice.

RECOMMENDATION:

Dr. Merrick and Mrs. Hill should be contacted again and arrangements made for at least a staff worker to remain in contact with them to give them support, advice, information and the threat of CORE to wave over the heads of the school board and the principal. They might decide they want a couple summer workers too.

Check with Judi immediately
& return to S.O.

MEMO FROM: Judith Nusbaum

DATE: April, 1965

SUBJECT: Proposed plans for summer 1965, Research/Federal Programs

I. Federal Programs

Since federal programs covers such a great number of things, and is fairly new to staff, I think it is important to break it down to a few areas of emphasis for the summer program. There are hundreds of different federal programs, and probably each of them could benefit the Negro communities of the South in one way or another. However, the staff does not have the time, size, or intention to go through massive information on all these programs, to select the few that would be most useful in their particular community. Also, some of the programs are more difficult than others to work with, and it is important to consider realistically the limitations of staff in the new area of federal programs.

There are two primary ways of dealing with federal programs. One is to try to bring new programs into the communities, and the other is to try to work with the existing programs, to remove discrimination and improve effectiveness. I think that the first involves more time, energy and attention than our staff will be able to give this summer. To bring in a new program, such as an Anti-poverty Program, would take the full-time efforts of many more people than we will be able to spare, particularly with the many other programs being planned for the summer. [A Community Action Program (CAP) under the Economic Opportunity Act demands a great deal of initiative from the community to be served. I think we will be in a better position to deal with this program after the summer, when independent new community organizations have been developed to work with.] Of course, we should keep careful checks on CAPs that are being developed by others.

(con't)

Therefore, in general I think that we should work with the existing programs, with exceptions in areas where particular interest is shown in beginning a particular program (such as a Community Action Program in Sumter, South Carolina; a Farmers Cooperative in St. Francisville, Louisiana; a Food Stamp Program in Monroe, Louisiana; etc.). Perhaps the summer will develop more experience and interest in federal programs, and the permanent staff which remains in the fall will be better able to think in terms of initiating new programs.

The areas that I propose for emphasis this summer are Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Executive Order 10925, and Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS). The following are brief descriptions of possible activities in these areas:

(A). Title VI of the Civil Rights Act: This title covers non-discrimination in any federally assisted program. I would like to see emphasis particularly in compliance of hospitals, local welfare agencies, and schools - for these institutions, more than any others, effect the lives of the people with whom we will be working. They all come under the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. I would like to see each project make a survey of these institutions in their area, listing the ones that discriminate, and making complaints. By summer, I hope to have complete lists of all institutions which receive federal assistance, but in the meantime, it is safe to assume that all such agencies do. Staff should make complaints to the proper authorities, and follow them up. [I will try to pressure the agencies, how ? congressmen, press, etc. to demand immediate action on non-compliance.] HEW does not provide for fast enough action on these violations, and we should demand quicker withdrawal of funds. I have sent staff some information on the procedure for making original complaints (see Information Letter No. 9), and will prepare the information in a kit for summer workers.

(con't)

Complaints under Title VI should also be made to other agencies, such as the Department of Agriculture (Farmers Home Administration loans, County Extension Agents, etc.) and the Department of Labor (State Employment Services, etc.).

Should know how to make complaint
and what to look for —

(B). Title VII of the Civil Rights Act: This title makes equal employment opportunity cumpulsory for all employers, labor unions and employment agencies with one-hundred or more employees. I have accumulated some lists of manufacturers by number of employees for Mississippi and Louisiana, and have informed all staff of how to obtain such information (see Information Letter No. 7). I plan to give them information for making complaints to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, before July 2nd when the title goes into effect. Here, I will encourage staff not only to make complaints, but to contact elegible employers and offer to assist them with compliance.

Same

(C). Executive Order 10925: This order makes it illigal to discriminate in employment in any business which holds a government contract. Complaints on violations should be made to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, with demands for investigation and action. The problem here is finding out which businesses hold contracts. I will continue to give staff this information via my Federal Fund Reports, and will instruct them as to how to obtain the information themselves for specific businesses. Staff should be encouraged to communicate with these contractors, and to try to help them to comply by making Negro employees available to them. If there is a problem of "not enough skilled Negroes", perhaps staff can work with the employers to set up training programs.

(D). Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS): Once a year the farmers of each parish hold an election to choose a three-man ASCS County Committee, which plays an important role in the agricultural community. In order to be effective

(con't)

in integrating the August ASCS elections in Louisiana, it is necessary for staff to begin organizing farmers leagues at once. I will provide material and information on ASCS, but here the organizing is the main thing. I would like to hold workshops to see that the staff and the local farmers clearly understand the procedure of the ASCS elections. I would also like to work with staff to devise some "test" methods, by which we could detect some discrimination in the ASCS programs locally before summer, so that complaints can be made and perhaps some of the problems worked-out before the August elections. I feel that workshops on ASCS should begin at once in Louisiana. — very good —

II. Research

In research, I will continue to provide statistical information on such things as voter registration, voter potential, employment, education, income, housing, farming, etc., when staff indicates the need for such information in specific areas.

I am now working on a Handbook of Governmental and Political Structure of Louisiana, and plan to do one for South Carolina. This should be used in a statewide workshop, and distributed to all staff and volunteers.

I also plan to do a handbook on community organizing to help workers to organize around community interests. It will contain such information as what to do if the community wants its streets paved, a playground, mail delivery, garbage service, street lights, a traffic light, etc.

III. Additional Workers in Research/Federal Programs Department

I would like, if possible, to add two additional workers to this department for the summer. I would like one full-time person to do typing, stencils, correspondence, and routine research (such as using census reports, library, etc.). This would give me more free time to go into the field for workshops, etc.

(con't)

I would also like a worker, not necessarily full-time, but preferably not working on anything else, to do extensive research on the racial murders. This would involve checking old newspapers, perhaps some interviewing, and checking all possible sources of information on these killings, so that a really comprehensive and effective report can be done on the problem of southern racial violence, to be eventually used in a campaign to demand corrective legislation. Perhaps a law student would be good for this, who could also look into the possibilities for such legislation. — Ben Smith's wife —

* * * * *

[1965, May 31]

PARISH ASSIGNMENTS, ADDRESSES AND PHONE NUMBERS

Claiborne Parish:

Jerry Robinson-	(self supported)	Mailing address:	Phone:
Richard Thompson	(self supported)	c/o Mr. Dodd	~~Jonesboro~~
Theodriñad Ingram	(S. U. student)	1208 W. Jefferson Ave.	Homer
Jackie Bulter	(subsistence)	Homer, Louisiana	(318) 927-3876

Concordia Parish:

Mike Clurman	(self supported)	Mailing address:	Phone:
Mel Acheson	(	310 S. 5th St.	~~310 S. 5th St.~~
Archie Hunter	(field fellowship)	Ferriday, Louisiana	(318) 757-4469

East and West Feliciana Parish:

Henry Brown (	(subsistence)	Mailing address:	Phone:
Mimi Feingold	(self supported)	General Delivery	683-5401
Marty Goldstein	(self supported)	Clinton, Louisiana	
Christine Wright	(subsistence)		
Pat Cade	(student)		
Warren Vallean	(student)		
Alice Thompson	(student)		

Iberville Parish:

Emile Dupree	(field fellowship)	Mailing address:	Phone:
Bazeal Johnson		c/o Mr. Willie Carruth	687-4478
		1830 Haase Street	

Jackson Parish:

Dorothy Banks	(field fellowship)	Mailing address:	Phone:
Kendra Harris	(field fellowship)	General Delivery	Jonesboro
Marian Kramer	(subsistence)	Jonesboro, Louisiana	7316
Shirley Thompson	(field fellowship)		
~~Bruce Baines~~			

Madison Parish:

Harold Ickes	(self supported)	Mailing address:	Phone:
Alec VanSinderen	(self supported)	Moe's Tire Shop	Tallulah
		601 W. Green St.	2060
		Tallulah, Louisiana	

Ouachita Parish:

Steve Miller	(field fellowship)	Mailing address:	Phone:
Mike Robinson	(subsistence)	103 N. 10th St.	(318) o) 325-7610
Dan Robinson	(field fellowship)	Monroe, Louisiana	h)323-1061
Dick Andrew	(subsistence)		
Pam Norrin	(student)		
Anna Phillips	(student)		
Travis Breckenridge	(student)		
Pat Deamer	(student)		

Pt. Coupee Parish:

Kent Hudson	(self supported)	Mailing address:	Phone:
Paul Kleyman	(self supported)	c/o Mrs. Leola Hood	638-8770
		811 St. Mary St.	
		New Roads, Louisiana	

Rapides Parish:

Paul Trainor	(self supported)	Mailing address:	Phone:
Teddy Stewart	(self supported)	c/o Rev. Joseph Rax	(318) 442-6440
		512 Willow Glen Rd.	443-8265
		Alexandria, Louisiana	

St. Helena Parish:

Charles Lawson	(self supported)	Mailing address:	Phone:
Fred Lacey	(self supported)	c/o Mrs. Hall	222-6652
		Route 2, Box 18	
		Greensburg, Louisiana	

St. Landry Parish:

Matéan (Té) Everson	(self supported)	Mailing address:	Phone:
Joel Rubenstein	(subsistence)	~~c/o Atty. Marion White~~	(318) 457-5782
John Zippert	(self supported)	c/o Adam Reney	
		210 S. St. George St.	
		Eunice, Louisiana	

Washington Parish:

John Patternson	(self supported)	Mailing address:	Phone:
Joan Grieco	(self supported)	CORE Office	735-8613
Mike Jones	(	9317	
Mike Kinsler	(self supported)	Bogalusa, Louisiana	
Beverly (Donnie) Lee	(self supported)		
Linda Diane Smith	(subsistence)		
Jimmie Thompson	(field fellowship)		
Tina Vanderpool	(fellowship)		

Webster Parish:

Hugh Robbins	(Field Fellowship)
Willie Mellion	(subsistence)
Terry Poe	(field fillowship)
Wilson Debose	(student)
Joycelyn McKissick	(self supported)
Alice Gay	(student)
Eddie Scott	(subsistence)

Mailing address:
Moody's Motel
600 Fraizier St.
Minden, Louisiana

Phone:
(318) 377-5845

PROPOSED ACTION

January - May 31, 1965

I. Scouting

A. Fifth Congressional District (Base at Monroe)

1. Concordia
2. Union
3. Morehouse
4. other

B. Fourth Congressional District (Base at Shreveport)

1. Bienville
2. Red River
3. other

C. Sixth Congressional District (Base at Baton Rouge)

1. Washington
2. St. Tammahy
3. Livingston

D. Eighth Congressional District (Base at Alexandria)

1. Natchitoches
2. Winn
3. other

E. First Congressional District (Base at New Orleans)
To be scouted periodically by Ronnie Moore and Ike Reynolds

1. Plaquemines
2. St. Bernard

II. Voter Registration

A. Ouachita
B. Jackson
C. Caddo
D. Rapides
E. Baton Rouge
F. Iberville
G. Ascension
H. St. James
I. East Feliciana
J. West Feliciana
K. St. Helena
L. Pointe Coupee
M. Tangipahoa

III. Testing Public Accommodations

A. Shreveport
B. Alexandria
C. Monroe
D. Baton Rouge
E. New Roads
F. Hammond
G. Jonesboro

IV. Getting Plaintiffs for Public School Desegregation and Other Public Facilities

- A. East Feliciana
- B. West Feliciana
- C. Rapides
- D. Ouachita
- E. Caddo
- F. Pointe Coupee
- G. Tangipahoa
- H. Jackson

V. Other Endeavors

- A. Organization of Rural Communities

    - 1. Farmers' league
    - 2. ASC participation

- B. Community Centers (Emphasis on revising plans for St. Francisville)
- C. Labor Union Problems and Equal Job Opportunities

    - 1. Ouachita
    - 2. Jackson
    - 3. Baton Rouge
    - 4. Ascension
    - 5. other

- D. Housing

    - 1. Ouachita
    - 2. Iberville
    - 3. other

VI. Freedom Schools

- A. Jonesboro
- B. Monroe
- C. Plaquemine
- D. Shreveport
- E. Donaldsonville
- F. Alexandria (Reactivationg SCLC Citizenship Schools)
- G. Clinton
- H. St. Francisville
- I. New Roads
- J. other

VII. Direct Action (when feasible)

- A. Objectives

    - 1. To secure equal job opportunities
    - 2. To pressure economic structure into making political power structure move toward meeting our demands for "equal protection under law" in voter registration, ASC representation, etc.

- B. Areas for such action to be discussed

VIII. Congressional District Meetings

- A. Districts

1. Fourth
2. Fifth
3. Sixth

B. Agenda

1. Summer Project
2. CORE's present program
3. Community problems in general

IX. Food and Clothing Distribution

A. Specifics being drafted
B. Relationship to overall program and ultimate goal being discussed
C. Preliminary steps to implement program being taken

1. Securing central storage place
2. Securing supplies - Dave Dennis
3. Distribution being discussed

a. how
b. to whom
c. where
d. why
e. when

sidney gerber • 3302 south washington st. • seattle, wash. 98144
on leschi ledge

May 5, 1965

Mr. Rich ard Haley
CORE
2209 Dryades St.
New Orleans

Dear Mr. Haley,

I have been reading about your project in Bogalusa in the local CORE newsletter, and also understand from Chas. Mor gan of the ACLU office in Atlanta t hat CORE is going into several other areas in Louisiana this summer.

We organized, about 5 months ago a fund raising group, CREDO, to raise funds for work in Mississippi, and have send a few thousand dollars down there in 1965 for legal projects, and also to support COFO centers.

At the present time, there is a possibility that groups in Seattle might be organized to adopt a civil rights center in one of the Southern States, and we were wondering if CORE is going to open a new one in Louisiana, where they will have an office, library, voters registration project, freedom schools, etc. similar to the ones we helped support in Miss. If so, we might attempt to organize a number of Seattle churches and our CREDO group, as well as local CORE people in adopting such a center.

We do not work in the field of supplying volunteers for summer work. I am thinking of supplying physical needs, such as rent, light, heat, and telephone bills, etc. , books, and clothing, for a whole project, and have the question of staff entirely independent, as you no doubt organize staff in your own way. Our group has not been supplying any funds for staff anywheres.

Such a project as adopting a town from here requires some months of planning so you might keep this in mind for the future. Dick Jewett, in Jackson, Miss, has received some funds from us for projects there, but I think he is the only CORE man with whom we have been in touch. All our main funds have gone to legal offices in Jackson, or centers in other areas .

Sincerely

Sid Gerber

Sidney Gerber, Treas. Credo. Inc.

phone east 9-1974 (area code 206)

month to support these activities. This goal may be revised as reports are

CREDO, INC.

(Civil Rights Education and Defense Organization)

A Seattle non-profit corporation raising funds for projects
in Mississippi and other southern states

1410 Hoge Building Seattle 98104 Tel. EAst 9-1974

James B. Wilson, President
Sid Gerber, Treasurer
Dave Hood
James Kimbrough
Fran Hoague, Secretary
Norm Ackley
John Bundy

Negroes are suffering reprisals, in Mississippi and in other southern states, for trying to register to vote, and for trying to send their children to unsegregated schools. Dedicated men and women---white and Negro---students, teachers, lawyers, businessmen---are going south by the hundreds to help out as civil rights volunteers. They are donating their time. Many are sponsored by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), made up of workers from the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the National Council of Churches. CREDO will supply funds for this work.

Education and community work. At considerable personal risk, civil rights workers are maintaining some 33 Freedom Houses in critical and dangerous areas of Mississippi. CREDO will send funds to help these workers operate schools for pre-school children and for adult education, and for voter registration; and to help them provide counselling in community activities.

Legal defense. Police in Mississippi and elsewhere are arresting civil rights workers almost daily on trumped up charges. A former Seattle lawyer, Henry M. Aronson, heads a legal staff in Jackson, Mississippi who are giving legal protection to citizens and to workers who are being harassed because of their civil rights activities. It is also planned to bring lawsuits, where necessary, to effect integration in various facilities and institutions. This staff includes a full time law clerk, three Mississippi Negro lawyers, and a changing battery of out-of-state lawyers. CREDO will send funds to help this office pay for such overhead as telephone service (the lawyers have to call constantly all over the state, and therefore the phone bill runs to hundreds of dollars per month) and the rental of U-drive cars with Mississippi plates (an out-of-state car is suspect by the police).

Seattle volunteers. Lawyers Jim Wilson and Dave Hood went to Mississippi last fall; lawyer Fran Hoague and businessman Sid Gerber visited many projects in Mississippi in January, 1965. Other Seattle lawyers will be going south, as volunteers, for short periods, and will be reporting each month.

Funds. CREDO's officers are committed to provide a minimum of $1,000 per month to support these activities. This goal may be revised as reports are brought back by Seattle volunteers returning from the south. CREDO does not intend to use any funds to pay for salaries or transportation to or from the south.

Make checks payable to CREDO, INC. and mail to Fran Hoague, Secretary 1410 Hoge Building, Seattle 98104; or to Sid Gerber, Treasurer, 3302 South Washington Street, Seattle 98144.

[1965, May?]

TO: NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL
CORE SCHOLARSHIP EDUCATION DEFENSE FUND
NATIONAL OFFICE OF CORE

FROM: LOUISIANA STAFF

RE: FORMAT OF LOUISIANA
SUMMER PROJECT

SUMMER PROGRAM FOR LOUISIANA

In many parishes in Louisiana, it would be a serious error to make a big push in voter registration without making sure that a strong local community structure was established beforehand to guide newly registered voters toward supporting long range political, economic, legal, educational and social programs. In other parishes where we have already developed stable units of sound local leadership, a crash program in voter registration would be beneficial. In the latter case, we'll concentrate on voter registration and at the same time on community organization.

Throughout North Louisiana in the 4th and 5th Congressional Districts, there is a need for basic community organization centered around the "felt needs" of the community. I contend, however, that because of the climate created by the passage of the voting rights bill, voter registration will be a key issue of concern for most people in every parish of Louisiana. If this contention is true, even in areas where we intend to work primarily on community organization some of our attention will definitely have to be concentrated on voter registration.

Let no one forget that although the voting rights bill might substantially decrease discrimination in the area of Negro suffrage, problems of apathy, illiteracy, fear, exploitation, ignorance and public and/or private intimidation will still exist.

Charts have been prepared denoting category of parishes as to emphasis, number of workers and cars needed, budget and other essentials. Most workers will be self-supporting volunteers. We expect many volunteers to bring cars with them. Volunteers should be prepared to provide bond for themselves.

The outlined distribution of resources may be changed to cover additional parishes. However, no additional funds will be needed. Parishes will be selected primarily from the 4th and 5th Congressional districts, depending on the outcome of advance scouting now in progress.

FORMAT FOR SOUTH LOUISIANA - EMPHASIS VOTER REGISTRATION

Cong. Dist.	Parish	Negro Regis.	White Regis.	Negro Poten.	White Poten.	Possible N. Increase	No. of Workers	No. of Cars	Budget 3 Mos.
6	E. Baton Rouge	12,031	75,702	23,212	98,654	11,181	15	3	$ 1,275
6	W. Baton Rouge	1,244	3,618	4,069	4,524	2,825	5	1	$ 825
6	Iberville	2,969	7,395	8,023	9,494	5,054	10	2	$ 1,050
6	Ascension	2,515	8,899	4,753	11,923	2,238	10	2	$ 1,050
6	West Feliciana	18	235	5,185	3,029	5,167	10	2	$ 1,050
6	East Feliciana	185	2,736	6,729	7,425	6,544	10	2	$ 1,050
6	St. Helena	564	2,061	2,461	2,578	1,897	10	2	$ 1,050
6	Pointe Coupee	1,521	4,402	6,082	6,613	4,561	10	2	$ 1,050
6	Tangipahea	3,241	19,851	10,064	25,168	7,363	5	1	$ 825
6	St. Tammany	2,781	18,064	5,664	17,517	2,883	5	1	$ 825
6	Washington	1,590	15,496	7,741	18,322	6,151	10	2	$ 1,050
6	Livingston	1,414	13,136	2,058	13,655	644	5	1	$ 825
8	Rapides	3,873	32,429	20,373	51,344	16,500	15	3	$ 1,275
							120	24	$13,200

Subsistence for 22 workers . . .$ 5,280

Rental for 5 cars . . . . $ 2,250

TOTAL BUDGET $20,730

Each parish budget has been compiled on the following basis:

$50.00 per month for office and/or freedom house rental.
$75.00 per month for office supplies.
$75.00 per month for gas, oil of each car.
$75.00 per month miscellaneous expenses.

SOUTH LOUISIANA BUDGET

June 19 - August 31, 1965

Food and Housing (22 workers) ($20 per week per worker)	$ 5,280.00
Office and/or freedom house rent ($50.00 per month per base)	$ 1,950.00
Office supplies ($75 per month per base)	$ 2,925.00
Car Rental ($150 per month per car)	$ 2,250.00
Car Maintenance ($75 per month per car)	$ 5,400.00
Miscellaneous ($75 per month per base)	$ 2,925.00
TOTAL	$20,730.00

Figures for:

120 workers - 22 receiving subsistence
98 self-supporting

24 cars - 5 rented receiving maintenance
19 volunteer receiving maintenance

13 parish bases.

FORMAT FOR NORTH LOUISIANA - EMPHASIS COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Cong. Dist.	Parish	Negro Regis.	White Regis.	Negro Poten.	White Poten.	Possible N. Increase	No. of Workers	No. of Cars	Budget 3 Mos.
5	Ouachita	1,780	29,797	18,168	44,444	16,388	15	3	$ 1,275
5	Jackson	1,245	6,047	2,882	7,249	1,637	10	2	$ 1,050
5	Lincoln	1,323	6,990	7,614	11,971	6,291	10	2	$ 1,050
4	CaddO	4,969	62,429	48,405	94,334	43,436	20	4	$ 1,500
4	Bienville	590	4,985	4,657	5,982	4,067	10	2	$ 1,050
4	Claiborne	125	5,208	5,707	6,849	5,582	10	2	$ 1,050
4	Webster	850	12,034	7,970	17,033	7,120	10	2	$ 1,050
									$13,200
						Subsistence for 22 workers . .			$ 5,280
						Rental for 5 cars			$ 2,250
									$20,730

Each budget has been compiled on the following basis:

$50.00 per month for office and/or freedom house rental.

$75 per month for office supplies.

$75 per month for gas, oil of each car.

$75 per month miscellaneous expenses.

NORTH LOUISIANA BUDGET

June 19 - August 31, 1965

Food and housing ($20 per week per worker)	$ 5,280.00
Office rent ($50 per month per base)	$ 1,050.00
Office supplies ($75 per month per car)	$ 1,575.00
Car rental ($150 per month per car)	$ 2,250.00
Car maintenance ($75 per month per car)	$3,825.00
Miscellaneous ($75 per month per base)	$ 1,575.00
TOTAL	$15,555.00

Figures for:Z

85 workers - 22 receiving subsistence
63 self supporting

17 cars - 5 rented, receiving maintenance
12 volunteer, receiving maintenance

7 Parish bases.

SUMMER PROJECT TRAINING SESSION

June 12 - 19, 1965

Housing . . . . ($1.00 per day per person)	$ 1,435.00
Food . . . . ($1.50 per day per person)	$ 2,152.00
Temporary Headquarters . . . . (overhead costs and assembly place rental)	$ 500.00
Training kits, clerical essentials and purchase of booklets	$ 100.00
Car maintenance	$ 300.00
Miscellaneous	$ 200.00
TOTAL . . .	$ 4,687.00

Figures for: 205 workers

LOUISIANA BUDGET

SUMMER - 1965

Food and housing ($20 per week per worker)	$ 10,560.00
Office rent ($50 per month per base)	$ 3,000.00
Office supplies ($75 per month per base)	$ 4,500.00
Car rental ($150 per month per car)	$ 4,500.00
Car maintenance ($75 per month per car)	$ 9,225.00
Miscellaneous ($75 per month per base)	$ 4,400.00
Telephone and WATS line	$ 3,000.00
Initial housing deposits	$ 500.00
SubTOTAL	$ 39,785.00
Training session budget	$ 4,687.50
TOTAL	$ 44,472.50

Figures for:

205 workers - 44 receiving subsistence
161 self-supporting

41 cars - 10 rented, receiving maintenance
31 volunteer, receiving maintenance

20 Parish bases

NOTE: Bond and Legal costs have not been estimated.

SUMMER PROJECT EXPENSE ADVANCE FROM BUDGET

List of immediate needs (Request for 5/10/65)

1.	WATS line	$ 500.00
2.	Telephone installations at Baton Rouge and Monroe (Deposit)	$ 300.00
3.	Office equipment: desks, blackboards, shelves, tables, wall partitions, file cabinets, book cases, typewriters, etc.	$ 500.00
4.	Office supplies, which include mimeo paper, typing paper, legal pads, pencils, ink, ledgers, etc.	$ 500.00
5.	Voter registration forms and record keeping essentials, relevant maps	$ 1,250.00
6.	Initial deposit on housing in 4th, 5th, 6th, & 8th Congressional districts. 4 houses in 4th district 3 houses in 5th district 12 houses in 6th district 1 house in 8th district 20 houses at $50 per house	$ 1,000.00
7.	Miscellaneous & Reserve	$ 950.00
	TOTAL	$ 5,000.00

MA [illegible]R

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE 6-14-65 CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE 2209 Dryades Street, New Orleans, La.

CORE SUMMER PROJECT TO BEGIN IN LOUISIANA

On Monday officials of the Congress of Racial Equality announced that some 200 volunteers are coming south this week to work on CORE's summer projects in three states. The announcement was made by Richard Haley, CORE southern director, and Ronnie Moore, Louisiana project director, in a news conference held at the Dryades St. YMCA. They said the majority of the volunteers will be working in Louisiana. Other states to be included are Florida and South Carolina.

Mr. Moore said that the summer project in Louisiana will be concentrated in 21 parishes in the 4th, 5th and 6th congressional districts. He said that the basic goal of the project is community development and that the organization will use several "programmatic tools" to that end, including voter registration, participation in farmers elections, and implementation of the civil rights and anti-poverty acts.

Mr. Moore stressed, however, that the program in each city and parish will be shaped by the needs and wishes of the people who live in them. He cited the fact that Negroes in many parts of Louisiana want to wait until enactment of the voting rights bill before undertaking a major voter registration push. He said he expects passage of the bill by July 15. Other sources of concern to Negroes, Moore said, are open sewers, police brutality, the condition of roads, the lack of playgrounds, and other community problems, rather than just traditional civil rights problems.

The volunteers, both Negro and white, will arrive in Waveland, Mississippi, this week and will attend a four-day training session before being sent to their field assignments on June 21st. The CORE summer program will run through the end of August.

Mr. Haley said that CORE will be aided in its summer program by the Medical Committee for Human Rights, the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee and the National Council of Churches. About 30 of the summer volunteers will receive Community Development Fellowships to support them during their summer civil rights work. The fellowships are awarded by the CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund to college students majoring in social sciences.

Asked whether his organization planned to send workers into Plaquemines Parish, Haley replied that CORE did not have any special plans to begin or end the Louisiana summer project with a campaign in the Leander Perez stronghold. "We regard it only as a parish in the first congressional district," Haley said, and added, "we do not view it as a foreign country, as much as they would like it that way."

On recent events in Bogalusa, Moore said that both Governor McKeithen and Mayor Cutrer have been "playing around" and that they have not achieved a single important goal. The equal rights problems of the state require, Moore said, the Governor to adopt an affirmative program to attain "real solutions to very real problems."

# # # # #

1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
June 30, 1965

Mr. H. Spencer Limbocker
1069 Brookwood
Birmingham, Michigan

Dear Mr. Limbocker:

We have received your letter and a letter of recommendation from Dave Kramer. All of our recruitment is handled through the CORE Southern Office at 2209 Dryades Street in New Orleans. We suggest that if you have not heard from them re: your application, you immediately write a follow-up letter to David Dennis in that office. It might be helpful if you mention again your capabilities with a camera, the fact that you have a car and the fact that you can be self-supporting. Dave Kramer has already sent a second recommendation to that office.

I'm sorry I can give you no further information.

Best regards,

Ronnie M. Moore

P.S. If you have already received notice of acceptance from the Southern Office, please come directly to Baton Rouge. Notify this office in advance of the date of your arrival and call 342-8388 when you reach the city. RMM.

RMM/sb
cc: David Kramer

if accepted, come

H. Spencer Limbocker
1069 Brookwood
Birmingham, Michigan

June 21, 1965

Mr. Ronnie M. Moore
1501½ East Blvd.
Louise St. P.O.
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Mr. Moore

I have been referred to you by Mr. David Kramer at the W.C.O.C. office in Detroit Michigan. I am interested in joining the CORE summer project and Dave suggested that you might be able to help. My application has been sent to the CORE Southern Office in New Orleans.

My background in civil rights activities is new but I want very much to become more active. I feel that I have training and abilities that can be used by CORE and I want to put them to use.

I am a senior in human management at Western Michigan University and have had training in human organization and social relations. I am self supporting, have an automobile camera and typewritter which I can bring with me.

If you think that my training and abilities could be used by CORE or anyother group that you are in contact with would you please give any assistance that you feel is necessary to encourage my acceptance. I would appreciate any help that you could give. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

H. Spencer Limbocker

6/22/65

Dear Ronnie,

I talked with Spence Limbacker of 1069 Brookwood in Birimingham, Mich. He wanted to know about Louisiana.

He asked me to write a recomondaton for him, so I am. He realizes that it is late.

He seemed sincere and interested in both contributing to, and gaining from, participation in the movement.

He was recommended to me by Rev. Jim Guinan who I consider a good judge of people and their abilities relating to Civil Rights.

He has never had any previous experience in the movement.

His big points are his Business management courses in College (this is his major) This may give him an organizational training background which you may want to consider in view of the emphasis of your program.

He has also had extensive experience with photography

He ~~has~~ an appreciation of your situation, being too heavy on the Caucasian end of things.

He is also able to support himself and he has a Car, 2 of them, a new Pontiac and a V.W.

I am also sending a letter of this nature to the Southern Regional Office.

Sincerely,
Dave Kramer
your friend in freedom

P.S. Tell my wife to get off her ass and write to me.

(Over)

I would say that Spence would be a good man if you weren't too heavy with white folks and if it was not so late. These 2 facters may change the situation though.

1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
June 30, 1965

Mr. David J. Hanks
225 Council Trail
Arlington Heights, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hanks:

We sincerely appreciate your willingness to provide bond money for Frederick Richard Mabbutt II. We regret that it will not be necessary, for Rick will not be on the Louisiana Project. Perhaps he has already informed you that after much serious consideration and discussion at the training session, he decided to leave. We were sorry to lose him; he would have been a valuable asset.

Thank you again for your interest and concern.

Best regards,

Ronnie M. Moore

RMM/sb

Arlington Heights, Illinois
June 22, 1965

Mr. Ronnie Moore
Director
Louisiana Summer Project
C.O.R.E.
Southern Office
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Moore:

This is to inform you that I am willing to sign bond money up to $500 for Frederic Richard Mabbutt II who will be working in the Louisiana Summer project during the next three months.

Please acknowledge that you have received this letter because I sent one earlier that was returned unclaimed.

Sincerely,

David J. Hanks

David J. Hanks
225 Council Trail
Arlington Heights, Ill.

REQUIRED REPORTS
from
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FELLOWSHIP WORKERS

July 8, 1965

Three reports will be required of each worker in the Community Development Fellowship program. The first report is to cover the period from the end of the orientation through Saturday, July 10, 1965. Items to be included in this report are outlined immediately below.

1. Location of the project
2. Personnel on that project
3. Prior education, civil rights experience and group-work experience of each worker on project
4. Observations on staff housing, food, recreation, work-routine, office facilities and supplies, transportation and communications with other CORE staff.
5. Description of community
    - a. population by race
    - b. occupations: percentage breakdown in principal occupations where possible
    - c. principal industries
    - d. attitudes toward civil rights: public officials, local businessmen, Negro community, white community
    - e. degree of integration: schools, employment, voting, etc.
    - f. response to Civil Rights Act; to Anti-Poverty Act
    - g. problems or advantages for the Negro community in housing, employment, governmental services, intergroup communications
6. Other observations which you consider pertinent

The above listing is given only to apprise the worker of basic required content, not of format. Rather, it is recommended that the report be written in personal, narrative style.

Second is a group of three biweekly reports. Each wil be something of a digest of conversations, meetings and actions which illustrate about problems of your community, or how the Movement reacts to those problems, or both. Since almost everything you see or do would fall in this category, it's up to the worker to choose what seems to be the three or four most significant points for each report.

The final report will draw on all the material previously submitted. Content and format of this will be left to the worker; it is felt that the greater variety of individual treatment gained by this freedom will result in maximum value from thetotal body of reports submitted.

First report due in Southern Office: Wednesday, July 14.

Biweekly reports due in Southern Office: Monday July 19th.
Monday August 2nd.
Monday August 16th.

Final report due in Southern Office Wednesday August 25th.

You should prepare all reports in duplicate so you can retain a copy for your own reference. It is only required that you submit one copy of each report to the Southern Office.

Respectfully,

Richard Haley
CORE Southern Director

CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE
2209 DRYADES STREET
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

July 8, 1965

revised list of

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FELLOWSHIP WORKERS

Florida

Sidney Daniels

Bettye A. Galloway

Emmitt Tribue

Johnny Lee Watson

*(of uncertain status)

Ann Early

Cassandra Williams

North Carolina

Minnie Lee Fuller

William V. Harris

David C. Riley

South Carolina

Mazie Lee Butler

Horace Godwin

Mary V. Robinson

Walter B. Robinson

Brenda Thompson

*(of uncertain status)

Jimmie Andrews

Sherman Henry

* These cases are either still being processed, or there is some confusion or lack of information to be cleared up. Proper notification will be given to applicants as soon as his case is cleared.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FELLOWSHIP WORKERS

Louisiana

New Orleans

Susanne Ballard

Emilo J. Dupre

Martin Fassler

Margeline Jennings

Patricia D. Morrow

Dorothy B. Nance

Bernadine L. Porche

Adam Weber

Doratha Smith

Rosemary Williams

(of uncertain status)

Irene Davis

Kendra Harris

Marion Cramer

Nicholas R. Lawrence

James Oppel

Terry Poe

Other parts of the state

Herman Carter

Judith Fleiss

Archie Hunter

William Michael Jones

Michael Kinsler

Beverly D. Lee

William J. Madden

Daniel E. Paik

Hugh Robbins

Dan Rosenberg

Eddie Scott

Pamela C. Smith

Shirley Thompson

Ernestina Vanderpool

Jack Watlington

[1965, July]

CORE IN THE FIELD
BAG XVI

EDUCATION:

CORE and the other members of the Chicago Coordinating Council petitioned the U.S. Health, Education, and Welfare Department to withhold federal funds from Chicago public schools because Supt. Willis and the Board of Education have deliberately segregated the Chicago schools.(Chicago Sun-Times 7-6-65)

Staten Island CORE calls for boycotts of all state bonds from any state with segregated schools.(N.Y. Amsterdam News 6-19-65_)

HOUSING:

Morris County CORE charges of slum conditions in Morristown, New Jersey were vindicated by personal inspection of Alderman Moonan who promises full report to the Board of Aldermen.(Newark Star-Ledger 7-6-65)

POLICE:

CORE demands Tucson Police Chief Garmire answer personally before the Mayor and City Council to CORE charges of harassment and brutality by policemen.(Tucson, Arizona Daily Star 7-2-65)

GENERAL:

Brooklyn CORE Chairman Mayor Owens participate in forum on the War on Poverty.(N.Y. National Guardian 6-19-65)

Extensive interviews with Michael Hannon, Los Angeles policeman scheduled for departmental trial because of participation in CORE(Los Angeles Free Press 6-11-65

Seattle CORE calls for new chairman of State Board Against Discrimination charging that the Board under present Chairman McDonald has done little in the area of effective non-discriminatory action.(Seattle Daily Times 6-25-65)

Seven Arts CORE joins other groups in project "Mississippi Caravan" to send supplies to Mississippi Negroes.(N.Y. Amsterdam News 6-19-65)

James Farmer says that General Motors, the only major company approached by CORE, refuses to use Negroes in advertising.(N.Y. Sponsor 6-28-65)

Bogalusa Negroes bring $425,000 damages suit against city officials and policemen.(Washington,D.C. Post 6-29-65)

BAG XVII

POLICE:

CORE Chairman Don Smith joins national and local leaders, including Norman Thomas, A. Phillip Randolph, James Farmer, in sponsoring a fund to raise money for the defense of a Los Angeles policeman and a CORE member on trial for misconduct.(Los Angeles Times 7-5-65)

HOUSING:

Six CORE members arrested for chain-in at construction site of a Detroit luxury hotel to protest slum conditions in the owner's apartment buildings were sentenced to one years' probation.(Detroit News 7-7-65)

GENERAL:

Long background article on police problems in St. Louis.(St. Louis Post Dispatch 7-6-65)

BAG XVIII

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS:

Calvert County CORE, Maryland, protest of segregation in Calvert County Hospital leads to investigation by Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and Governors' Interracial Commission(Baltimore Afro-American 6-22-65)

URBAN RENEWAL:

CORE pickets Truman speech at his library in Independence, Mo. on Independence Day protesting lack of relocation arrangements for local urban renewal project.(Chicago Defender 7-7-65)

EDUCATION:

CORE joins Washington, D.C. ministers in requesting Adam Clayton Powell's House Education and Labor Committee to investigate Washington,D.C. city schools.(Washington Evening Star 7-7-65)

EMPLOYMENT:

CORE launches equal employment drive against Tulsa food stores.(Tulsa, Oklahoma Eagle 6-24-65)

Cardinal Shehan of Baltimore to mediate in employment discrimination drive launched six months ago by CORE against six Baltimore Banks.(Baltimore Sun 7-3-65)

POLICE:

Newark-Essex CORE denounces Newark Mayor Addonizio for calling a hearing on a civilian review board, since two similar hearings(Sept. 1962 and March 1963) have already called for the establishment of a review board. (Newark Star-Ledger 7-12-65)

Passaic County CORE demand for a civilian review board is rejected by Patterson Mayor Graves(N.Y. Times 7-14-65)

GENERAL:

Los Angeles CORE launches drive to raise $2000.00 for appeal of CORE member Claude Liggens arrested in Selma demonstrations this year.(Los Angeles Free Press 6-18-65)

CORE denounces award by Dallas Negroes to Dr. W.T. White, who has "done everything in his power to block total desegregation of the Dallas public schools".(Dallas Express 6-26-65)

Feature article reviewing Negro employment situations in Los Angeles. (Los Angeles Times 7-4-65)

Article on the "Negro in Denver".(Denver, Colorado Magazine June'65)

CORE IN THE FIELD
BAG XIX

HOUSING:

CORE housing discrimination case causes city of Washington,D.C. to bring charges which could cause the loss of the real estate licenses against a broker and two of his agents.(Washington Post 7-10-65)

POLICE:

CORE demands suspension of 5 Pittsburgh policemen and the establishment of a civilian review board following "shooting spree" in which 3 people were killed. CORE picketing outside Pittsburgh Public Safety Building produced a meeting between CORE and city officials to discuss the demands.(Pittsburgh Press 7-10-65)

BAG XX

EMPLOYMENT:

CORE calls for boycott of 20 Oakland, California restaurants who have continued to discriminate in employment after a seven month CORE campaign of negotiations and demonstrations.(Oakland Voice 6-18-65)

San Diego CORE chairman Hal Brown sentenced to 15 days in jail for trespassing in Bank of America protests last year.(San Diego Voice 7-1-65)

Mid-Peninsula(Calif) CORE begins a campaign to inform businesses who deal with discriminatory firms that such dealings are illegal if there are government contracts involved. The campaign includes a letter to Philco Corp. about Crown-Zellerbach Corp.'s discriminatory hiring practices. (San Francisco Sun Reporter 6-26-65)

GENERAL:

South Side CORE Freedom Center, acting on the request of 28 Plattville,Wisc families, arranges a week's visit in Plattville for 35 Negro children of Chicago.(Milwalkee Journal 7-11-65)

St. Louis CORE joins other Missouri groups in petitioning Missouri Senators Long and Symington to oppose Coleman's confirmation as Fifth Circuit Judge (St. Louis Post-Dispatch 7-10-65)

Evaluation of the Poverty Program(Progressive July,1965)

Background article on Chicago school crisis.(Chicago Sun-Times 7-11-65)

BAG XXI

EMPLOYMENT:

CORE pickets home of an official of the Wyandanch,L.I. Fire Company as part of its campaign to force the lily-white company to integrate.(Long Island Press 7-4-65)

POLITICAL ACTION:

Middlesex County CORE lawyer Robert Wilentz is running for the New Jersey Assembly.(Newark Star-Ledger 7-18-65)

EDUCATION:

Charges were dismissed against 22 CORE members arrested during a sit-in at the Baltimore School Board offices last April(Atlanta,Georgia World 6-30-65)

GENERAL:

Newark-Essex CORE's pre-school class of 25 Newark children has been invited to spend the weekends at a six acre country nursery school in Livingston, New Jersey.(Newark Sunday News 7-18-65)

BAG XXII

EMPLOYMENT:

CORE charges of employment discrimination at school construction sites bring request from Cincinnati Board of Education to Ohio Commission for investigation of the situation. Penker Construction has agreed to bypass union lists to hire Negroes.(Cincinnati Enquirer 7-13-65)

EDUCATION:

CORE criticizes the Baltimore School Board for failure to develope long-range comprehensive plans for integration.(Baltimore Sun 7-14-65)

POLICE:

CORE vigils at city hall demand Pittsburgh civilian review board and an investigation of the serious wounding of a Negro suspect less than 24 hours after police brutality during a gun battle in which 3 people were killed. (Pittsburgh Post-Gazette 7-10-65)

CORE participates in Seattle citizens meeting protesting the killing of Negro by 2 off-duty policemen and demands suspension of the officers, non-discrimination in the Police Department and the establishment of a civilian review board.(Seattle Daily Times 7-11-65)

GENERAL:

Local apartment owners donate the use of 2 apartments and a meeting hall to Mid-Peninsula CORE and other community groups.(San Farncisco Sun Reporter6-65)

BAG XXIII

POLICE:

NAACP and Urban League support Newark-Essex CORE demand for a Newark Civilian Review Board(Newark Evening News 7-16-65)

Brooklyn CORE holds rally and march to police headquarters protesting murder of Negro Nelson Erby by white policeman. National CORE lawyers make independent investigation including private autopsy(N.Y. Herald Tribune 7-18-65, 7-21-65)

BAG XXIV

EDUCATION:

CORE succesfully concludes six-week Sat. morning remedial reading program at local public school in Wyandanch, L.I. The number of children enrolled almost doubled during the course of the program(Long Island Press 7-11-65)

HOUSING:

Long Island CORE joins a delegation to Washington,D.C. seeking the aid of Rep. Wydler of Garden City and several government agencies for an interracial couple harassed by violence and verbal abuse in East Meadow,L.I. (Long Island Press 7-12-65)

CORE IN THE FIELD
BAG XXIV(cont'd)

EMPLOYMENT:

Mid-Peninsula CORE calls on U.S. Army Procurement District in San Francisco to instruct firms with federal contracts to cancel or holdup Crown-Zellerbach orders until EEO has investigated employment practices and discrimination charges against Crown-Zellerbach.

Head of local taxpayers association arrested for interfering with Suffolk CORE picket protesting lily-white fire company in 75% Negro town of Wyandanch, L.I.(Long Island Press 7-12-65)

POLICE:

Pittsburgh CORE co-sponsors March and rally of 500 people in its continuing campaign against police brutality and for a civilian review board. (Pittsburgh Press 7-15-65)

GENERAL:

CORE protests use of city tax dollars to finance parades of the all-white Shriners Convention in Washington,D.C.(Washington Evening Star 7-16-65)

Interview with Ku Klux Klan head Robert Shelton.(Playboy August '65)

BAG XXV

EMPLOYMENT:

CORE participates in union organizing among hospital workers in Rochester and Syracuse,(RWDSU Record 6-27-65)

CORE complaints to AFL-CIO of discrimination in local building trades unions bring about top AFL-CIO trouble-shooter, Walter Davis, to Columbus, Ohio.(Columbus Citizen-Journal 7-16-65)

POLICE: James Farmer leads 3,000 in Newark march for a citizens review board. During the march Farmer was served papers indicating local cop, accused of brutality, is suing him and others for slander and libel(N.Y.Daily News 7-22-65)

Charges were dismissed against 10 CORE members arrested for sit-in at Pittsburgh Deputy Mayor's office demanding meeting with top city official to discuss police brutality and a civilian review board(Pittsburgh Press)

CORE finds several witnesses to testify before grand jury investigating N.Y. policeman's killing of Negro Nelson Erby.(N.Y. Daily News 7-23-65)

EDUCATION:

CORE supports Cincinnati residents fighting proposal school site which would destroy Negro homes(Cincinnati Herald 7-3-65)

CORE backs Buffalo School Board's pupil transfer plan for integrating public schools(Buffalo Evening News 7-16-65)

CORE supports citizens protesting Dade County, Fla. school boards decision to shift new elementary school from integrated site to segregated site.(Miami Beach Times 7-9-65)

HOUSING:

CORE joins Kansas City,Mo. neighborhood group in working to change slum conditions(Kansas City, Mo. Catholic Reporter 7-2-65)

COPY

1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
August 10, 1965

Mr. James Henry Williams
308-A West Askew
Tallulah, Louisiana

Dear James:

Enclosed is an application for the CORE Task Force. This application is for full time work in the fall, and if you choose to fill it out it should be returned to me at the above address.

At the present time we have no money with which to pay sunsistence wages to workers, and there is no guarantee that we will be able to hire Task Force workers. Sending you an application is the best I can do at this time.

Best regards,

Ronnie M. Moore

encl.
RMM/sb

4

Tallulah, Louisiana
308-A West Askew
July 22, I965

Mr. Ronnie Moore
I50I½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Moore

I am writing you concerning the application for field fellowship that I sent in which was not accepted. I understand the financial status of core, but I still want to become a member of core. I would of course like subsistence, but I understand that core has no money. But however I still want to become a member of core very much. At the present I am unemployed and could devote full time to core activities, but as soon as subsistence is available I would like to recieve it. I am going to have to get a job pretty soon, maybe before core leaves. I was at the meeting Thur. July 22 with the voters league, but I didn't get a chance to talk you. I have been working with Harold, tony, Van Sinderen all summer. I have learn a lot about how the movement should be carry on, and I also learned a great deal about how core should approach a community and what it hope to accomplish as far as community development. And I live in the community and would like to do every thing possible to help the community progress.

Yours in the name of freedom

James Henry Williams

James Henry Williams

BR

CORE NEWS

FREEDOM

Weekly Vol. 1 No. 10 August 6,1965

MASS MEETING

Place: New Morning Star Baptist Church
Rev. J. H. Henderson

Time: 8:00 p.m. Monday, August 9, 1965

BLOON DRUG STORE

IF YOU CANNOT SIT DO NOT BUY.
IF YOU CANNOT WORK DO NOT BUY.

WHY SPEND YOUR MONEY THERE?

SCHOOL INTEGRATION

A brave girl, Miss Linda Williams, the daughter of Mr. Martin Williams, has decided that she definitely wants to go to Tallulah High School. She will be in the 11th grade. Other students are thinking about going, but so far Linda is the only one who has made a definite move. She has already applied for transfer, but since the intentions of the School Board seem very doubtful, she and her father are having CORE file a suit for her. We hope to see others follow her example. The Steering Committee of the Madison Parish Get Registered and Voters League will help you if you have any problems while you are in school.

Are you going to let Linda go alone, or are you going to go with her? Any parents or students who are interested or who have questions, call 2060.

SPECIAL,by: Z. C. W.

Will the signing of the Voters Bill mean anything to you, or will you sit idly by and watch the rising and the setting of the sun? If you do, the bill will mean nothing to you nor will it benefit any Negro. You must go down to the registrar's office and register. Many strenuous hours, days, months, and years have been put in by both black and white in order that its passage would be secured, although it will take onl a few minutes of your time to see it that their time was not spent in vain.

Too long the Negro has been content with other men doing his thinking for him, while he has been doing most of the hard labor. Now is the time to start thinking for yourself. The things that have been of the most value\to us has been kept from us - The Ballot Now it is ours, but we can only lay claim to it by registering. The requirements are few; you must be 21 years of age ar older, give your place of residence and sign your name. What other material thing that is so valuable costs so little? The ballot is the most powerful object that will give to all men,black or white, justice. That is what we want. It is your job to see that justice is given to all.

REGISTER!!

CONFERENCE

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights will hold a conference on voter registration Saturday, Aug. 21, 1965 in Baton Rouge, Louisiana Those who would like to receive invitations to attend should submi their names to the CORE office, Ph. 2060.

The conference will deal specifically with voter registration in La. and it will concentrate on the new voter registration bill just signed.

VOTER REGISTRATION

by: Moses Williams

President Johnson signed the Voting Bill on August 8, 1965 which will do away with the difficult and irrelevent test that was required in order to register to vote.

There is no longer any excuse for not registering to vote. In order to increase the number of those who register, a system of ambassadors and captains is being set-up. The ambassadors are members of the Steering Committee of the Madison Parish Get Registered and Voters League. They will have captains under them. These captains will be responsible for help- the people in thier areas get registered, and these captains will report every weekend to their ambassador. When the Steering Committee meets every Monday, the ambassadors will report how many people they and their captains have registered in their areas.

Below is a list of the ambassadors and the captains who will work under them. If you need help, you should contact one of these persons who live in your area if they have not contacted you.

(1) Rev. T.I. Isreal (ambassador) Mr. B. Dixon. Mr. R. Hayes, Mr. R. Dixon, Mr W. Puckett.
(2) Rev F.W. Wilson (ambassador), Mr. D. Wilson, Mrs. W,M. Williams
(3) Rev W. Haynes (ambassador), Mrs. .L. Foster.
(4) Rev. W. Johnson (ambassador), Mr. I. West, Mr. O. McCoy, Rev. B. Jackson
(5) Rev J.W. Whitney (ambassador) Mr. Fountain, Rev. Z. Banks, Mr. C. Trimble, Rev. W. Boatner, Mrs. A. Beckwith.
(6) Mr. H.H. Brown (ambassador), Mrs. . Border, Mr. J. Bingham, Miss M. Bolin, Mr. C. Washington, Mr. H. Daily Mr. J. A. Thomas.
(7) Rev. L. Harris (ambassador), Mrs. . Jackson, Rev. Cannon, Mr. C. Carson.
(8) Rev. J.H. Henderson (ambassador) Mrs. R. Johnson, Rev. Redden, Rev. Boggs, Rev. M. Williams, Rev. McGee, Mrs. L.C. Claiborne.
(9) Mr. E. Bowie (ambassador), Mrs. I. Claiborne, Mr. J. Allen, Mrs. I. Perry, Mr. J.J. Britton.
(10) Mr. M. Williams (ambassador) Mrs. S. Kelley, Mr. W. J. Williams Mr. C. Carr, Mr. A. Dawson, Mrs H. Scott.
(11) Mr Z. Wyche (ambassador) Mr. H. Claxton, Mrs H. Williams, Dr. L.A.Anthony, Mrs. P. Martin, Mr. J. McIntosh.

TRANSPORTATION

If you don't have a way to get to the registrars office call these numbers and a car should be available to take you down. In order to make most use of the cars, it would be best if you could get a group of friends to go with you at the same time. Call: 9135.; 1634; 2060; 6r 2498.

DID YOU KNOW?

1. That Clifton Watson was the only one in Tallulah who opened his house to CORE?

2. That the School Board only added a few new lights to the old lights to be used for the new senior high school? Why can't all new lights be used? The white schoo has new lights.

3. That a Negro was fired from Kaufman's Dept. Store and a white was hired in his place?

4. That it is against state law for the city to dump and burn garbage? It can be sued for such action.

5. That there is a Negro on both the negotiating and grievance committees of the union at Chicago Mill? He was just appointed.

6. That Vicksburg Miss. hired 2 assistant registrars and that over 600 Negroes registered this week? Can Tallulah and Madison Parish beat Vicksburg?

7. That there are 5,000 Negroes and only 3,300 whites over 21 years old in Madison Parish?

COMMUNITY CONFERENCE

There will be a community meeting At New Light Baptist Church on Thursday, August 12, from 4:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. All should come.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
SANTA BARBARA
P.O. BOX 3973

Mr. Ron Moore,
State Director, CORE
501 1/2 'E' Blvd.
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

August 3, 1965

Dear Ron,

Enclosed please find the strongest message of support we can send: a check. This represents the proceeds from a barbeque which we held last week. Not only was the cause advanced at this event by fund-raising, but Santa Barbara CORE members had a chance to broaden community knowledge of the movement, North and South.

Santa Barbara Core cotinues to work here, and part of that work will continue to be support of your fight against the brutal conditions in Louisiana.

Yours in Fellowship,
Warren Wulzen
Warren Wulzen,
Corresponding Secretary.

encl: B. of A. cashiers check #971 2293, $75.00.
via: Air mail, registered, return receipt requested.

COPY

1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
August 10, 1965

Mr. and Mrs. Ken Reichstein
34-B University Houses
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Reichstein:

On behalf of the Congress of Racial Equality and the cause of Freedom I would like to thank you for your very generous contribution. We deeply appreciate your much needed concern and support for the Civil Rights Movement and its efforts to promote justice and equality throughout the country and especially in the South.

Your gift to Louisiana CORE will go towards the support of the summer project and its work in the areas of community organization, voter registration and the implementation of federal programs and the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Your generosity and the spirit which underlies it will greatly help us in the Southern struggle. We hope that in the future our efforts will continue to merit your interest and support.

Yours for Freedom,

Ronnie M. Moore
State Project Director

RMM/sb

COPY

1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
August 10, 1965

Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Feingold
64 Sterling Street
Brooklyn, New York 11225

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Feingold:

I wish that I could say more than the traditional words "thank you." We in Louisiana regard you as real friends and more than generous parents. Not only have you permitted us to borrow Mimi, but you also feel the agony of our financial situation.

Your check for $100.00 was more than a payment on the state project deficit; it reminded me that although some people give a little, others like you never stop giving.

Thank you again.

Best regards,

Ronnie M. Moore

RMM/sb

Community Relations
8-4-65

CORE IN THE FIELD
Bag XXVIII

EMPLOYMENT

CORE workers, Walter Jenkins and Herman Brown were beaten in New Roads, Louisiana, as they were picketting a shopping center. Jenkins was hospitalized with a fractured skull. The workers and their attackers were all charged with disturbing the peace. (New Orleans, Louisiana Weekly 7-17-65)

Long Island CORE pickets Roosevelt, Long Island businessmen for their refusal to support school integration plan. (New York Amsterdam News 7-3-65)

HOUSING

Tri-City CORE leads demonstration in Kennewick, Washington, protesting City Council's refusal to consider a fair housing ordinance. (Seattle Daily Times 7-18-65)

Long Island CORE post guards at Negro home in Massapequa after front window is smashed by loaded garbage can. (Long Island Press 7-23-65)

POLICE

CORE fund-raising party moves to West Los Angeles Police Station after three guests were arrested for serving alcohol without a license. (West Los Angeles Independent 7-8-65)

GENERAL

Phoenis CORE chairman James Williams, is encouraged by establishment of State Civil Rights Commission to hear complaints of all types of discrimination. (Arizona Republic 7-19-65)

Bag XXIX

POLICE

Springfield CORE gathers 200 people for "sleep-out" on the steps of City Hall as part of its continuing battle with Mayor Ryan over police brutality and over the establishment of a civilian review board. (Boston Travelor 7-23-65)

Ten Newark-Essex CORE members arrested outside Newark Mayor Addonizio's office demanding a civilian review board.

GENERAL

San Francisco CORE co-sponsors rally of 1000 people supporting Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) challange. (San Francisco Peoples World 7-17-65)

CORE worker Rudolph Lombard (Former National Vice-Chairman) speaks in Atlanta at conference sponsored by Atlanta Catholic Archbishop and National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice. (Atlanta Constitution 7-17-65)

CORE IN THE [illegible]
BAG XXVI

EMPLOYMENT:

20 CORE members arrested at Cincinnati school construction site in protest against discriminatory hiring of workers on the project.(N.Y. Times)

CORE launches drive for equal employment in restaurant industry.(San Francisco Peoples World 7-3-65)

EDUCATION:

As part of the continuing daily demonstrations in Chicago demanding Willis' resignation CORE Chairman Lucas has been arrested several times in the past month. The latest CORE move was to follow Mayor Daley to Detroit and picket the meeting he attended with signs saying,"Mayor Daley won't you come home."(N.Y. Times 7-27-65)

VOTER REGISTRATION:

CORE's Registration Day on Kingstree, South Carolina resulted in 118 Negroes registered, 93 rejected. Since the CORE Summer Program started 1460 Negroes have been registered in the first, second, and sixth Congressional Districts(Brooklyn N.Y. Recorder 7-3-65)

POLICE:

CORE calls off 24hrs. demonstration at Springfield, Mass. City Hall when Mayor Ryan agreed to demand for formal hearings on police brutality charges.(N.Y. Herald Tribune 7-24-65)

CORE member Michael Hannon fired from Los Angeles Police Dept for participating in CORE demonstrations(Washington,D.C. National Observer 7-65)

HOUSING:

Boston CORE housing Chairman, Cynthia Scott testifies in favor of stricter code enforcement and legalized rent strikes before a special legislative committee hearing on low income housing bills.(Boston Globe 7-65)

BAG XXVII

EMPLOYMENT:

CORE co-sponsors civil rights conference on Berkeley campus where local labor leader says campaign of demonstrations and pressure should begin against unions that discriminate

After tough battle, Suffolk CORE wins agreement with lily-white Wyandanch Fire Company on proceedures for hiring Negroes. Suffolk County Human Relations Commission announces it will meet with 80 local fire companies to discuss need to recruit Negroes. Local NAACP says it now intends to "approach" local fire companies.(Long Island Press 7-21-65)

Efforts of CORE and others unionize workers in Cooper Hospital, Camden, New Jersey culminate in union election(Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin 7-65)

Four of nine on Cleveland city council support CORE and other groups in unsuccessful effort to place Negro labor leader on Civil Service Commission.(Cleveland Call and Post 7-17-65)

CORE joins other groups in picketing Kansas City, Kansas City Hall protesting failure of City Finance Commissioner Swarner to appoint the man with highest civil service rating to open job.(Kansas City,Mo City Star)

GENERAL:

Jonesboro, La. Mayor Tait meets with local Negroes to discuss petition of greivences signed by 407 citizens.(New Orleans Times-Picayune 7-17-65)

COPY

1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
August 10, 1965

Attorney Carl Rachlin
CORE General Counsel
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Carl:

I am enclosing our bill with the F. A. Morgan Bonding Company totaling $717.67 for bond posted in Louisiana. We are long overdue for payment, but we have not been receiving any money from National CORE and we do not expect to receive money in the near future. I am sending the bill to you in the hope that you will be able to arrange for SEDF to make full payment.

We will be waiting to hear from you. Take care.

Best regards,

Ronnie M. Moore

encl: 3
RMM/sb

xOUTLINE OF SOUTHERN PROGRAM FOR SUMMER 1965

The CORE summer program for summer 1965 is designed to fit the needs of each community being worked, but at the same time establish a coordinated, meaningful South--wide effort to achieve our goals. It has taken many weeks of hard thinking and discussion on everyone's parts, both CORE staff and the people within the community, to put their ideas together and come up with a workable program to accomplish the changes that are so badly needed.

The intent of all work being done in the south is to reach more deeply and widely into the problems that face the Negro x community and develop indigenous leadership to deal with those problems through basoic, community organization. Our role is not to lead , or to "do for," tut to share what knowledge and skills we have gained through our various experiences so that the people of a community, themselves, can see alternatives and use this knowledge and skill to accomplish those things which they feel are most important. Integral, too , is the aconcept of state-eide, more abstractly Southwide, cooperation and coordination to accomplish larger, but less immediate goals.

We hope that you will help in every way possible to make these programs a reality.

LOUISIANA

Current projects deal mainly with problems confronting each individual community--such as the desegregation of employment and unions at the tremendous CROWN-Zellerbach plant in Bogalusa, and establishing mail delivery to tne Negroes of Jonesboro who have no service because the streets (dirt roads) and houses hace never been marked by the city. Voter registration is also a major concern.

The 1965 summer project in Louisiana will enable the civil rights projects in the state to better meet the needs of the Negro community. Freedom schools and community center programs will be carried, including the development of libraries, adult education, literacy and medical programs. Freedom school and community center programs will vary as the needs and interests of the communities vary.

New projects , and a state--wide effort to register Negroes on a massive scale will be put into operation. Work will also be done in the area of federal programs to establish farmers leagues and cooperatives to represent a strong political force as well as help the Negro farmers achieve economic independence.

Many volunteers will be involved in researach on various aspects of the political, social, economic and educational structures of the state.

The project will involve approximately 34 parishes x in six of the eight Congressional districts. About half of these xxxh parishes have never been worked by CORE staff.

the 1966 election. To accomplish this, the number of Negro votes must be increased tremendously and Negro political organization must be greatly strengthened. A political challenge means an awful lot of hard work must be done in South Carolina during the next year and a half. To many, 1966 may seem to be a long way off, but from past experience we know it's just around the corner.

We plan a massive project of voter registration and ' political education in the 1st, 2nd and 6th districts of the state. There will also be an attempt to establish some type of statewide political base for the people to work from.

We will accommodate 30 volunteers to work in the same areas, who would be responsible for their own rransportation, subsistence and bail bond. In two communities the people have promised to provide for room and board for 15 workers--these should be Negro students from South Carolina.

The workers will conduct voting clinics, set up voter registration campaigns and develop community organization to carry on this program. They will also try to organize some Community Action Projects under the Anti-Povaerty Bill; this would include organizing local prople around projects that would qualigy for aid under the Anti-Poverty. Information centers should be established to inform people of their rights under the 1964 Civil Rights and the voting bill if it passes by summer.

In areas where it is possible , Freedom Libraries can be set up concentrating on Negro History. Negro students from the local colleges will be encouraged to participate in these programs.

BUDGET

A.	40,00 voter registration forms	$ 500
B.	Office supplies for state, $150 per month for three months.	$ 450
C.	Telephone for state calls, $200 a month	$ 600
D.	15 Task Force workers, $100 per personn per month for 3 months	$ 4,500
E.	15	

LOUISIANA SUMMER PROJECT ESSENTIALS

~~kx~~

1. 50 subsistent staff workers (emphasis on Negro college students)--we hope to have at least half of them staffed by SEDF.

2. 13 project cars: one for each base and one for state coordinator.

3. 50 self-supporting volunteers to implement phases of the program that call for specific skills. The training session will ~~x~~ be in Louisiana from June 19th through June 26th.

4. Budget:

A.	10,000 voter registration form sets	$ 1,000
B.	Office supplirs for 12 bases, $100 per month per base for 2½ months.	$ 3000
C.	Telephone (same bases as B)	$ 3,000
D.	~~44~~ 50 workers, housing and food to run $2.50 per day per worker for 82 days.	$ 10,025
E.	13 cars , gas and care to run $5 per dyy per car for 82 days	$ 5,330
F.	Car rental (excluding 5 project cars), 8 cars for 2½ months to run $600 per car	$ 4,800
G.	Gas and maintenance for volunteer cars	$ 1,500
H.	Miscellaneous (fines, minor bond, etc.)	$ 1,500
	TOTAL . . .	$30,155

SOUTH CAROLINA

The Negro population of South Carolina~~n~~ has great political power, and this potential is ripe for realization. The state is divided into 46 counties. 24 of them have a Negro population of 40 % or more; 20 of these counties are located in the 1st, 2nd and ~~6~~ 6th Congressional districts. The 1st district Negro population is 43.8 %; the 2nd is 37.2; the 6th is 46.4 %. The South Carolikna staff is composed of two field secretaries, nine TaskForce workers and James McCain, presently working on voter registration. The project is financed by SEDF and will continue to be so until June 15.

Next year--1966--is an important year in many states across the south, but especially so in South Carolina: Strom Thurmond stands out as a racist chanllenge to all of us ina and concerned with the civil rights movement. We hope to be able to create real opposition to Senator Thurmond and his machine during

FROM: CORE'S SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE

TO: PERSONS REQUESTING INFORMATION AND APPLICATIONS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS WORK IN MISSISSIPPI IN SUMMER 1965

RE: PRESENT STATUS OF THE MISSISSIPPI PROJECT IN TERMS OF THE NEED FOR VOLUNTEERS

At the present time, plans are still being worked out for this summer's program in Mississippi. This is being done on a community level, together with COFO.

Therefore, we are uncertain as to the number of volunteers that will be needed on civil rights projects in the state, or whether this work will largely be done by the local people. On the other hand, as last summer, there may be a need for as many acceptable volunteers as are interested.

You may note your preference for working in Mississippi on the Task Force application, but it may be that your participation is needed far more in another state. In this case, we will notify you and you will then have the option of a second preference or, if you are available only for work in Mississippi, the withdrawal of your application.

Thank you for your willingness to help.

Draft Louisiana Summer 65 Brief Summary

Diversity was the byword of the Louisiana summer project. Local problems, those selected by local Negroes as most important, were the targets of attack. The Negro citizens of dozens of communities in 15 parishes grappled with their problems, winning, in some cases, clear victories; in other instances groundwork was laid for future success. In Tallulah, Madison Parish, two Negroes were hired at a supermarket where Negroes before had not even considered applying for work. At another store Negroes won a 100% wage increase when, acting on the suggestion of the CORE workers, the employees complained about their 50¢ hourly wage. Of even greater future importance will be the improvements at the Chicago Lumber Mill. The Mill's work force of 450 is 80% Negro; segregation is the rule both in the plant and in the local union of the International Woodworkers of America, whose officers have always been white despite the large Negro majority. This summer Negro employee was fired for drinking from a "white" water fountain. When the union took no interest, the Negro members, who had never seen a copy of the local's constitution, got hold of one and studied it along with Robert's Rules of Order. At the next union meeting their active participation provoked a storm of white reaction, but another victory had been won in the men's minds and hearts and more tangible fruits are sure to come. There had to be satisfactions such as these for the CORE workers, for "wages & working conditions" were touch. Among other hardships, one CORE worker was beaten inside the courthouse on a voter registration day.

In Minden, Webster Parish, CORE national director James Farmer led a march of 400 Negroes demanding "Equal Pay for Equal Work." In addition to protesting the city's policy of paying Negroes less than whites for the same job, the Webster Parish Voters League was protesting the city's segregated parks and schools, and the deplorable condition, or total absence, of street lights and paving. A petition of these grievances to the mayor and city council had previously been ignored.

Citizens of Jonesboro, in Jackson Parish, also demonstrated to protest street conditions, open sewers, absence of mail delivery, (it's a Southern custom in many towns that Negroes must go to the Post Office to pick up their mail), and police brutality, another Southern custom. Of the twenty persons were arrested; two were beaten in jail, one very severely. During picketing of the National Food Store in New Roads, Pointe Coupee Parish, two more persons were beaten; one of them , a CORE staff member, had to be hospitalized for several days.

In Pointe Coupee and six other parishes Negroes not only voted for the first time but they also ran for positions on the Parish ASCS committees.. The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture is administered on the local level by committees of local farmers elected by their peers. These committees assign crop acreage allotments, run the soil bank program, measure actual acreage planted, and handle certain kinds of federal loans, among their broad powers. Most Negro farmers didn't know how the committees worked; they did know that they weren't being treated fairly. No Negroes won positions on their ASCS committees this year, but in those parishes every dirt farmer, sharecropper and tenant farmer now knows that he can vote.

The city dump in Monroe, Quachita Parish, is located right in the Middle of a Negro neighborhood and daily the garbage of 60,000 people is burned in the open air. Further, the dump is not fenced in and this summer a Negro boy fell in a hole filled with water and drowned. The dump is still there but efforts were begun this summer to remove it. The CORE workers also initiated "Project Uplift" a program to have surplus food distributed to the poor, some of whom wait every day at the dump to pick through the "fresh" garbage for edible bits and scraps. But success was still to be won by summer's end. The CORE staff and volunteers also worked with the Negro members of the hod carriers union; its members mostly Negro, its officers all white.

Negroes in the Caddo Parish town of Greenwood Acres formed a group with the optimistic name of "Greenwood Acres on the Grow." But by summer's end they had met with little success in their efforts to gain equal treatment in the city's public services.

In Alexandria the Food Town store was picketed for job rights, but without the quick victory that had come in Tallulah. When a protest letter to the superintendent of the Pinecrest State School for the Retarded was ignored, Negroes of Rapides Parish sent their complaints of job discrimination and patient segregation to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington, beginning a lengthy process of investigation.

Students in the Claiborne Parish town of Homer also found that letter are not enough. Theirs to the school board went unanswered until they picketed the school board building demanding, and getting, a meeting with the board to discuss school imporvements.

Staying alive in Ferriday, Concordia Parish, was a major project of the CORE workers, who were frequently run out of town. Not long after arriving in town, three CORE workers were beaten by men driven in the sheriff's car. All summer the workers faced hindrances such as gasoline and railroad flares being thrown into their houses at night. The first project of the Ferriday Freedom Movement was a march to protest police brutality, and later 800 signatures were gathered on a petition to Atty. Gen. Katzenbach asking for federal protection.

Washington Parish boasted the most marched in city in the country this summer: Bogalusa. For nearly a year Klan-ridden Bogalusa was a hellhole of beatings, threats, intimidations but at summer's end some school integration was beginning, two Negro city policeman had been hired, police were under federal court order to stop attacking Negroes and civil rights workers, half a dozen restaurants were integrated under court order, and the Klan was in federal court trying to avoid an unjunction against its terroristic tactics. Still, Deputy Sheriff O'Neal Moore was dead and his murderer unpunished; employment in private business, including mammoth Crown-Zellerbach, was scarcely improved; dirt streets are still unpaved, and many other conditions are unchanged.

Voter registration was carried on in most CORE projects but nowhere were the results more spectacular than in Clinton, seat of East Feliciana Parish. One of the original 9 counties in the U. S. to receive a federal registrar, over 2,000 Negroes registered in 18 days - an increase of 1,000%. Yet in West Feliciana, where only 100 of the 4,500 eligible Negroes have managed to register, registration continued to be very difficult after passage of the 1965 federal voting rights bill.

EDWARD HOLLANDER , FIELD SECRETARY
PUBLIC RELATION DEPARTMENT
CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE
2209 DRYADES STREET
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70113

[1965]

WHY WE PROTEST

We, as Negroes and as concerned citizens of Bogalusa, submit that the agencies of government have failed in their duty to maintain true justice in our city. We cite the following points of grievance:

1. Both city and state police have failed repeatedly to protect peaceful Negro demonstrators from harassment, intimidation and frequent outright violence from white bystanders.
2. FBI agents have taken at least a hundred statements since February, by conservative estimate. These are stories of capricious and frivolous arrests, of police brutality, of armed nightriders, of roving armed gangs, of mobs, of attacks on children. Much less arrest, there has not even been a statement of concern from the Justice Department. Persons who complained have received no answer, no relief. The Federal Government is silent.
3. We specifically point the finger of accusation at Deputy Sheriff Adams of the Washington Parish K-9 Squad. More than any other city or parish officer his name is synonymous with brutality and race prejudice in performance of his duties. He has been cited more frequently than any other officer in written complaints by Bogalusa Negroes.

We directly propose to government at all levels that:

1. Policemen assigned to peaceful demonstrations who exhibit obvious racial bias be replaced. This would apply to supervisin officers as well as the others.
2. White persons who attack Negroes be arrested, charged and tried.
3. The Justice Department break its shy silence, either to invoke present laws or propose new laws to Congress that will give that department the necessary authority to deal with such gross negligence in law enforcement as exists in Bogalusa.
4. Deputy Sheriff Adams be removed.
5. For once let governmental officials--instead of the Klan--converge on this city to witness its problems, its failures and work to introduce justice to our community.

Bogalusa Civic and Voters League
A. Z. Young, President

[1965]

Dr. Richard W Hughes	6/17/64	con/w Gov
Dr Daniel McIntire	"	"
" Don L. Peterson	"	"
A N Simmons, Jr.	"	"
Carl Smith	"	"
Louis E Thomas, Jr.	2/11/65	"
Dr. Gilbert C Tomskey	6/17/64	"
George Van Kuren	"	"
Dr. Maurice Weilbaecher	"	"

Civil Defense Agency - no conseil

Director Marshall T Cappel 2/3/65 pl of Gov

Civil Defense Advisory Council

Robert A Bogan	10/22/53	ple. of Gov
A R Choppin	"	"
Bryan Clemmons	"	"
Edward P. Dameron III	"	"
Clyde Fant	11/24/53	"
Roy T. Sessums	10/22/53	"
W O Turner	10/22/53	"
Jo G. Willett	"	"
E Newton Wrasy	"	"

Commerce & Industry

Executive Director William T Hackett, Jr.

Board of Commerce & Industry

Joseph W Adcock	8/12/64	7/29/64
James R. Baker	"	"
J. Pat Beaird	"	7/29/68
J. W Beasley, Jr.	"	"
William T. Brown	"	7/29/70
W. Derwood Cann, Jr.	"	"
John S. Burk	8/12/64	7/29/66

Hugh Coughlin	8/14/64	7/29/68
Dan L. Donald	8/12/64	7/29/66
Ralph Hooks	"	7/29/70
John John III	"	7/29/68
Caleb Martin	"	7/29/70
S.H Walker	"	"
Seymour Weiss	"	7/29/68
S.L. Wright	"	7/29/66

Confederate Memorial Medical Center - consent of Sen

Chairman T.B. Lanford	12/14/64	con w/Gov
Director Dr. Edgar Galloway		
Dr. Charles L Black	10/24/64	"
L.S. Huckabay	"	"
Edward A. Mckinley, Jr.	12/14/64	"
Dr. Andrew J. Mullen	10/24/64	"
J.A. Pernici	"	"
Dr. Jacob S. Segura	"	"
" S.A. Tatum	8/18/64	"
WH Thompson	1/27/65	"
Dr. James W Tucker	10/24/64	"
" Aaron E. Ussery	"	"
V.V. Whittington	"	"
Dr. George J. Woolhandler	"	"

Conservation - senate conf.

Commissioner J. M. Menefee	5/19/64	1968

Constractors, St. Licensing Board

George Wilson	8/19/64	—
Elroy Eckhardt, Jr.	8/19/64	
L. Weill, Jr.	"	
John A Campbell	8/4/64	
A C Breckenridge, Jr.	"	

W. Spencer Myrick	8/4/64	
J. B. Rawlins	"	
Carl H Allen	11/30/64	
William E Dowden	8/4/64	

Cosmetology

Exec. Sec Muriel B. Amedee	8/18/64	con/w Gov
Marie Myrick	7/23/64	"
Ruth Salathe	8/17/64	"
Mrs. CE Wagner	8/27/64	"
Mrs. Joel Alice Mumphrey	9/21/64	"
" Preston Vitty	8/11/64	"
Bernice Bogan Traylor	7/23/64	"

~~Cypremort Point Beach Comm~~

~~Harold Junca 3/11/65 Rl. of Gov~~

Denistry

Dr. Raymond P Bassich, Jr	7/25/61	7/30/65
" Alton R de Nux	7/30/63	7/30/68
" Sanders Fowler, Jr.	7/25/61	7/30/66
" Frank T Gouaux, Jr.	12/20/62	7/30/65
" Colin A. McHardy	8/20/64	8/20/69
" Claude W. Pratt	9/10/63	7/30/68
" Curtis E Ruttledge, Jr.	7/31/62	7/30/67

Higher Education Assistance

Chairman TL Johnston	7/1/64	6/30/67
Madison L Funderburk	"	6/30/66
Beatrice Field	"	"
Glynn Abel	"	6/30/65
Charles Holston	"	"
Ivy C Jordan	"	"
Leslie R Lavergne	"	6/30/64
Ben F Marshall	"	6/30/67
William J. Ourso	"	6/30/67

Embalmers

Paul Castille	9/21/60	8/15/65
Gail K Gay	12/11/59	8/15/64
Thomas J McMahon Sec.	8/15/63	8/15/68
J T Neland, Sr. Pres	8/29/61	8/15/66
Norman Tharp	8/15/62	8/15/67

Engineers & Land Surveyors

(Dean) Ben T Bogard	4/6/64	10/16/70
Dr. Jesse Coates	12/8/61	10/16/68
A D Jackson	10/20/58	10/16/65
Leo M Odom	10/27/60	10/16/67
Roy T Sessums	10/18/62	10/16/69
E E Taylor	10/16/57	10/16/64
Federick W. zurBurg	11/4/59	10/16/66

Ethics for St Elected Officials

Vinson M. Mouser	1/14/65	con/w Gov.

Governmental Ethics

Victor Bussie	2/4/65	12/25/66
Erlo J. Durbin	"	
William S. Peck	"	
James C Bolton	"	

Expressway Authority - Sen con.

James Brunson	9/21/64	con/w/ Gov
Roy T Sessums	3/25/65	7/1/68
Joel L Fletcher	6/28/65	
W.C. Raspberry	"	

Commission on Fed Grants 1 app by Gov not listed

Financial Assistance Commission

Sen E W Gravolet Jr.	8/1/62	8/1/66
Rep James R Leake	"	8/1/66
Rep. Lanty Womack	3/18/65	"

Fire Marshal

Milton Stire 5/18/64 con/W/Gov.

Other Jobs

CPAs terms staggered - no senate confirmation

president - Lionel Ott

Prof William Knight	10/1/62	7/31/67
John Luffey	1/14/65	7/31/69
Clifton Morvant	3/23/60	7/31/63
Lionel Ott	10/4/60	7/31/65
Louis H. Pilie	4/22/65	7/31/66

Adjutant General - with Senate concent 4 yr. term

5/19/64 1968

Division of Administration

Commissioner Mrs. Mary Evelyn Parker

7/16/64 pleasure of Governor

St. Budget Officer Homer H Russell (no info)

State Advisory Board - vacancy filled by Gov. with consent of rest of board

~~Fred B Zigler~~	~~9-27-60~~	~~indefinite~~
Elmer D Conner	9-27-60	indefinite
William B Gladney	7/14/44	indefinite
Bailey Martin	12/29/64	indefinite
E L Mobley	12/19/64	"
Rucie A Moore	11/19/62	"
Dr Elmer E Puls	8/24/64	"
Robert B. Richardson	1/5/60	"

La Commission on the Aging no senate approval

Dr. Clark L Barrow	8/1/63	8/1/68
C.S. Cadwallader	11/2/60	8/1/66
John S Campbell	8/29/60	8/1/66
Gertrude B. Cenac	9/25/64	8/1/70
Rev. Dell Durand, Jr.	8/14/63	8/1/68
~~Mrs. Wil~~ Dr. Ben Kaplan	10/26/64	8/1/70

Mrs. Frank Odom	9/25/64	8/1/70
Dr. A.P. Pilgreen	8/22/60	8/1/66
Rev. R.W. Rhodes	9/25/64	8/1/68

Air Control Commission - no Senate confirmation

W.W. Dumas	11/30/64	7/29/68
Dr. H.F. Garret	11/30/64	7/29/65
Jan P. Sim	9/10/64	7/29/66
Cecil M. Shilstone	11/30/64	7/29/67

Alcoholic Beverage Control - no confirmation

Chairman Robert C Tumminello	5/13/64	pleas of Gov
Vice Chair William Lyons, Sr.	6/22/64	"
James Adams	7/22/64	"
Julius Lambert	7/21/64	"
Leslie B Moseley	8/5/60	"

Anhydrous Ammonia Commission - does not state

Floyd N Crawford	1/14/64	7/30/64	(6 yrs?)
Warren J Harang, Jr.	12/17/63	7/30/66	"
Loy Taylor	2/11/63	7/30/68	"

Arsenal Museum Commission - no confirmation

Howard B Stewart	8/13/62	Concurrent w/Gov
A Hays Town	"	"
Mrs. Virgie Tucker	"	"
Mrs. Frank Womack	"	"

Arts & Science Center no confirmation

Fred Benton, Jr.	5/20/64	con w/ Gov
Katharine O. Dunham	"	"
Mrs. J. Kenneth Matens	"	"
B. B. Taylor, Jr	"	"
Mrs. Bert S Turner	"	"

Athletic Commission - no confirmation

Chairman Emile Bruneau	1/15/65	pl of Gov

Sec. Otis Guchet 1/15/65 pl of Gov.
Vice Chair & Lifetime Memb 1/25/65 ——
James Stevenson 8/11/64 pl of Gov
Louis Campbell 8/27/64 "

Atomic Energy Development Agency
Coordinator Donald J. Whittinghill
(maybe not McK 8 6/64 pl. of Gov.

Banking Dept. - consent of Senate
St Bank Comm. A. Clayton James 5/19/64 5/68

Barber Examiners - no consent
Frank Lilley 8/4/64 7/14/68
Claude Steele " "
Salvador Tardo " "
Jeffery Broussard " "
R.D. Martin 8/10/64 "

Bridge & Ferry Authority - no consent
Chairman Velpeau Smith ~~[illegible]~~ 1/27/65 11/22/70
Eugene Doran 7/7/64 11/22/65
Robert R. Faucheux 7/27/64 11/22/[illegible]64
Charles McVea King 7/24/64 11/22/65

Legislative Budget Committee
appointed by Gov. from Senate & House

Commissioners of Camp Moore Confederate Cemetery
5 members / 4 yr. terms no consent

Charity Hospital at N.O.
Edward S Bopp 6/17/64 con w/ Gov,
Mary H Connolly " "
Dr. Allen A Copping " "
Dr Allen J. Ellender, Jr. " "
William J. Guste, Jr. " "
Harold Haydel 7/27/64 "

① 7/17/65 c/w Dean Tucker, CRS in Washington D
(Test Communities & their problems

② Fine $^{25.00}$ & Court costs $^{\$13.00}$ for Bob Mason
Pay $38.00 to avoid bond forfeiture
of $150.00

③ Student Participation (LSU) WA. 1-8413
Bob Morgan - 229 Kentwood Ave.
B. R. La.

[1965]

PARISH	TOTAL VAP	WHITE VAP	NEGRO VAP	TOTAL REGISTERED	NEGROES REGISTERED	WHITE REGISTERED	TOWNS
East Baton Rouge	127,742	87,985	39,757	76,140	10,726	65,414	City of Baton Rouge
Washington	23,991	16,804	7,187	17,464	1,740	15,724	Bogalusa, Angie Franklinton, Mt. Hermon
Iberville	16,215	8,734	7,481	9,278	2,406	6,872	Plaquemine, Rosedale
Tangipahoa	32,217	22,311	9,906	21,991	3,130	18,861	Hammond, Amite Kentwood, Ponchatoula
Pointe Coupee	11,705	6,085	5,620	4,801	1,254	3,547	New Roads, Morganza Batchelor
St. Helena	4,609	2,363	2,246 ✓	1,763	173	1,590	Greensburg, Pine Grove, Montpelier
East Feliciana	13,414	7,043	6,371	2,613	82	2,531	Jackson Clinton
West Feliciana	7,690	2,814	4,876 ✓	998	0	998	St. Francisville, Bains, Tunica
Sixth Congressional District	237,583	154,139	83,444	135,048	19,511	115,537	At least 20 towns to be covered plus rural areas

TOTAL POPULATION	NEGRO POPULATION	WHITE POPULATION	LAND AREA	
230,058	73,163	156,895	455 sq. miles	
44,015	14,208	29,107	655 sq. miles	
29,939	14,667	15,272	584 sq. miles	
59,434	20,119	29,315	790 sq. miles	
22,488	12,054	10,434	576 sq. miles	
9,162	5,086	4,076	420 sq. miles	
20,198	10,914	9,284	464 sq. miles	
12,395	8,201	4,197	352 sq. miles	
427,689	158,415	258,580	4,296 sq. miles	

[1945]

DISCUSSION GUIDE
ON
URBAN RENEWAL

Prepared by:
Bergen County CORE
(Englewood, N.J.)

Distributed by:
Congress of Racial Equality
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URBAN RENEWAL

Introduction:

Urban Renewal and associated Federal housing programs are in the planning or execution stages in communities throughout the country. An understanding of these programs is important to CORE chapters because these programs can bring about major changes within the community, particularly the minority community.

These changes can be for better or worse depending on the amount and kind of new housing, location, rental or sale price, relocation procedures, and the over-all planning concept.

Urban Renewal can bring wholesale "Negro Removal" or can add badly needed homes to the quantity of housing in a community.

Urban Renewal can improve housing conditions or can result in greater slum overcrowding.

Urban Renewal can ease or aggravate the financial predicament which low-income families face.

Urban Renewal can attack urban "blight" or ignore completely the factors which will continue to cause blight in a community.

Urban Renewal can increase or decrease housing segregation.

Urban Renewal can strengthen the community or wreck communities, isolating families, while at the same time destroying their privacy and humiliating them.

Urban Renewal can indirectly affect school segregation, voting strength, and the housing demand which rent-gouging and landlord neglect feeds on.

Yet with all this range of possibilities, it seems that Urban Renewal nearly always brings changes for the worst, if officials are allowed to plan and carry out programs as they wish.

Instead of human considerations, major political, real estate, and financial forces are the driving forces behind these programs. Because CORE chapters planning to enter this area probably will be in opposition to such powerful forces, we should plan on mobilizing as broad a segment of the community as possible and should be prepared for the possibility of a long fight.

This guide is based mainly on the experiences of Bergen County CORE in Englewood, N.J. Obviously, all the courses of action suggested here may not apply to every community.

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This is the first of several papers dealing with Urban Renewal problems. It involves research, which is of utmost importance.

I.- RESEARCH ON THE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM

A. Purpose:
In Bergen County, local officials made little useful information public and met inquiries with a smo escreen of unfamiliar technicalities and complicated evasions to keep citizens off balance, in the dark, and confused. We learned that we could cut through this smokescreen and translated our misgivings about the program into convincing facts by embarking on a thorough research job. When we were done, we had uncovered many unsuspected defects in the program and much damning evidence

B. Understanding the Nature of Federal Programs:

1. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

(a.) Printed government literature was a prime source of information. These are available for the U.S. Government Printing Office in Washington (Checks payable to the Superintendent of Documents.)

Most important were:

Urban Renewal Manual, 3 volumes, supplements, and automatic subscription for up to date policy re visions, ($20.00)

Workable Program for Community Improvement -- Program Guide Series, (free)

Publications of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, listing material available detailing every area, (free)

Some publications are available also at regional offices of HHFA agencies, including the following good but sketchy summaries:

Urban Affairs and Housing ($.25)

The Urban Renewal Fact Sheet, (free in Spanish or English)

(b.) Interviews or phone calls with Federal officials many of whom were quite accessible and answered our questions, supplemented the literature available.

2. RESPONSIBILITY OF AGENCIES

Approval of different government agencies is necessary to approve different parts of a complete plan.

Low-cost public housing is administered through the Public Housing Administration (PHA).

Privately developed houses and so called "middle-income" apartments depend on low cost mortgage financing through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA).

Funds for taking over land, clearing slums, and preparing andarea for redevelopment are administration (URA), which also has the vital responsibility for relocation and, therefore, to approve much of the planning submitted also to the PHA and the FHA. It is important to understand that under the URA different programs vary in scope; from the Urban Renewal Plan which covers one specific project of a few blocks, the General Neighborhood Renewal Plan which covers a larger area, to the Community Renewal Program which is the most comprehensive and involves planning on a total community-wide basis.

The PHA, FHA, and URA are all part of a parent agency, the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA), which is also over other agencies. The HHFA requires towns to conform to a very general but important program, The Workable Program for Community Improvement as a condition to getting even preliminary aid for nearly all HHFA programs.

3. FUNCTIONING OF FEDERAL AGENCIES

The major administrative wor of these agencies is done at their regional offices which serve multi-state areas. However they have certain field personnel who from time to time visit the community.

Each agency has specialists for each of several different specific areas, who must OK a program before it goes before the Regional Director, and ultimately the Washington office for final approval.

Most agencies have an Intergroup Relations Specialist who is supposed to see that any program is OK from the viewpoint of any affected minority, and will seem to champion our concerns. They are highly available and worth contacting for information. However it is hard to depend upon their sincerity or effectiveness in defending our point of view within the agency.

We soon formed the opinion that these agencies are not interested in finding things which needed correction in proposed programs, but rather seem mainly interested in having to their credit as many approved and completed programs as possible. We found the agencies and their field personnel had close relationships with the local officials in the community and were reluctant to investigate or support any claim of improper procedure even when the proof was clear. There seemed a general reluctance to take any action which would embarrass the local administration (whether Dem. or Rep.) and possibly hurt the wor ing relationship between Federal and local officials.

C. Understanding the Nature of the City's Specific Plans:

1. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

(a.) Public statements to the press (newspapers may let you see their clipping files) and brochures released by the city. These should be studied even though they give a superficial and rosy picture.

(b.) Documents submitted to the Federal Government. We found these are very important because they not only give a detailed picture of the real plans of the specific projects concerned, but expose false statements sent to the Federal Government or statements in conflict with publicized information.

It is hard to get or to see these documents unless you ask local officials for them by name. Local officials can keep these important plans hidden for years until someone who knows what to ask for insists on seeing them and will not be misdirected or discouraged. It seems practically impossible to see these documents at the Federal agencies' regional offices.

The following is a partial list of some documents we found important and examples of information in them:

Survey and Planning Application submitted to the URA. (Check especially sections Code No. R 103, R 104)

- Revealed the general nature of the city's plans for the project area (replacing homes with industry) at a time when local officials were publicaly claiming they had not yet made this decision.
- Revealed tentative plans which had never been made public for Renewal in other areas.
- Revealed in higher number of site occupants to need relocation than later surveys admitted.
- Revealed a total land acquisition cost estimate which indicated that homeowners would not get paid fair value for homes to be taken.
- Revealed questionable claims as to housing supply, housing turnover, non-white avaialbility of housing, etc.

Workable Program for Community Improvement, Review of Progress submitted to the URA yearly. (Check especially sections 6 & 7)

Revealed false claims on city providing relocation assistance for those displaced through code enforcement.

Revealed false claims on number of families displaced through code enforcement, and related details.

Revealed that Urban Renewal program was short of public housing which local officials were publicly denying.

Revealed false claims as to minority citizen representation.

Public Housing Development Program submitted to the PHA

Revealed false claims hiding or denying that the neighborhood of some of the proposed public housing suffered from various uncorrected deficiencies, such as flooding, improper zoning protection, junkyards, and large areas of collapsing shacks beyond repair.

Revealed the number of units of public housing, size, how many intended for aged, miscellaneous details.

Loan and Grant Application, Part I submitted to the URA (Especially check Relocation Report Code No. R 223, Urban Renewal Plan - Code No. R213, and Report on Minority Group Considerations - Code No. R 215)

Revealed the bulk of details of the plans for the project and for relocation.

Revealed false claims of having met requirement of planning in consultation with minority group leadership.

Revealed survey of families to be displaced showing size, race, income, housing needs, qualification for public housing, etc.

Revealed detailed information on housing proposed for relocation.

Loan and Grant Application, Part II submitted to the URA for FINAL approval. (Check especially sections Code No. R 309 & Code No. R 311).

Revealed important final revisions of relocation data.

Revealed the city's answers to questions about problems bothering the Federal Government.

Other documents which may be of some interest are:

Planning Advance Contract and amendments, signed with the URA

Revealed the total amount of planning funds OK'd by the Federal government and terms. (Note part II, sec. 103 (d) which shows city"s LEGAL obligation to the Workable Program requirements.

Application for Reservation of Low Rent Public Housing and for Preliminary Loan, Part I submitted to PHA
Reveals the total amount of public housing really needed in the community.

Progress Reports submitted to the URA (especially forms H-666 & H-6162)
Reveal information on the actual carrying out of relocation.

Eligibility Survey submitted to the URA
Reveals additional relocation data

Feasibility Survey
Reveals information on special problems

(c.) Minutes of meetings and hearings of official organizations of the city:

Citizens Advisory Committee, supposedly represents the citizens.

Citizens Advisory Committee Subcommittee on Minority Group
These minutes or the absence of them will show that minority representation was not what it was supposed to be.

Planning Board

Local Public Agency, sometimes called Housing Authority, Redĕvelopment Board, etc. Worth studying.

City Council (especially important related resolutions)

(d.) Special Planning studies:

Master Plan

Studies, Reports, Recommendations of city's paid planning consultants.

Other, Blight surveys conducted by Board of Health, Fire Department, etc.

(e.) In the process of research the material being studied often gives the best clues or references on where to look next and what to look for.

2. It is essential to develop from this information a clear picture of the phases or steps and their sequence in the Urban Renewal proceedure. With a clear picture of the order of filing applications, holding hearings, passing resolutions, and granting approval, a CORE chapter can plan its strategy.

[1965]

File

PROJECT FOR ALABAMA

For the last four years the nonviolent method has been applied to the problem of public accommodations, and has proven itself effective in this area. We have come to realize that segregation in public accommodations was a symptom rather than a cause. Now we are trying to apply the method of nonviolence to the problem of disenfranchisement which has plagued the Negroes in the South for almost one hundred years. Thus we hope to deal with the cause of most of the problems that face Negroes. We feel that if once the Negroes in the South gain the right to equal representation in government, many of the problems that aren't being dealt with by the southern racist governments can and will be dealt with by moderate whites, and Negroes who haven't a chance to get into office as long as Negroes are kept from freely registering to vote.

I. PROGRAM - The Negroes of Alabama will be organized into a unit that can effectively carry out a state-wide nonviolent campaign. Therefore, the program will consist of organizing around the issues: 1) Taxation without representation, 2) Mass nonviolent education, 3) The conducting of freedom registration and mock elections to send men to the House of Representatives and Senate of Alabama to represent Negro people, 4) The execution of a mass direct action program that will dramatize these issues.

Question on No. 3 - as to legal possibilities

A. All organizations and affiliates that are interested should invite SCLC and other civil rights organizations into the state to help conduct such campaigns.
   1. A newspaper will be published for wide distribution in Alabama.
   2. Medical and legal help shall have been contacted for the Selma Operation.

B. The Project will hold a state-wide meetint to discuss the issue of equal representation in government.
   1. In this meeting, a committee should draw up a "Declaration of Freedom." — explanation
   2. An Advisory Board, consisting of religious, civic , and civil rights leaders should be formed.

C. Announcement and Initiation
   1. The Advisory Board will take the Declaration to Gov. Wallace, asking that he immediately remove all barriers that keep Negroes from full participation in the government.
   2. A press statement will be made concerning the Declaration.
   3. 200,000 copies of the Declaration will be distributed throughout the state, mostly to Negroes.
   4. As soon as possible, newspaper ads should be taken in the 21 counties of heaviest Negro population.
   5. The King-Douglass Workshop will start operation.
   6. The Advisory Board and the Project should know by this time what they must have from the May 4th and after Confrontation.

D. Selma Operation
   1. The Advisory Board and the Project in Alabama will then make known that they plan to register all Negroes through a Freedom Registration Drive -- starting with a state-wide mass meeting to be held in Selma, Alabama.
   2. A fact sheet will be gotten out on Selma, its past problems, and present situation ; to be distributed to Selma residents, selected individuals in Alabama, the press, and northern supporters. 10,000 copies.
   3. At the state-wide mass meeting, held in Selma, arrests

will be made, as there presently exists an injunction against 3 or more individuals meeting together. The arrests and violence should be interpreted as an abridgment of freedoms fought for and won in the Revolutionary War, but able to exist today because officials are not responsible to citizens of the state, those citizens not having the right to equal representation or the right to vote. Arrests should continue over months to creat interest in the Freedom Registration and Freedom Vote. After Dr. King is in jail, a letter dealing with bombings, violence, not being represented, etc. should be widely distributed to Negroes in Alabama(Letter from the Selma Jail) At the proper time, the Advisory Board and Project Leaders shall formally declare that the problems of Selma and other similar Black Belt areas will only be resolved when Negroes participate in the government of Alabama. On May 4, with the opening of the Alabama Legislature, the seating of present legislators and senators will be challenged and emphasis and major action will shift from Selma and other similar towns and counties to Montgomery.

4. During the arrests and Freedom Registration in Selma and other areas, Dr. King and other top Civil Rights leaders will tour the state, appearing at mass meetings and making crystal clear the objectives of the state-wide project.
5. 100,000 Project Brochures should be distributed throughout Alabama to Negroes and whites
6. Trainees from the King-Douglass Nonviolent Workshop and Project workers will already have started developing 21 counties, establishing contacts for the precinct organization to come.
7. Mass meetings, film showings and nonviolent workshops begin with rotating speakers and films, co-ordinated thru the Montgomery office.

E, Freedom Registration Drive

1. Counties will be broken into beats and precincts; precinct leaders, block captains, and block workers secured.
2. 300,000 Freedom Registration forms, 300,000 "Free Citizen's Cards" saying,"Having taken part in the Freedom Registration of Alabama, this certifies that I am a Free Citizen, entitled to all the rights an American citizen is entitled to.
3. The 8,000 Freedom Registration posters shall be distributed throughout the state, having the candidates' pictures and a statement of our state-wide objectives.
4. Operation Dialogue should begin with the white communities informing them of our frustrations and objectives in going to jail and conducting Freedom Registration.
5. An analysis of the economic situation of Alabama will be taken; searching out the point where a boycott would be most devastating, and which new and expanding industries are taking place in Alabama.

F. Freedom Vote

1. Alabama Negroes will hold a convention to elect Negroes to run for seats in the House of Representatives and Senate in the state of Alabama.

F. Freedom Vote (cont'd)

2. 10,000 Freedom Army Handbooks will be distributed throughout the state of Alabama and non-violent workshops intensified.

3. Posters and handbills for the candidates will be distributed in the appropiate districts.

4. Registration for the "Freedom Vote" shall continue up to and including election day. Quotas, that must be met should be set for each district with the idea of topping the number of votes gotten by the white representative or senator in that district.

5. Elections should be held for said offices.

6. The elected should attempt to be seated at the May 4th session of the Alabama Legislature. Demonstrations should ensue until legislatures elected by the Freedom Vote attain their rightful seats, or until people can freely register.

Administration and coordination will come from the Project Office in Montgomery. All other offices in Alabama will be called Field Offices.

G. Project Office:

Functions---

1. The location, coordination and movement of staff in Alabama will be administered from here;
2. The WATS line will be located here and administered from the Project Office;
3. The assignment and use of all SCLC cars and buses will be administered from the Project Office;
4. All legal and medical help can be secured through the Project Office; this includes bonds, payment of fines caused by harassment, and doctor bills.
5. The distribution of all office supplies such as mimeograph paper, ink, pencils, typewriters, etc., or the distribution of money for these supplies will be from the Project Office.
6. All funds for Freedom Houses, gas, car repairs, travel expenses, projector repairs and petty cash will come from the Project Office.
7. The payment of the (20) twenty volunteers at $10.00 a week will be administrated from the Project Office.
8. All press and publicity statements will be made by the Project Office.
9. Distribution of all printed literature like the Freedom Registration Forms, posters, etc. will begin at the Project Office. More of this literature can be secured from the Project Office.
10. All facets of Operation Dialogue will be administered from the Project Office.
11. Mass mailings will be made from the Project Office.
12. All the Freedom Registration Forms will be filed and collected by the Project Office.
13. Continual Contact with the Field Staff will be kept by the Project Office, as to their location, problems and needs.
14. Coordination of the Speakers Tour is from the Project Office.
15. Formats for Mass Meetings at different times during the project will come from the Project Office.
16. All general communication to the Project should be made through the Project Office.
17. Information concerning the edonomic condition of Alabama and where boycotts might be will come from the Project Office.
18. Recruitment for the [illegible] Nonviolent Workshop

G. Project Office:
Functions (cont'd)--

shall be through the Project Office.

20. The Field Staff should keep in contact with the Project Office, and a summary map of the Negro precincts for the election should be made with the Project Office, as well as informing how Registration is progressing in each area so new staff can be supplied if help is short.

21. The newspaper will be edited from the Project Office.

22. Counting of votes will take place at the Project Office.

23. Administration of Direct Action will be from the Project Office.

H. Staff

There should be enough staff to keep an efficient office in Montgomery, and recruit and train workers in the ten largest cities and in twelve Negro majority counties and to communicate with the white community.

There are twenty-one communities in which intensified organizing and training should be done. The staff needed for this would include:

1) project director
2) project coordinator
3) central-office secretary
4) operation dialogue director
5) traveling affiliate organizer
6) citizenship education director
7) field secretary for Mobile
8) field secretary for Mobile
9) field secretary for Macon, Bullock and Barbour counties
10) field secretary for N. Alabama
11) field secretary for Sumter, Greene, Hale and Perry counties.
12) field secretary for Marengo, Wilcox, Monroe and Lowndes
13) field worker for Tuscaloosa
14) field worker for Gadsden
15) field worker for Anniston
16) field worker for Talladega
17) field worker for Huntsville
18) field worker for Birmingham
19) field worker for Montgomery
21) field worker for Dothan
22) director of the Martin Luther King- Frederick Douglass weekend workshops
23) twenty volunteer workers that will receive $10.00 a week

I. Staff Duties

A. Project director responsibilities are:

1. contacting people in 21 communities and securing invitations from organizations for SCLC. Help contact people for statewide meetings.
2) establishing a central office in Montgomery
3) projecing literature for explaining program
4) securing place and producing materials for weekend workshops
5) helping to keep communities programs developing
6) securing transportation for staff
7) recruiting assigning and conducting training sessions for staff

B. Project coordinator responsibilities are:

1. coordinating program from the central office

B. Project coordinator duties (cont'd)
2) buy materials for staff
3) dispersing funds for the Alabama Project
4) managing the office in Montgomery
5) liason between Atlanta office and Field Work
6) setting up and coordinating speaker bureau

C. Central Office Secretary responsibilities are:
1) working directly with coordinator
2) doing the general clerical work for central office

D. Operation Dialogue director responsibilities are:

1) developing and refining the mailing list to strategic white people in Alabama
2) setting up lines of communication wherever possible, between whites and negroes.
3) mailing materials to white people

E. Affiliate Organizer responsibilities:
1) organize SCLC affiliates wherever possible
2) organize communities around project.. ex. if SCLC has an affiliate organized maybe we need the affiliate organized with the rest of the community around the project
3) set up statewide meeting

F Citizenship Education director responsibilities are:
recruiting and developing citizenship schools in 21 counties where we will be doing intensified work.

G. Political Education director responsibilities are:
1) helping these communities set up the best political organization possible.
2) helping these communities conducting voter education clinics
3) helping to train 30 young men in the weekend workshops

G. Weekend Workshop director responsibilities are:
1) recruiting for the workshop
2) securing teachers for the workshops
3) coordinating the workshops

H. Field Workers' responsibilities are:

1) working with local organization
2) conducting youth workshops
3) recruiting for weekend workshop
4) conducting freedom registration
5) recruiting for Freedom army
6) conducting freedom vote
7) work with local leader to get mass meeting speaker from other parts of the state
8) defining goals of Ala. project

note-- while the Field Secretary and Field Worker jobs will be usually the same, the Field secretary will be in areas that are more difficult to get people organized in.

J. Volunteer Workers
will assist field secretary, field worker, office secretary in organizing and executing freedom registration.

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4) managing the office in Montgomery
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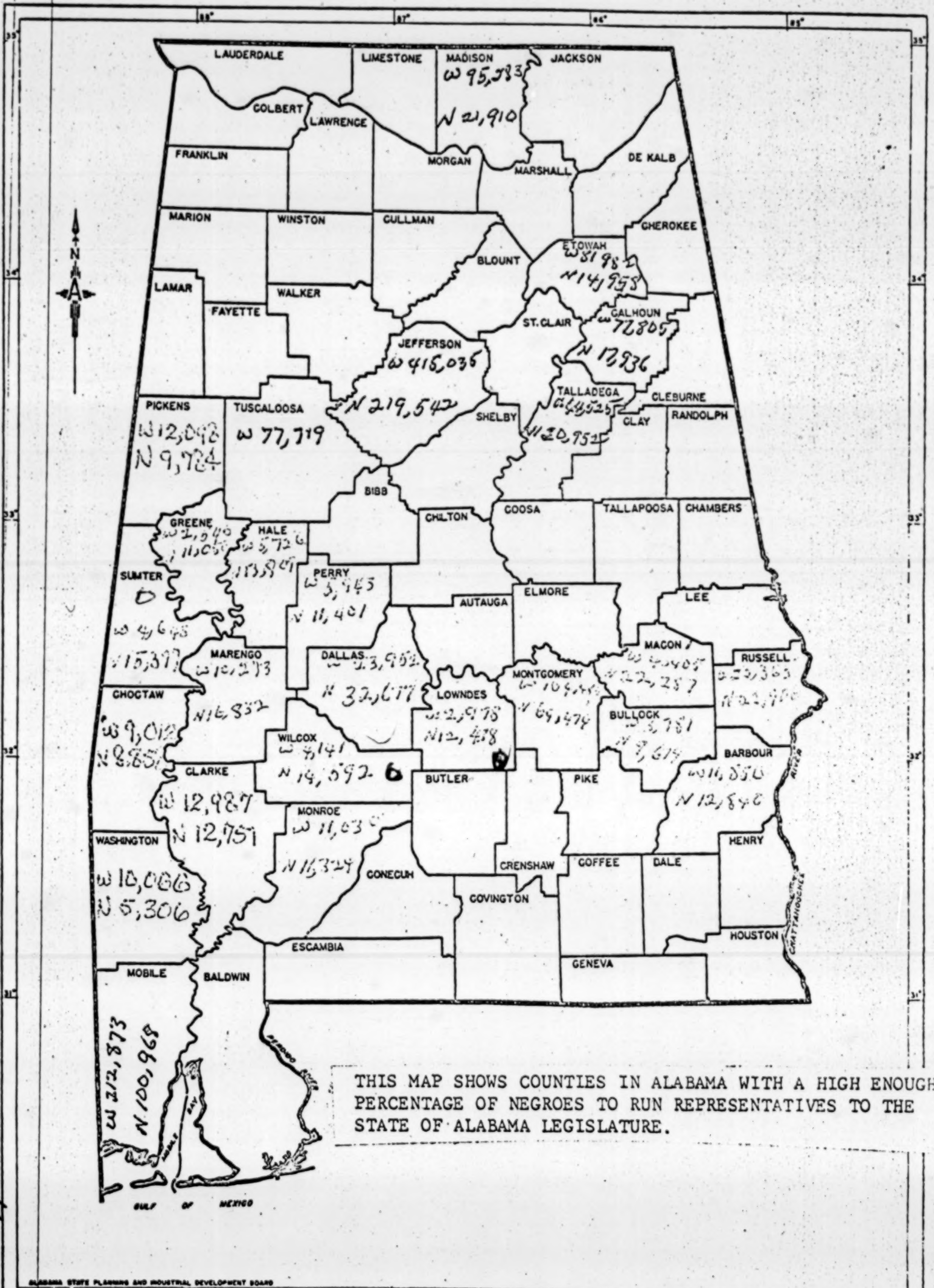
Jefferson County. - Ala Christian Movement -

SCLC has staff in Mobile, Tuscaloosa, Gadsden, Montgomery, Talladega - (8 staff members)


N
LAUDERDALE
LIMESTONE
MADISON
w 95,393
N 21,910
JACKSON
COLBERT
LAWRENCE
FRANKLIN
MORGAN
MARSHALL
DE KALB
MARION
WINSTON
CULLMAN
CHEROKEE
ETOWAH
w 81,982
N 14,955
BLOUNT
LAMAR
FAYETTE
WALKER
ST. CLAIR
CALHOUN
w 72,805
N 17,836
JEFFERSON
w 416,035
N 219,542
TALLADEGA
w 44,525
N 20,952
CLEBURNE
PICKENS
W 12,098
N 9,784
TUSCALOOSA
w 77,719
SHELBY
CLAY
RANDOLPH
BIBB
GREENE
w 2,940
N 11,050
HALE
w 5,726
N 13,891
CHILTON
COOSA
TALLAPOOSA
CHAMBERS
SUMTER
O
w 4,645
N 15,377
PERRY
w 5,945
N 11,401
AUTAUGA
ELMORE
LEE
MARENGO
w 10,273
N 16,832
DALLAS
w 23,952
N 32,677
MACON
w 4,405
N 22,287
RUSSELL
w 23,365
N 22,456
CHOCTAW
w 9,012
N 8,856
LOWNDES
w 2,978
N 12,438
MONTGOMERY
w 104,444
N 64,474
BULLOCK
w 3,781
N 7,614
WILCOX
w 4,141
N 14,592 6
BUTLER
CLARKE
W 12,987
N 12,757
PIKE
BARBOUR
w 11,850
N 12,848
MONROE
w 11,030
N 11,324
WASHINGTON
w 10,066
N 5,306
CONECUH
CRENSHAW
COFFEE
DALE
HENRY
COVINGTON
ESCAMBIA
HOUSTON
MOBILE
BALDWIN
GENEVA
CHATTAHOOCHEE RIVER
w 212,873
N 100,968
MOBILE BAY
PERDIDO RIVER
GULF OF MEXICO
ALABAMA STATE PLANNING AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD

THIS MAP SHOWS COUNTIES IN ALABAMA WITH A HIGH ENOUGH PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES TO RUN REPRESENTATIVES TO THE STATE OF ALABAMA LEGISLATURE.

Black Belt Counties & Cities & Population

County	City	White	Negro
Greene -	Eutaw	2,546	11,050
Hale	Greensboro	5,726	13,809
Perry	Marion	5,943	11,401
Marengo	Linden	10,273	16,832
Dallas	Selma	23,952	32,677
Macon	Tuskegee	4,405	22,287
Wilcox	Camden	4,141	14,592
Monroe	Monroeville	11,030	11,324
Lowndes	Hayneville	2,978	12,438
Bullock	Union Springs	3,781	9,679
Barbour	Eufaula	11,850	12,840
SUMTER		4,643	15,397

Potential Working Areas

	County	City	White	Negro
	Lauderdale	Florence	54,355	7,242
	Colbert	Tuscumbia	37,524	8,975
	Lawrence	Moulton	19,033	5,464
*	Madison	Huntsville	95,283	21,910
*	Etowah	Gadsden	81,982	14,958
*	Calhoun	Anniston	77,805	17,936
	Pickens	Carrolton	12,098	9,784
*	Tuscaloosa	Tuscaloosa	77,719	31,303
*	Jefferson	Birmingham	415,035	219,542
*	Talladega	Talladega	44,525	20,952
	Autauga	Prattville	10,839	7,888
*	Montgomery	Montgomery	104,485	64,474

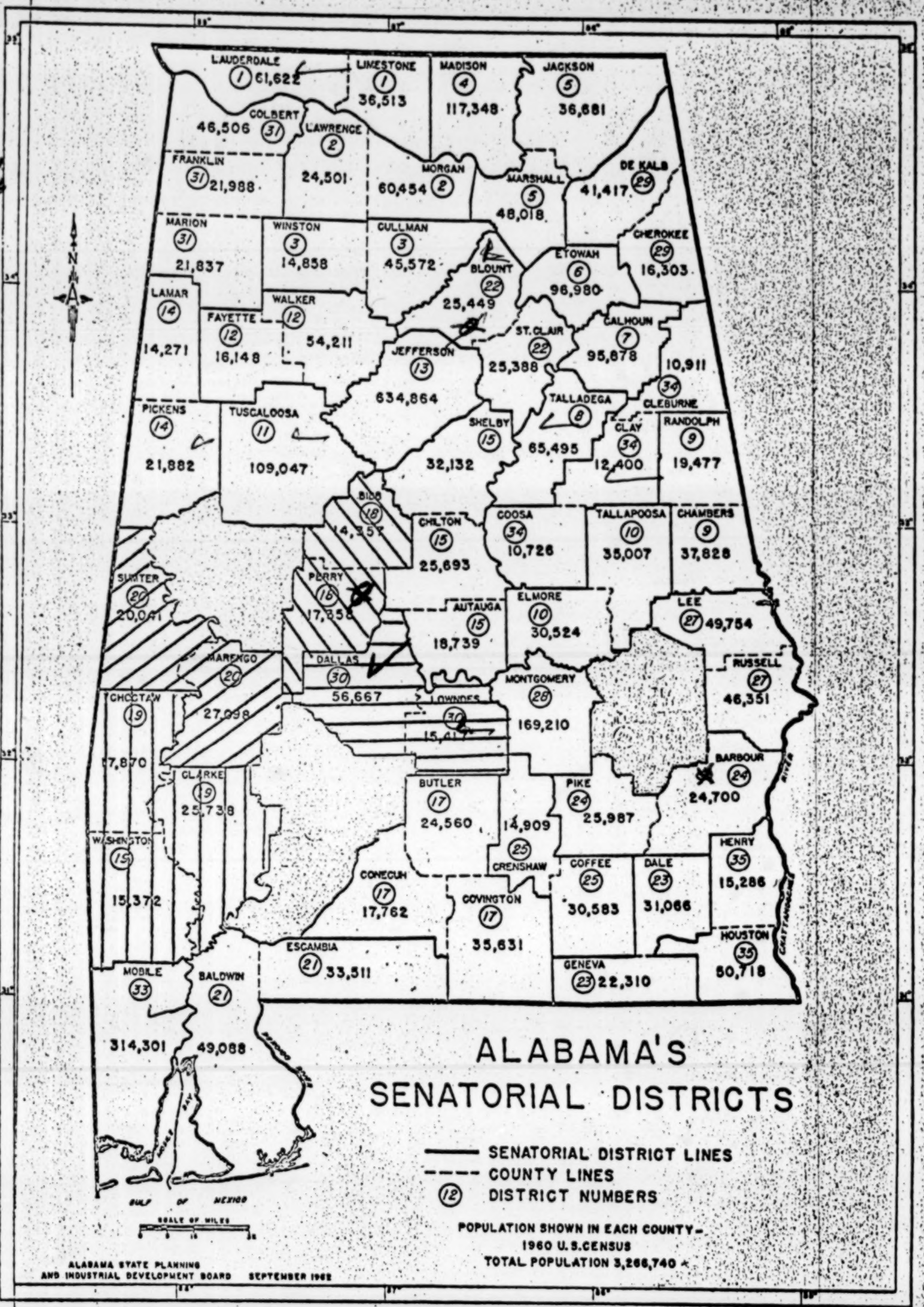
Potential Working Areas Continued......

County	City	White	Negro
Butler	Greenville	13,575	10,985
Pike	Troy	15,242	10,740
Lee	Auburn	31,458	18,233
*Russell	Phenix City	23,365	22,906
Henry	Abbeville	8,321	6,965
Houston	Dothan	36,832	13,870
*Mobile	Mobile	212,873	100,968
Washington		10066	5,306
Choctaw		9,012	8,858
Clarke		12,987	12,751
Pickens		12,098	9,784

— Dallas County — Selma — injunction against meeting —

✓ — Strong leadership

⊗ — has C R Case



ALABAMA'S SENATORIAL DISTRICTS
SENATORIAL DISTRICT LINES
COUNTY LINES
⑫ DISTRICT NUMBERS
POPULATION SHOWN IN EACH COUNTY— 1960 U.S.CENSUS
TOTAL POPULATION 3,266,740
ALABAMA STATE PLANNING AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD SEPTEMBER 1962
N
LAUDERDALE ① 61,622
LIMESTONE ① 36,513
MADISON ④ 117,348
JACKSON ⑤ 36,681
COLBERT ㉛ 46,506
LAWRENCE ② 24,501
MORGAN ② 60,454
MARSHALL ⑤ 48,018
DE KALB ㉙ 41,417
FRANKLIN ㉛ 21,988
MARION ㉛ 21,837
WINSTON ③ 14,858
CULLMAN ③ 45,572
BLOUNT ㉒ 25,449
ETOWAH ⑥ 96,980
CHEROKEE ㉙ 16,303
LAMAR ⑭ 14,271
FAYETTE ⑫ 16,148
WALKER ⑫ 54,211
JEFFERSON ⑬ 634,864
ST. CLAIR ㉒ 25,388
CALHOUN ⑦ 95,878
CLEBURNE ㉞ 10,911
PICKENS ⑭ 21,882
TUSCALOOSA ⑪ 109,047
SHELBY ⑮ 32,132
TALLADEGA ⑧ 65,495
CLAY ㉞ 12,400
RANDOLPH ⑨ 19,477
BIBB ⑱ 14,357
CHILTON ⑮ 25,693
COOSA ㉞ 10,726
TALLAPOOSA ⑩ 35,007
CHAMBERS ⑨ 37,828
SUMTER ⑳ 20,041
PERRY ⑯ 17,358
AUTAUGA ⑮ 18,739
ELMORE ⑩ 30,524
LEE ㉗ 49,754
MARENGO ⑳ 27,098
DALLAS ㉚ 56,667
LOWNDES ㉚ 15,417
MONTGOMERY ㉘ 169,210
RUSSELL ㉗ 46,351
CHOCTAW ⑲ 17,870
CLARKE ⑲ 25,738
BUTLER ⑰ 24,560
CRENSHAW ㉕ 14,909
PIKE ㉔ 25,987
BARBOUR ㉔ 24,700
WASHINGTON ⑮ 15,372
CONECUH ⑰ 17,762
COVINGTON ⑰ 35,631
COFFEE ㉕ 30,583
DALE ㉓ 31,066
HENRY ㉟ 15,286
HOUSTON ㉟ 50,718
ESCAMBIA ㉑ 33,511
GENEVA ㉓ 22,310
MOBILE ㉝ 314,301
BALDWIN ㉑ 49,088
GULF OF MEXICO
SCALE OF MILES
CHATTAHOOCHEE RIVER

THE MARKED DISTRICTS NEGROES CAN RUN AGAINST WHITE SENATORS:
IN ALL THESE DISTRICTS NEGROES ARE OVER 50% OF THE POPULATION.

SENATORIAL DISTRICTS	NAME OF SENATOR	POP. OF DISTRICTS	NEGROES	WHITES
(16) Wilcox-Monroe		41,087	25,916	15,171
(18) Perry-Bibb	H. P. James	33,395	18,111	15,284
(19) Washington-Choctaw-Clarke		58,980	26,915	32,065
(26) Macon-Bullock	Ed Reynolds	40,142	31,956	8,186
(20) Sumter-Marengo		47,139	32,223	14,916
(30) Dallas-Lowndes		72,045	45,115	26,930
(32) Green-Hale	Charles A. Montgomery	33,137	24,859	8,272

CORE SUMMER PROJECTS, 1965

The primary fields of concentration for CORE's efforts this coming summer are Louisiana, South Carolina and northern Florida. Plans for a program in Mississippi are being made on the community level, with COFO, and are still being worked out.

LOUISIANA: The intent of the Louisiana Summer Project is to build local interest around local problems, as the beginning of a state-wide Negro structure. The project emphasizes the value of community organization to deal with these problems both during the summer and afterwards, when there will be a smaller Task Force on hand.

So far, most Movement activity has been centered around urban areas, and there is a great need for expansion into the rural. Work is being done in five of eight Congressional Districts, so solid groundwork has been laid for further, more significant efforts.

Voter registration will continue to be the focal point of CORE's program in the state. Since the national elections, we have moved into other areas that political education--there are the beginnings of several freedom schools and libraries, rural organization and federal programs work, desegregation of public facilities and accommodations, and through the Summer Project we hope to develop full community center programs. However, all of this requires staff, money and equipment greater than we have had thus far to work with. The Summer Project is aimed at providing these essential tools for these programs to be put into effective operation.

SOUTH CAROLINA: The Summer Project in South Carolina is designed to give Negroes the greatest possible voice in the Congressional, Senatorial and gubernatorial elections in 1966--in an attempt to defeat Strom Thurmond and his machine. To accomplish this, Negro registration must be increased tremendously and political organization strengthened.

There is much enthusiasm in the state for rural organization and implementation of federal programs; these will be included in the Summer Project wherever feasible.

NORTHERN FLORIDA: The CORE projects in northern Florida have been among the most successful in voter registration in the South. In one county last year Negro registration rose from 452 to 4500! Work has also been done helping the Civic Interest Group that holds classes in citizenship, and developing local CORE chapters.

Here, too, the Summer Project is aimed at expanding program to develop freedom schools, community centers, strong local organization, and working on local needs, such as employment, desegregation or trash collection.

NEED FOR VOLUNTEERS: Because of our stringent--almost desperate--financial situation, we are mainly interested in volunteers who can be self-supporting. $15-$25 a week can pretty well cover living expenses on the average project. Many volunteers draw this minimal support from church or civic groups in their hometowns, some from personal savings, and others are "adopted" by individuals or groups who take on the responsibility of providing this amount for a given period of time. Groups might spend the time between now and summer raising money specifically for this purpose, to support summer freedom workers.

CORE will be hiring a few additional Task Force people, but hiring preference will be given to the residents of project areas; we urge you to make other subsistence arrangements if at all possible. If you can be self-supporting, please note this on your application.

Return all completed applications to:

Debbie Bernstein
CORE Southern Regional Office
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

APPLICATION FOR FIELD WORKER IN CORE SOUTHERN TASK FORCE - 1965

Please print; answer all questions fully.

Name________________________________race_____sex_____marital status____________

Number of children_____next of kin, address________________________________

Home address____phone____________

School or business address________________________________phone____________

Social security number__________________date of birth______________________

Educational background (high schools, colleges attended, dates, degrees):

____

____

____

Employment data (jobs held, kind of work, dates, employer):

____

____

____

Past civil rights activity, experience with non violent direct action:

____

____

____

____

Community organizations you belong to or have worked with in the past:

____

____

Time available for work in Task Force (at least 6 months)______________to____________

State you prefer to work in: Louisiana_____North Carolina_____South Carolina_________

Florida_____

State arrests, convictions and charges during participation in civil rights work:

____

____

____

Four references (name, address, phone):

____

____

____

____

Background in journalism, press photography and/or organizing:

____

____

____

Do you have a car you can use on the project?________

Can you raise money and/or supplies for the project before you come?________

Can you arrange to have $500 for bond escrow account?________

I believe in CORE's program of non violent direct action against racism and hereby apply for participation in the Southern Task Force. I understand that arrest or injury to me might result, and that by signing this application I waive all rights to damages against CORE--the Congress of Racial Equality--its directors, officers and all others in any way connected with the Southern Task Force.

Signed________________________________

Signed________________________________(Parent or legal guardian must sign here if

Address__________________phone___________ applicant is under 21 years of age.)

Please attach: 1. doctor's certificate of physical condition;

2. brief outline of what you expect to accomplish through working in CORE's Southern Task Force.

CORE Southern Regional Office
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

This is to inform you that we have received your application for work with CORE in the South.

Decision on acceptance is awaiting the return of comments from your references, and usual application processing; you will be notified as soon as this decision is reached.

Thank you for your willingness to help.

_______________________________ has recently applied to us for work on CORE's Task Force in the South. The application included your name as reference, and we would appreciate a brief statement from you concerning the following:

1. your relationship to the applicant, and how long you have known him (or her);
2. applicant's ability to work under intense strain, cope with emergency or emotional situations, accept inconvenience or discomfort, work as part of a team;
3. whether or not the applicant is willing to tackle all kinds of jobs, even if "inexperienced" or "unskilled" in those areas;
4. whether or not the applicant is willing to listen;
5. what are the applicant's best qualities?
6. what are his (her) weaker points?
7. other comments you may have regarding this individual's possible addition to a civil rights project staff in the South.

Please return this information as soon as possible to:

Miss Debbie Bernstein
CORE Southern Regional Office
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

/

[1965]

JW

DOES YOUR PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICE AGENCY DISCRIMINATE?

A Checklist for Fair Hiring

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 has a section (Title VI) which requires that all services for which the government helps to pay must be made available to everyone without regard to race, color, or national origin.

Your local Employment Service (ES) Office comes under the law. The attached checklist is designed to help you determine whether or not it is complying with the law.

Answers to these questions can be obtained by interviewing officials in charge of the Service, by talking to applicants, and by personal visits to the office.

If the answers you receive seem to indicate patterns of segregation and discrimination, we want (and need) to know about it. Please send a copy of the completed questionnaire to the following:

(1) (Name of organization distributing the questionnaire.)

(2) Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20245

1. Are the local ES facilities segregated?

Are there: Separate entrances? YES_____ NO_____

Separate waiting areas? YES_____ NO_____

Separate restrooms? YES_____ NO_____

Separate drinking fountains? YES_____ NO_____

Separate interview areas and personnel for minority group applicants? YES_____ NO_____

2. Does the local ES accept from employers job advertisements which expressedly rule out minority group members?

YES_____ NO_____

If so, under what circumstances? ______________________

____

____

____

3. If answer to No. 2 is yes, does the local ES respect the restrictions in the employers' advertisements when it refers applicants to these employers? YES_____ NO_____

If so, under what circumstances? ______________________

____

____

____

4. In your opinion, does the ES give minority group applicants seeking employment fair consideration in placement, according to their skills and fitness for the job? YES_____ NO_____ EXPLAIN____

____

____

5. Are minority group trainees enrolled in all Manpower Development Training (MDTA) courses or other training courses offered in your community through federal government financing? YES_____ NO_____ If not, indicate reason(s) given by project sponsor:________________________________

____

____

6. Are there separate processes, personnel and facilities for the selection of minority group applicants for training opportunities through the ES? YES_____ NO_____ If so, describe:____

____

____

7. Has an employment service and/or MDTA Advisory Committee been established in your city or state? If yes, identify below:

Combined Committee_____ City_____ State_____

ES Committee___________ City_____ State_____

MDTA Committee_________ City_____ State_____

8. What is the extent of minority group representation on the Committee staffs?____

____

9. Are minority group applicants who apply for training opportunities through ES selected on a fair and equitable basis? YES_____ NO_____ EXPLAIN____________________________

____

10. Indicate whether ES uses minority group people in professional and semi-professional capacities on its staff. YES_____ NO_____ If so, how many_____: of total of_____. If not, why? ____

____

GENERAL REMARKS:____

____

____

____

****

Please fill in following:

NAME____

ORGANIZATION____

ADDRESS____

CITY____________________________ STATE__________________________

DO THE FARM PROGRAMS IN YOUR AREA DISCRIMINATE?

The new Civil Rights Act has a section (Title VI) that requires that all Federally-assisted programs be made available to everyone without regard to their race, color or national origin.

This check list is meant to help you determine to what extent the services the government pays for are being offered to farmers without discrimination.

The Department of Agriculture has so many programs for helping farmers the only way to determine if its regulations against discrimination are being observed is to consider each of these six major programs separately.

EXTENSION SERVICE

The Extension Service is responsible for making available to farmers and farm families information and assistance that would help them improve their living conditions. It does this through demonstration projects, training courses, publication of pamphlets, etc. But its chief means of carrying out its duties is through the office of the county agent.

1. Does your county agent:

Give colored farmers the same service he gives white farmers? YES_____ NO_____

Have colored assistants? YES_____ NO_____

Let white employees service colored farmers and colored employees serve white ones? YES_____ NO_____

Have separate offices, separate times or separate desks or entrances for colored persons using his office? YES_____ NO_____

Let colored farmers participate in planning for his yearly program? YES_____ NO_____

If he does let colored farmers participate, hold integrated meetings? YES_____ NO_____

Have an integrated advisory committee? YES_____ NO_____

Conduct integrated meetings, demonstrations, field days, tours, exhibits? YES_____ NO_____

2. Is there a 4-H Club in your community? YES_____ NO_____

3. If so:

Is it integrated? YES_____ NO_____

Do colored 4-H Club members participate without discrimination in state award programs? YES_____ NO_____

In trips to the 4-H Club Conference in Washington and the Congress in Chicago? YES_____ NO_____

THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION

The Farmers Home Administration (FHA) makes insured mortgage loans on farm properties, farm operating loans and emergency loans to farmers unable otherwise to secure financing, but who meet FHA credit standards. It also makes: Loans available for non-farm homes and housing for the elderly; outright grants for the repair of older rural homes; and loans to non-profit organizations (churches, lodges, etc.) and to individuals for building recreational facilities such as golf courses, swimming pools, etc.

FHA is a Federal agency, run by Federal employes. Each State has a Director and a State Advisory Committee, appointed by the Federal Administrator. Each county has a county supervisor and other employes and an FHA Committee which in fact determines who gets loans. The Committee is appointed by the State Director.

1. Are colored residents of your area aware of these programs? YES_____ NO_____

2. Do they participate in them? YES_____ NO_____

3. Does the FHA office in your community:

Have an integrated staff?

Let white employees serve colored applicants and vice versa? YES_____ NO_____

Offer the same services to colored and white applicants? YES_____ NO_____

Have any segregated facilities - desks, chairs, rest rooms, drinking fountains, etc. YES_____ NO_____

Make loans available to colored farmers as readily as to white ones? YES_____ NO_____

(If not, what kinds of loans are hard to get_______________________________
_____________________________________.)

Appoint colored members to the committee that certifies eligibility for FHA in your county? YES_____ NO_____

Let such colored members, if any, serve as Regular members_____ or alternates_____.
(Check one)

4. If there are any FHA-supported golf courses or swimming pools in your area? YES_____ NO_____

Are they integrated? YES_____ NO_____

(NOTE: If you have the names of any colored citizens you think are eligible to serve on the county committees that approve FHA loans, assuming there are no colored representatives now, please submit them to the headquarters of the organization listed below.)

AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE

This agency (ASC) is responsible for administering acreage allotments, marketing quotas, the soil bank and other price and income support programs. The discriminatory administration of ASC can close the door of opportunity and even force people out of farming. It is operated as a Federal program. Crop allotments and other vital activities are determined by the County ASC Committee

In each township, three committeemen are elected by ballot or in meetings. They are nominated by a nominating committee, or by petition, and write-in candidates are possible. These township committeemen in turn elect the three County ASC Committee members, who hire the office manager and staff.

1. Do colored farmers participate in the elections for the committees that determine crop allotments? YES_____ NO___

2. Are there colored members on your local committee? YES_____ NO_____

3. What method of election do colored farmers in your area prefer:

Check one: General meetings _____
By mail _____
Polling booths _____

4. Do colored farmers in your area get fair allotments? YES_____ NO_____

5. Are they treated fairly and without discrimination at ASC offices YES_____ NO_____

SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

The Service assists cooperating farmers, through its staff, in solving problems of soil erosion, water conservation, best use of land, etc. In doing so, it determines the type and amount of Federal aid available for various purposes. (Soil Conservation Districts?)

1. Does your soil conservation agent:

Have an integrated office staff? YES____ NO____

Make all the facilities in his office - rest rooms, drinking fountains, etc. - available to everyone? YES_____ NO_____

Serve colored farmers without discrimination? YES_____ NO_____

Let white and colored employees serve without regard for race? YES_____ NO_____

Give colored farmers all the benefits to which they are entitled? YES_____ NO_____

2. Do colored farmers participate in selecting the board of directors for your soil conservation area? YES_____ NO_____

3. Do any colored persons serve on the board? YES_____ NO_____

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION

The Rural Electrification Administration is a Federal Agency in the USDA which makes loans for electric and telephone system to serve rural families, largely through cooperatives. Each of these cooperatives hold an annual meeting at which the Board of Directors is elected. The Directors hire the manager who hires the staff. Discrimination is likely to show up most clearly in (1) the conduct of annual meetings, including the work of a nominating committee which makes up the ballot (2) the kind of directors elected (3) the hiring of managers and employes and (4) the fixing of rates for service.

1. Do colored applicants have any difficulty getting electric and phone service from local REA co-ops? YES_____ NO_____

2. Are they treated differently from white applicants? YES_____ NO_____

3. Can colored attend annual REA co-op membership meetings without encountering discrimination? YES_____ NO_____

4. Are any of the members of your REA Board of Directors colored? YES_____ NO_____

5. How many employees does your REA have? _____ How many are colored? _____ How many of these are skilled? _____ Unskilled?_____.

MARKETING SERVICE

The Service, among other things, is in charge of the surplus food, school lunch and special milk programs.

1. Lunch programs:

Is there a school lunch program in your local school? YES_____ NO_____

A free milk program? YES_____ NO_____

If not, why not? ____________________________________

____

Are school lunch and milk programs administered differently for white and colored schools? YES_____ NO_____

2. Surplus Food:

Is such food distributed in your community YES_____ NO_____

If so, do colored eligibles get the same food as whites? YES_____ NO_____

The same amounts? YES_____ NO_____

Are there separate days for distributing the food to white and colored? YES_____ NO_____

Separate lines? YES_____ NO_____

Is distribution seasonal_____ or year round_____?
(Check one)

3. Food Stamp Programs:

Is there a good stamp program in your community? YES_____ NO_____

If so, do colored receive fair treatment in the distribution of food stamps? YES_____ NO_____

Is distribution of stamps on
a segregated basis? YES_____ NO_____

Will stores accept food stamps from
colored as well as white customers? YES_____ NO_____

GENERAL

Are there any complaints of discrimination in Federally-assisted agricultural programs not listed above?

____

____

____

IF THE ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS SHOW A PATTERN OF SEGREGATION OR DISCRIMINATION, send a complaint and a copy of this questionnaire to:

(Name and Address of Organization)

____
____
____

Also send copies to:

Joseph M. Robertson
Administrative Assistant Secretary
Department of Agriculture
The Mall, between 12th and 14th Streets, S. W.
Washington, D. C. 20250

and to:

William Taylor
General Counsel
U. S. Civil Rights Commission
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20245

[1965]

TO:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT

OF JUSTICE

AND

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Public Accommodations Compliance Survey

(Title II, Civil Rights Act of 1964)

CORE
Louisiana Project

TO: UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT
OF JUSTICE
AND
UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Public Accommodations Compliance Survey
(Title II, Civil Rights Act of 1964)

City ______________________ Name ______________________

Parish ______________________ Congress of Racial Equality

Date ______________________ Address ______________________

______________________, Louisiana

I. Status of Compliance

APPROXIMATE NUMBER

Other than State, County, Municipal or Negro-Operated Establishments	Total Number in Community (1)	Known to be open to Negroes (2)	Know to Refuse Service to Negroes (3)	Known to Sometimes Admit and Serve Negroes, and Sometimes to Discriminate Against Negroes (4)
A. EATING FACILITIES (Whether or not part of a hotel, motel, drugstore, or other establishment)	____	____	____	____
B. HOTELS AND MOTELS (Lodging only)	____	____	____	____

C. MOTION PICTURE HOUSES, DRIVE-IN THEATERS, PLACES OF ENTERTAINMENT AND EXHIBITION ______ ______ ______ ______

II. Noncompliance

A. Nature of Discrimination

Name of Establishments	Refused Service (1)	Higher Prices (2)	Differential in Services Rendered (3)	Establishment Changed to Private Club Status (4)	Establishment Temporarily Closed (5)	(Specify) Other (6)
1. EATING FACILITIES						
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
2. HOTELS AND MOTELS						
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
3. MOTION PICTURE HOUSES, DRIVE-IN THEATERS, PLACES OF ENTERTAINMENT AND EXHIBITION						
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	

II. Noncompliance

B. Resegregation

Name of Establishments	Desegragated Month - Day (1)	Resegragated Month - Day (2)	Additional Comments (3)
1. EATING FACILITIES			
2. HOTELS AND MOTELS			
3. MOTION PICTURE HOUSES, DRIVE-IN THEATERS, PLACES OF ENTERTAINMENT AND EXHIBITION			

II. Noncompliance
C. Activities of Law Enforcement Officials

Name of Establishments	Date Incident Occurred Month	Day (1)	Harassment (2)	Arrest of Negro Customer (3)	No Active Role (4)	Protection of Negro Customer (5)	Other (Specify) (6)
1. EATING FACILITIES							
			( )	( )	( )	( )	
			( )	( )	( )	( )	
			( )	( )	( )	( )	
			( )	( )	( )	( )	
2. HOTELS AND MOTELS							
			( )	( )	( )	( )	
			( )	( )	( )	( )	
			( )	( )	( )	( )	
3. MOTION PICTURE HOUSES, DRIVE-IN THEATERS, PLACES OF ENTERTAINMENT AND EXHIBITION							
			( )	( )	( )	( )	
			( )	( )	( )	( )	
			( )	( )	( )	( )	
			( )	( )	( )	( )	
			( )	( )	( )	( )	

II. Noncompliance

D. Activities of Individuals and Organizations

Name of Establishments	Date Incident Occurred Month-Day (1)		INTIMIDATION AGAINST a/			REPRISAL AGAINST b/		
			Owner (2)	Negro Customers (3)	Other Customers (4)	Owner (5)	Negro Customers (6)	Other Customers (7)
1. EATING FACILITIES								
			( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
			( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
			( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
			( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
2. HOTELS AND MOTELS								
			( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
			( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
			( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
3. MOTION PICTURE HOUSES, DRIVE-IN THEATERS, PLACES OF ENTERTAINMENT AND EXHIBITION								
			( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
			( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
			( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

Page 5 cont.

VIOLENCE AGAINST c/		
Owner (8)	Negro Customers (9)	Other Customers (10)
( )	( )	( )
( )	( )	( )
( )	( )	( )
( )	( )	( )
( )	( )	( )
( )	( )	( )
( )	( )	( )
( )	( )	( )
( )	( )	( )
( )	( )	( )

DESCRIPTION OF PERSONS COMMITTING ACTS OF INTIMIDATION OR VIOLENCE

a/ Acts occurring at time of service or attempts to secure service. (Explain any unusual circumstances).

b/ Acts occurring subsequent to service or attempts to secure service.

c/ Intimidation or reprisal which took the form of violence.

II. Noncompliance

E. Formal Complaints and Law Suits

Name of Complainant(s)	Name of Establishment	Eating Facilities (1)	Hotels & Motels (2)	Motion Picture Houses; Drive-In Theaters Places of Entertainment and Exhibition (4)	Agency or Court (4)	Date (5)
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		

II. Noncompliance
E. Formal Complaints and Law Suits

Name of Complainant(s)	Name of Establishment	Eating Facilities (1)	Hotels & Motels (2)	Motion Picture Houses; Drive-In Theaters Places of Entertainment and Exhibition (4)	Agency or Court (4)	Date (5)
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
		( )	( )	( )		
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III. Compliance

In the space below, describe any action taken by listed organizations or individuals to achieve voluntary compliance with the public accommodations section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Attach clippings, resolutions, and the like.

A. Major and other City Officials including Police

B. Restaurants, Hotels and Motels, Theater Associations, Chambers of Commerce, and other Busines Organization.

C. State Municipal Associations, Law Enforcement Associations, Bar Associations, and other Professional Groups

D. State Officials

III. Compliance

E. Religious and Civic Groups

F. Newspapers and other Media

G. Others (Specify)

IV. Miscellaneous List any gasoline stations in the community where Negroes are not permitted to use toilet facilities, or where they are required to use separate facilities.

Name of Proprietor (1)	Address of Station (2)	Brand of Gasoline Sold (3)

Describe briefly your assessment of racial conditions in the community.

[1965]

TO: NATIONAL OFFICE OF CORE

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

CORE SCHOLARSHIP EDUCATION DEFENSE FUND

CORE STAFF

FROM: CORE SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE

2209 DRYADES STREET

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

RE: LOUISIANA COLLEGE CAMPUS PROJECT

INTRODUCTION

WHY SOUTHERN STUDENTS?

Thus far in the civil rights movement, the recruitment of volunteer workers from Southern campuses has been painfully neglected--but we are certain that there is great potential in this area. These students are the future leaders of the country. Whether they are to be traditional representatives of the Negro middle class or leaders of a new and better society depends heavily on the movement today.

The young Negro people of the South are constantly migrating to the North in search of better opportunities, only to end up in a slum, frequently unemployed, to live and die in a more strictly bounded ghetto than they knew in the South.

Why do they leave and go North? The college graduates leave in search of better economic opportunities and attempt to escape the horrors that have plagued them to the extent that the North and West, with their token social freedom, seem like new worlds. The vast limitations in employment and housing opportunities, even for Negroes with college degrees, simply cannot be seen from behind the cotton curtain. Most women become nurses or secretaries--or teachers earning less than $4000 a year. If they become teachers, they are placed in a segregated school system to teach in a segregated classroom with inadequate equipment and poorly prepared students. Soon, even those who had the initiative to come North find themselves caught in the soporific of complacency. Dulled first by social acceptance in public accomodations, the spirit of striving must be further suppressed because their jobs depend on how well they behave.

Negro men who seek skilled or professional jobs have very little chance, if any, to find decent employment in the South. Negro engineers, social workers, scientists, pharmacists, actors, musicians, construction workers, plumbers, etc., have little chance of acquiring good positions in their trades. Many Negro people feel that by "escaping to the North" they can get away from this dilemma, but the horrible truth is that these problems exist throughout the country. This they must learn and this the movement must teach before the South is drained of its potential black leadership.

To escape the total dilemma, the Negro people of the South and the country must organize politically and economically in order to build a strong base from which they can cause enough change to guarantee equal opportunities everywhere. We are convonced that the incentive for that organization will come from the South and that, at this point, the South is more disposed to such organization. We think that the Mississippi Project has proved that.

The students who will participate in these conferences have a great stock in the failure or success of the movement. As men and women who will soon be the adult citizens of Louisiana (if they remain), they will live, work and raise their families in dozens of communities all over the state. No matter how much a civil rights staff does in a community, success ultimately rests with the people within it.

Through college conferences we hope to reach the Negro student and educate him about the goals and purposes of the movement. We hope to provide the initial incentive for him to become interested enough to take part in present programs and, through participation, for him to become a sound community leader.

PROSPECTUS

The following is a prospectus for a series of conferences to be held for Louisiana college students. We propose to concentrate our efforts on the following campuses: Dillard and Xavier Universities in New Orleans, Southern University in Baton Rouge and New Orleans, and Grambling College in Grambling. We also hope to involve students from some of the white colleges and universities in the state. We propose holding two conferences on each of the campuses during February and March. We also plan to have a statewide conference in late April for all the colleges in Louisiana.

AGENDA FOR CONFERENCES:

I. Brief history of the movement.

The conference will begin with a brief history of the movement, beginning with the sit-ins in 1960. The discussion leader should explain how the movement has influenced social, economic and political change in the country so far and lead a discussion on why more significant changes have not been made.

II. Involvement of college students in the movement.

This session should be a largely non-directed discussion by the students on their ideas and feelings about the movement and their potential involvement. The discussion will likely indicate reasons why college students are reluctant to become involved in the movement. They should be presented with the question: "What happens to college students after they graduate?"

III. Problems in the Negro community.

The students should be allowed to discuss openly and freely the problems they feel are pressing in their own communities. The session leader should illustrate for the students how their problems relate to the problems of other communities and the country. There should be an attempt to have them deal with economic, employment, political and social problems at whatever level they are able to discuss these problems.

IV. An introduction to CORE's programs to combat some of the problems.

A. Education: There will be an introduction to the freedom school program and community center project. These programs should be written and distributed to the students beforehand. They should be encouraged to make suggestions on how they feel these programs can work in their communities.

B. Political: A discussion on voter registration and its importance. The students should discuss how they can implement such a program in their communities. There will be an explanation of the Louisiana political structure and of voting requirements. There should also be a discussion on the Freedom Democratic Party led by someone from Mississippi.

C. Federal Programs: There will be a presentation on and a discussion of the ASCS committees and the parish elections which will be held in Louisiana in August. There will be an explanation of the Anti-Poverty Act, the programs it includes, and how the civil rights movement can best implement them in Louisiana.

PROCEDURE:

There will be two campus travelers, whose jobs will be to contact students and instructors on the campuses and build up interest in the conferences. They are to acquire facilities, resource people and materials for the conferences. They will also hold training sessions on the campuses with smaller groups of students between conferences to keep students interested.

We hope to involve college professors in these conferences as resource people. For instance, we will try to get someone from one of the law departments to discuss the political structure of Louisiana and the Civil Rights Act. We will try to get someone from the sociology department of one of the colleges to speak on the "problems and sociology of the Negro community". We also hope to involve them in helping set up the various conferences.

The first conferences, in most cases, will be run by staff and resource people. We hope to get the college students to plan and run the second conferences themselves, with a minimum of help from staff.

The conferences will be broken down into small workshops to increase individual participation. The students will rotate among sessions until they have covered most, if not all, of them.

Before and during each conference, material on each item for discussion will be distributed to the students.

The students will be encouraged to join projects where they exist in their school areas and to initiate projects where there are none.

CORE -
SOUTHERN
REGIONAL

Regional Office Projects - Voter Registration ; Correspondence

1962, May
1964, Dec

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

May 31, 1962

Mr. Marvin Rich
Community Relations Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Marvin:

On Tuesday, May 29, I visited Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and inquired of Mr. Acie Belton, who is active in the voter registration program in the Second Ward, as to the location of any office maintained by CORE. Upon receiving information that you were located in the Butler Building, I proceeded to your office.

I talked with Joe Louis Smith, who is in charge of the office, and there were two young ladies working in the office at that time, which was about 4:30 p.m. I was very much impressed by what I found on an unannounced visit, and despite the tremendous heat in the office everyone seemed to be working very diligently in compiling reports regarding voter registration activities.

Mr. Smith described for me the areas of Baton Rouge in which door to door campaigns were planned for that particular day, and the names of the persons who would be conducting the interviews. With no difficulty at all I went to the areas described and found the people working in the manner described. I talked with Jimmie Bennett and David Dennis, who were in the field at that time, and learned first hand some of the problems which they have been encountering.

Since this was my first effort in personal observation of the activities of any of the agencies, I must admit that I found it to be a rather heartwarming experience, and the CORE people in that area are certainly to be commended.

I acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 25, and you may rest assured that we will be furnishing all of the agencies with reports of the activities of our entire program from time to time.

Sincerely yours,

Wiley A Branton

Wiley A. Branton
Project Director

Copy to Mr. Joe Louis Smith

WAB/mr

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 19, 1962

Mr. W. W. Harleaux, Secretary
8th Ward Voters League
1818 Haase St.
Plaquemine, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Harleaux:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 16 in which you request help with your voter registration efforts in Plaquemine, Louisiana.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is one of the agencies working with the Voter Education Project and that agency has been given primary responsibility for the Sixth Congressional District of Louisiana, including Iberville parish.

I am sending a copy of this letter and of your letter to Mr. Ronnie Moore, who is in charge of the CORE office located in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. I am requesting Mr. Moore or some official of CORE to get in touch with you as soon as possible. I am certain that some arrangements for assistance in your area will be forthcoming.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Mr. J. T. McCain
    Mr. R. Moore

OCT 18 1962

1818 Haase St.
Plaquemine, La.
Oct. 16, 1962

Mr. Wiley Branton
c/o Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr Branton:

Mrs. Lillian S. Calhoum, Associate Editor, of Ebony Magazine suggested that I cantact you in regards to securing help in our effort to register our people.

We find that it is very difficult to get people interested in attempting to register to vote under Louisiana's new registration law because we have not been successful in getting anyone registered.under it. Is there some way we can get some help to break through the above bearers.

Please feel free to request any additional information.

Yours truly,

W.W. Harleaux

W. W. Harleaux, Secretary
8th. Ward Voters League

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

November 7, 1962

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

I am enclosing affidavits from Mrs. Elvira Whitaker, Earl A. Ambeau, Jr., Mrs. Delores L. Evans, and Thomas Whitaker, all residents of Iberville parish, Louisiana, complaining that they have been discriminated against by the registrar in that parish.

These complaints were submitted to us by Ronnie M. Moore, CORE Field Secretary, who works out of the CORE Field Office in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

The CORE group has planned a parish-wide voter registration campaign in Iberville parish beginning November 12, 1962, but it appears that almost no Negro in that parish has been able to register since the registrar starting using the new Louisiana literacy test.

Any assistance your office can offer in removing these discriminatory barriers will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
enc.
cc: Mr. Ronnie Moore ✓
Mr.James Farmer

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

January 22, 1963

Mr. Ronnie Moore
CORE
10185 Avenue "B"
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Ronnie:

Jim McCain sent us a news clipping the other day which specifically credited your work in an Iberville parish, with such an increase in Negro registration as to shiver the foundations of white supremacy.

Congratulations on the success of your efforts. Let's keep them shivering!

Best regards,

Jack Minnis

Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

CC: Mr. James McCain
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

January 17, 1963

Mr. Ronnie Moore
CORE
10185 Avenue B
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Ronnie:

I have received a copy of the new sets of questions which are to be used by Louisiana registrars. Some of the sets of questions appear to offer a wider range of objective questions than others, therefore, I think it is important that you try to maintain a record of the form number on the question sets administered by the registrar to the applicants with whom you are working. The form number, as you probably know, appears in the upper right hand corner of the cards upon which the questions are printed.

I suggest that all applicants be urged to learn that form number and to report it to you. I hope you will be able to report to us monthly on the number of times each form was administered to the applicants with whom you are working.

Very truly yours,

Jack
Jack Minnis
Director of Research

JM:js

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

March 7, 1963

Mr. Ronnie Moore
CORE
10185 Avenue "B"
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Moore:

I am enclosing a photocopy of a letter which I have just received from Mr. W. W. Harleaux of Plaquemine, Louisiana, in which he makes very complimentary remarks regarding your work in his parish.

Would you please, at your earliest convenience, send me a rather detailed statement regarding the situation in Iberville parish and any suggestions which you might have regarding the feasibility of a stepped-up campaign in that parish and any plans you can suggest for any such action.

We would also be interested in reading similar reports from all of the other parishes where you are working but you need not delay the report on Iberville parish on this account.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl

cc: Mr. W. W. Harleaux
Mr. James T. McCain

Iberville Parish

① 8 month stepped-up campaign

② $800.00 specific grant to cover subsistent wages of 2 persons teaching voter registration daily → given to CORE for same

③ Local persons have appropriated $500.00 for an automobile

Problems:

① Need a car — (Insurance difficult to get)

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE THE BEST
AVAILABLE.

Green
Cole
apre

[illegible]

Mr. [illegible], [illegible] Director
[illegible] Street
[illegible], Georgia

Dear Mr. Shannon:

May I take this occasion to thank you most sincerely for sending Mr. Ronnie Moore to us. [illegible] the [illegible] so to speak. Mr. Moore has done an excellent job. During his efforts here, we were successful in registering approximately [illegible]. There are still more than four thousands who are of voting age that should be registered.

For the past few weeks Mr. Moore has been sharing his time with other parishes (counties). This is a detriment to our registration program. However, I am sure he is much needed in other areas. The [illegible] down to a small [illegible] it will [illegible] citizens.

Grass root voter registration [illegible] work. From observation [illegible] there are so many involvements. It is imperative that we continue this grass root program. Therefore, may I humbly ask that you allow Mr. Moore to spend [illegible] time (full time) here in Iberville parish (county) or send another field worker or assist us financially [illegible] that [illegible] field worker could carry on an intensive program that will achieve the [illegible] goal.

[illegible]

part of those who are resisting Negro registration which suggests that now is the time to intensify our registration for the next twelve months or more. A highly intensified program for the next twelve months I am sure will achieve the number of registered voters that will elect Negroes to not only local office but to state office.

We tried to raise the money to continue the program. We were successful in raising enough to operate the program for only a short time. I am certain you know how difficult it is to raise money among poverty stricken people (18,000 of our 30,000 qualified for the Kennedy commodity program).

Again, may I say thaks most sincerely for sending Mr. Moore and please make our intensified program possible.

Please feel free to request any additional information.

Yours for FREEDOM

W. W. Harleaux

W. W. Harleaux

PROPOSED SCHEDULE FOR CORE PARTICIPATION IN VEP PROGRAM
FOR PERIOD AUGUST 1, 1962 THROUGH MARCH 31, 1963

State	Area	Total NVAP*	# of RNV**	% of RNVAP***	# of UNVAP****
LOUISIANA	6th Cong. District				
	Pointe Coupe	5,620	2,233	39.3	3,407
	Iberville	7,481	2,486	33.2	4,995
	W. Baton Rouge	3,693	1,188	32.1	2,505
	Washington	7,187	1,698	23.6	5,489
	W. Feliciana	4,876	None	0.0	4,876
	E. Feliciana	6,371	76	1.2	6,295
	St. Helena	2,246	1,240	55.2	1,006
	Tangipahoa	9,906	3,573	36.1	6,333
	E. Baton Rouge (1st Ward Only)*****	39,757	10,340	26.0	29,417
		(above figures for whole parish)			

* Negro Voting Age Population

** Registered Negro Voters

*** Registered Negro Voting Age Population

**** Unregistered Negro Voting Age Population

***** NAACP will also work in 1st ward.

FROM: Ronnie M. Moore, CORE's VEA Agent in Louisiana

TO: Wiley Branton, Voter Education Project
Jim McCain, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

RE: VEP Report for June 1963 in Louisiana

In early June, the registrat in Iberville Parish, Ella Billings, attempted to purge the registration roll of its 2,700 registered Negro voters by requiring all registered persons to come to the registrar's office and verify the fact that the recorded name and/or address had not been changed in the past year.

Developing local support through the Iberville Industrial Voter's League, we distributed over 1,500 copies of the enclosed circular and managed to stampede the registrar's office with 500 persons within a five day period which persuaded the registrar to require calls to her office instead. Because of this development, we concentrated primarily in Iberville Parish and have not lost any voters. We hope.

Because CORE is planning to bring forty volunteers to Louisiana for promoting extensive voter registration in seven parishes, Spiver and I went to Tangipahoa, St. Helena, East Baton Rouge, West Feliciana, East Feliciana, and Pointe Coupee Parishes to make food and housing arrangements, and geographical, social, economic and political surveys. We managed to get a few residents of these areas to apply for voter registration and in East Baton Rouge, East Feliciana and Pointe Coupee Parishes, some were successful.

CORE has Task Force Workers Spiver Gordon, Negro of Plaquemine, La., David Leonard, white, and Roselyn Leonard, Negro of Berkeley Calif., assisting me in voter registration and laying the ground work for the summer project.

By September 1963, I hope to leave the parishes mentioned and go to other parishes where large gains in Negro registration may be possible.

At present, CORE plans to keep its VEP main office located at 306 Ivey Street, Plaquemine, La., Room #2.

[1963, Nov. 7]

A PROPOSED VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT FOR LOUISIANA: RURAL AND NORTH

BASIC CONTENTIONS TO BE CONSIDERED:

(1) CORE is Louisiana's most noted civil rights organization because of its courageous endeavors and unique accomplishments in both voter registration and direct action projects.

(2) Louisiana is ripe for chapter development, particularly in rural parishes of the Sixth Congressional District and probably in North Louisiana. We should work North Louisiana because of the great Negro voting potential and because SCLC has been a flop in its efforts in that section. We have the people who can do the job.

(3) CORE's way into these areas in through voter registration in preference to ~~direct~~ action. However, the latter will be the outgrowth of voter registration endeavors as it was in Plaquemine and Clinton, Louisiana. Therefore, at present we should curb on an overall basis all direct action and concentrate on voter registration.

(4

(4) Expansion is essential. However, I feel that CORE can get the most cooperation from communities in areas where help is needed most instead of places like New Orleans where political competition between groups is more important than uniting efforts against segregation. It is suggested that VEP drives in New Orleans be directed by the CORE group in that area assisted by one or two task force workers.

(5) In East Baton Rouge and West Baton Rouge parishes we should refrain from conducting registration drives. However, in Baton Rouge CORE should reorganize and reactivate a CORE chapter.

(6) If we work North Louisiana, work in St. Bernard and Plaquemines parishes should be postponed until we can meet the parishes with great force.

(7) Bill Brown is a good worker but due to personal problems cannot stay on in Louisiana. If possible, and feasible, to assign him to his home state of Arizona for chapter development, this would be an excellent move.

(8) In order to show a substantial state-wide voter registration increase from mow up to the presidential election, we must extend our program beyond the Sixth Congressional District and set up VEP campaigns in at least 20 parishes of the 64 in the state with task force workers serving as coordinators, advisors, and organizers with total emphasis on voter registration which will be direct action for the northern section of Louisiana.

COPY

OUTLINE OF PROGRAM: Nov. 7 until ?

I. Chapter Development

  A. Baton Rouge
  B. Clinton
  C. Plaquemine
  D. Hammond
  E. New Roads
  F. St. Francisville

II. Limited Direct Action

  A. Perfecting boycott in Plaquemine
  B. Perfecting boycott in Clinton

III. Voter Registration (preparing applicants when books re-open Dec. 8, 9, and 10, 1963, and to repeat when books open after January 7, 1963, the date of the second Democratic primary.)

  A. Techniques
    1. Clinics, canvassing, rallies, etc.
    2. Setting up Committees on Registration Education in parishes and districts where no local organization on registration and/or politics exists.
      a. St. Francisville - a Committee is needed.
      b. Organizing and pepping up the Sixth Congressional District Voters' League are needed.
  B. Parishes Under Assignment and/or Requesting Help
    1. Iberville
    2. Tangipahoa
    3. Pointe Coupee
    4. St. Helena
    5. West Feliciana
    6. East Feliciana
    7. St. Landry
    8. Avoyelles
    9. Tensas (no Negroes are registered)
    10. St. Tammany and Ascension

IV. Expansion and Exploration Re: VOTER REGISTRATION DIFFICULTIES IN NORTH LOUISIANA

  A. Methodology
    1. Meeting and conferring with contacts
    2. Community evaluating
    3. Coordinating and organizing voter registration campaigns for when the registrar's office opens in December and for a long range state-wide push for registered voters beginning Jan. 8, 1963.

B. North Louisiana Territory Suggested for Scouting and Limited VEP campaigns in December and Intensification in January.

1. Shreveport (Caddo Parish) - General area including Bienville, Red River, and Webster Parishes at first.
2. Monroe (Ouachita Parish) General area including East Carroll, West Carroll, and Madison parishes at first.
3. Alexandria (Rapides Parish) General area including Winn parish to start.

V. Manpower and Other Essentials

A. Workers - 8 assigned in Louisiana

1. Four to be assigned to the ten named parishes under Roman numeral III, section B

2. Four to be assigned to North Louisiana

B. Transportation (5 good running, preferably new, cars)

1. 2 cars for North Louisiana

2. 2 cars for the other named parishes in or around the Sixth Congressiohal District.

3. One car for circulating through the parishes.

C. Means of Securing Cars and/or Availability of Cars:

1. Jerome Smith has managed to get a car for this project in Louisiana
2. CORE should keep the Ford Station Wagon
3. CORE should sell the Studebaker and Rambler and purchase a new car on the installment plan and we in Louisiana will try to meet the notes from local communities involved in the project.
4. We'll try to get the other cars either from staff or local volunteers.

COPY

VI. BUDGET BEGINNING NOVEMBER 7, 1963 - WEEKLY

Office Rent	5.00
Telephone	25.00
Care for cars, fas, limited car repairs, etc. for 5 cars	85.00
Offfice supplies, stationary, traffic tickets, minor bond fees	35.00
	$150.00

~~Copy~~ To Ronnie

AUG 15 1963

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

August 13, 1963

Mr. James McCain
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Jim:

The field reports which we received yesterday morning describing your Louisiana project are among the most informative and detailed we have ever received and I was particularly impressed with the frank comments pertaining to individuals and organizations.

I thoroughly agree with Ronnie Moore's comment to you where he suggests that CORE not work in the parishes of extreme fear and great illiteracy. I would prefer to see a heavy concentration in the areas where people are ready to move and where meaningful registration results can be achieved.

We have just made a grant to NAACP to conduct a two-month registration drive in Baton Rouge. W. C. Patton, NAACP voter registration field secretary, went out and personally set up the organizational structure to conduct this drive. In an effort to avoid some of the personality clashes in that area, Attorney Jonnie Jones was selected as General Chairman of the special campaign. Rev. Jelks has promised the full support of the NAACP chapter and I have written a letter to Mr. Acie Belton of the FOCUS requesting that organization's support. It would seem to me that CORE might very well refrain from any registration activity in East Baton Rouge parish for the next two months and concentrate its activities in the other assigned areas. I would also expect CORE to encourage its supporters in Baton Rouge to work with the special registration campaign which is now under way under NAACP leadership.

Very truly yours,

Wiley A. Branton

WAB:jl
cc: Mr. Johnnie Jones
Mr. W. C.Patton

[1963?]

SUGGESTED OUTLINE FOR A REPORT ON VEP REGISTRATION PROGRAMS

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This report should begin with a brief description of the community in which the registration program was conducted. The description should include the voting age population, both white and Negro, and the total registration, further divided by race. Such items should be included as the median income, educational attainment, housing conditions, employment conditions (with special attention to public employment - police officers, firemen, civil service workers, etc.), and whether Negroes occupied any public or party, elective or appointive, positions at the time the registration program was conducted. Since campaign and electoral activity seem to have a decided effect on registration efforts, the report should also indicate whether local elections were factors in the drive, and if so, whether Negroes were candidates for any party or public office.

Next should come a description of the activities which preceded the organization of the registration program. We would be interested in knowing whether there were difficulties among the leaders arising out of personal or organizational friction or jealousy. Some of the organizations conducting programs will be previously established political and civic action groups, and others will be formed specifically for purposes of the program. It would be appropriate to discuss either the long-term goals and purposes of the permanent organizations, or the conditions which made a new organization expedient.

We would like to have the names of any individuals whose influence on activities in the registration program seemed out of proportion to the leadership positions which they occupied prior to the program. We are seeking to determine whether an activity such as a registration program provides a context conductive to the rise of new leadership.

This should be followed by a description of the actual organization which conducted the drive. This should be a simple, concise, description of the structure of the organization, identifying the decision-making and executive positions, and the responsibilities incumbent upon each.

If funds were obtained from a source other than the Voter Education Project, indicate the manner in which these funds were granted, with conditions, if any, and the amount given.

THE REGISTRATION PROGRAM

The following outline suggests the kind of information to be included on the actual conduct of the registratipn program:

I. Publicity

A. Contact with organizations, i.e., social political, business, labor, etc.

1.) Degree of cooperation.
2.) Mailings to membership.
3.) Announcements in meetings.
4.) Other.

B. Use of churches.

1.) How **was** cooperation of ministers solicited - a called meeting or individual contacts?
2.) Degree of cooperation?
3.) Announcements, sermons, participation by minister.

C. Advertisement and articles in newspapers. Include samples of all press releases whether solicited or not.

1.) Were press releases and photos regularly submitted to newspaper?
2.) Did community interest stimulate press to seek information?

D. Radio and television time.

1.) Include information on times and dates, number of announcements and texts, cost, identity of speakers.
2.) Was message taped or did staff announcer read copy?
3.) Was image of the speaker part of the message?
4.) Was there any utilization of public service time?

E. Posters, handbills, tags, etc. Include samples of all materials for distribution.

1.) Indicate sources for materials.
2.) Who distributed materials?

II. Methods and Techniques of Conducting Drive

A. Mass meetings.

- 1.) Date, time, and place held. Include copies of program.
- 2.) Number and identity of speakers. Were speakers selected for informative or image purposes, or both, i.e., were they celebrities, or were they leaders whose knowledge of political affairs determined their selection?
- 3.) Were those who attended followed up at the meetings, or was initiative placed on them to seek participation?
  - a. Were names taken for volunteer work, for registration, for instruction, etc., at the meeting?
  - b. Degree of success of this kind of recruitment - how many participants were garnered from meetings as compared to other modes of recruitment?

B. Were the organizations mentioned in I-A and I-B above used in actual registration work? If so, how and to what extent?

C. Maintenance of office with full or part-time staff.

- 1.) Paid staff.
- 2.) Volunteer services.

D. Door-to-door canvassing.

- 1.) How were areas selected for canvassing?
- 2.) How was canvassing organized?
- 3.) Was canvassing designed to inform, instruct, enlist prospective registrants, and provide such services as baby-sitters, transportation, etc.?
- 4.) Were canvassers volunteer or paid? Were they from all walks of life or primarily students? Who else served as canvassers?
- 5.) What provisions were made for follow-ups to initial canvass?
- 6.) Did canvassers receive orientation and training? How were they motivated and how did they attempt to motivate others - ideologically or practically?
- 7.) How were any special problems handled?

E. Parades or demonstrations or similar activities to stimulate interest.

III. The Registration Process

A. What was the attitude of the personnel in the registrar's office - official as well as personal?

B. If registrar's hours were inconvenient, was attempt made to secure extra office hours? Was this successfully achieved?

C. Was there neighborhood registration?

D. What kinds of performance was required of registrants? Was attempt made to determine whether discrimination was practiced at the office? Were affadavits taken of all incidents of discrimination?

E. Explore the possibility of any organized opposition, either official or unofficial, to the drive, and describe it as thoroughly as possible. Look for unorganized individual or group acts tending to harass, intimidate, etc.

F. Arrangements for pool of workers to actually go to the office with prospective registrants?

G. Arrangements for transportation.

H. Any efforts to work with individuals who failed registration test? Literacy training? Who conducted classes? Training of literacy instructors? Materials and methods employed?

I. Was public attention given by white newspapers, radio, television, addresses, etc., to the drive?

IV. An Attempt Should Be Made to Describe the Attitude of Public Officials Toward the Drive

1.) What were their perceptions of this activity among Negroes?
2.) How accurately were they informed as to numbers participating?
3.) To what extent did they approve or disapprove?
4.) Did they perceive this as qualitatively different from similar white activity?

5.) Interviews with registration officials, as well as elected and appointed governmental officials are particularly valuable here.

V. What Were the Results of the Drive?

A. Number of persons registered according to records kept by your office?

B. Increase according to official records during the period of the drive?

C. Number of persons involved in volunteer work?

D. Number of paid personnel?

E. Were incentives offered for increased registration either to prospects or to workers?

VI. Summarizing Statement Including Evaluation of Performance of Organization in Conducting Campaign. If, at some future date, another campaign were to be conducted, would you make any changes in the organizational design for it?

BW:js

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

M E M O R A N D U M January 14, 1964

TO ALL PARTICIPATING AGENCIES

FROM: Wiley A. Branton

New Research Assistant Joins VEP

The Voter Education Project is pleased to announce the appointment of Mrs. Barbara Ingram Whitaker to the staff as a Research Assistant. Mrs. Whitaker is a graduate of Spelman College and holds a master's degree in Social Work from the Atlanta University School of Social Work. Prior to joining VEP, Mrs. Whitaker was a Field Work Instructor, and Faculty Traveling Representative for the Atlanta University School of Social Work.

Jack Minnis Leaves VEP

VEP regrets to announce that Jack Minnis, former Director of Research for VEP is no longer with the Project. All reports or letters which formerly were addressed to Mr. Minnis should now be addressed simply to the Voter Education Project.

VEP Election Calendar

A one-page VEP election information calendar has been prepared for use in the eleven VEP states. A copy of this calendar is being sent with this memorandum and additional copies may be procured upon request.

Final Year for VEP

This is the final year for VEP operations and it is intended that voter registration programs will terminate in each of the eleven states on or about the deadline for registration for voting in the November general election. It is extremely important that all participating agencies submit requests for grants for 1964, together with proposed budgets. Even though the second VEP fiscal year ends on March 31, proposals may be submitted for programs which will start prior to that time but which may run beyond March 31. These requests should be submitted as soon as possible.

SPECIAL NOTE:

VEP has not yet received any commitments for financial support from foundations for the period beginning April 1, 1964, and any approval of grants by VEP for programs running beyond April 1 must be conditioned upon subsequent grants to VEP.

WAB:jl
attach.

Prepared by the Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

1964 VEP ELECTION INFORMATION

	U.S. CONGRESS		GOVERNOR		STATE LEGISLATURE					DEADLINE FOR REGISTRATION				
					UPPER HOUSE		LOWER HOUSE							
STATE	Elect Senator	No. of Representatives	Elect Governor	Term	Elect	Term	Elect	Term	Filing Deadline For Candidate date	Primary	General Election	Primary Date	Runoff Primary Date	SPECIAL REMARKS
ALABAMA	No	8	No	4	No	4	No	4	March 1	April 24	Oct. 23	May 5	June 2	Pay Poll Tax by February 1
ARKANSAS	No	4	Yes	2	17	4	100	2	April 29	POLL TAX IS ONLY REGISTRATION Oct.1,'63	Oct.1,'64	July 28	Aug. 11	
FLORIDA	Yes	12	Yes	4	22	4	112	2	March 3	April 4	Oct. 3	May 5	May 26	
GEORGIA	No	10	No	4	54	2	205	2	July 24	May 2*	May 2*	Sept. 9		
LOUISIANA	No	8	Yes	4	39	4	105	4	May 29	June 26	Oct. 5**	July 25	Aug. 29	
MISSISSIPPI	Yes	5	No	4	No	4	No	4	April 3	May 2	July 3	June 2	June 23	Pay Poll Tax by February 1
NORTH CAROLINA	No	11	Yes	4	50	2	120	2	March 20	May 16	Oct. 24	May 30	June 27	
SOUTH CAROLINA	No	6	No	4	23	4	124	2	To be set***	May 11	Oct. 5	June 9	June 23	
TENNESSEE	Yes (2)	9	No	4	33	2	99	2	June 8	July 6	Oct. 3	Aug. 6		
TEXAS	Yes	23	Yes	2	16	4	150	2	Feb. 3	POLL TAX IS ONLY REGISTRATION Jan. 31	Jan. 31	May 2	June 6	Pay Poll Tax by Jan. 31
VIRGINIA	Yes	10	No	4	No	4	No	2	Apr. 15	June 13	Oct. 3	July 14	Aug. 18	Pay Poll Tax by May 2

*Election Law Study Committee has recommended that registration deadline be changed to July 3.
**General Election for State Officers, March 3, 1964.
***Third Thursday after State Convention.

AS OF JANUARY 1, 1964, 36 STATES HAVE ADOPTED THE ANTI-POLL TAX AMENDMENT AND ONLY TWO (2) MORE ARE NEEDED FOR PASSAGE. UPON PASSAGE, ADDITIONAL TIME MAY BE ALLOWED FOR REGISTRATION IN ARKANSAS, TEXAS, MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, AND VIRGINIA.

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

January 24, 1964

Mr. Ronnie Moore
306 Ivey Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana

RE: VEP 3-5

Dear Mr. Moore:

We are currently in the process of preparing our Annual Report. In going over our files, we have discovered there is no information regarding voter registration activity in Avoyelle, St. Landry, Plaquemine, and St. Bernard parishes in Louisiana between April 1 through September 30, 1963.

We would like to know exactly what activity, if any, took place, including such information as the attitude of the registrar, whether or not there was any harassment or intimidation towards Negroes attempting to register, and the actual number of Negroes registered during this period.

We would appreciate your sending us a complete statistical and narrative analysis, and since time will not permit an extended delay in receiving this material, please have the report in this office within one week after the receipt of this letter.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Barbara I. Whitaker
(Mrs.) Barbara Whitaker
Research Assistant

BW:js

cc: Mr. Marvin Rich

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

February 11, 1964

Mr. Ronnie Moore
306 Ivey Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana

RE: VEP 3-5

Dear Mr. Moore:

On January 24, we wrote regarding your activities in Avoyelle, St. Bernard, St. Landry, and Plaquemine parishes during the period April 1 through September 30, 1963. To date, we have received no response.

Since VEP is a research project, it is imperative that we have as much information as is obtainable on the assigned programs. We would, therefore, appreciate your sending narrative and statistical reports covering your activities in these parishes.

In reviewing the files, we note you are beginning activity in a number of other parishes. In order that our research files will be complete, we request, at your earliest convenience, a narrative report on each parish in which you cover the following items:

1. Location and size of community in which the drive is being conducted; proportion of Negro voting age population; total number of registered voters; number of Negroes registered to vote.

2. General description of Negro residential areas; conditions of Negro employment (with special reference to public employment, e.g., police officers, firemen, etc.) whether Negroes occupy any public office, elective or appointive, at the time of registration program.

3. Description of the activities which preceded the organization of the registration program.

4. Attitudes of public officials toward registration activities among Negroes; organized opposition, either official or unofficial, to registration.

May we hear from you by February 19?

Sincerely yours,

Barbara I. Whitaker

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

cc; Mr. Marvin Rich
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

A Program of the Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

February 27, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: All Participating Agencies

From: Barbara I. Whitaker

We request that all projects required to submit monthly progress reports send these reports to our office no later than the 10th of each month. This change will be effective for all projects beginning March 10, 1964. For those projects required to submit weekly reports, we are requesting that these reports reach our office no later than Wednesday following the period for which activity is reported.

These reports should be directed to Mrs. Barbara Whitaker, Research Assistant. Your questions and comments about the reporting procedure will be welcomed.

BIW:js

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

May 19, 1964

Mr. Ronnie Moore
306 Ivey Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana

RE: VEP 3-5

Dear Mr. Moore:

Some time ago, I wrote you several letters regarding the serious gap in your reporting on the parishes in which you were conducting voter registration campaigns. Needless to say, you never answered any of those letters. Miss Hamilton did send us, in April, reports on St. Bernard and Plaquemine parishes. It is difficult for us in the Atlanta office to know what is going on if you do not tell us. For this reason, I am asking that you let me know what transpired in each of the parishes listed below prior to March 31, 1962. The date in parenthesis indicates the period of last report from you.

✓East Baton Rouge	(12/15)	Tangipahoa	(1/19)
✓East Feliciana	(1/31)	St. Tammany	(1/19)
Iberville	(1/31)	Ascension	(12/15)
Pointe Coupee	(1/19)	Ouachita	(1/31) ✓
St. Helena	(1/19)	W. Baton Rouge	(9/30) ✓
✓West Feliciana	(12/7)	Tensas	(1/31)

The following are parishes on which we never received reports, although, according to our records, they were assigned to you for registration activities:

Avoyelles ✓
Madison ✓
Bienville
East Carroll
Rapides
St. Landry
Winn
Webster
West Carroll ✓
Washington ✓

We have received no reports of activities in the parishes assigned to you in a grant made in April. It is our understanding that your various task forces have been engaged in intensive surveys of their assignments. May we have benefit of what they have found, as well as any registration results in these parishes? As you know, we are particularly interested in the twenty-one parishes covered by the recent Justice Department decree. I am enclosing, again, the suggested outline for reporting. Under separate cover, we are forwarding forms to be used in statistical reporting, on a monthly basis, for each parish in your assignment.

Please send us the names and addresses of each of the persons in your voter registration task force.

Let us hear from you immediately.

Very truly yours,

Barbara I. Whitaker

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

cc: Marvin Rich

Encl: 1

May 21, 1964

Voter Education Project
Mrs. Barbara I. Whitaker, Research Assistant
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

First of all, I would like to say that monthly narrative and statistical reports are forwarded usually on schedule before the 10th of each month to the National Office of CORE, c/o Mrs. James McCain, and from New York reports are sent to your office in Atlanta.

By the questions you raised in your letter of May 10, 1964, I am led to believe that you have not received all of our reports. However, I shall endeavor to answer your questions concerning the parishes you mentioned on a parish-by-parish basis. Before doing that, I would like to make a few general comments about the VIP in Louisiana.

1) We are faced daily with problems of transpor= tation and manpower. We are trying to service 26 parishes in the Fifth and Sixth Congressional Districts of Louisiana with ten task force workers and three cars.

2) We have two main coordinating centers for voter registration at Plaquemine and Monroe, Louisiana.

3) In each parish we have been to work, we have conducted extensive canvassing, numerous voter registration clinics, held rallies, etc. In areas where there are good leadership figures and voter organizations, we try to work in a coordinated fashion utilizing as much local help as possible. In such areas we just periodically check the voter registration progress and report our findings to your office (when we find something to report). We do not report on every parish assigned every month because in some months we don't have anything to report because local people didn't push voter registration and we couldn't get there to do it for them.

4) We don't get to every parish assigned each month. Matter of fact, we have not been able to get to all the parishes since our commencing of Voter registration in March, 1962.

5) For your general information, I would like to throw in that CORE started its VEP activities in March, 1962 when 20 workers stationed in East Baton Rouge Parish were asked to work only in the first ward of that parish. From March to September, 1962 we worked only in East Baton Rouge Parish.

September, 1962 to May, 1963 we were assigned eight parishes of the Sixth Congressional District which I surveyed, canvassed, and promoted voter registration in by myself with only one car and relying only on local people for assistance.

In May, 1963, CORE assigned Spiver Gordon as a task force worker to assist me in voter registration and to lay ground work for extensive voter registration summer projects which took place in the Sixth Congressional District from July 14 to August 25, 1963 with over 50 participants. A check of our records and of yours will show that the summer project have voter registration in the said district a great push.

After the project ended in August, 1963, from then to this day, 10 task force workers have been assigned to Louisiana to continue voter registration in the Sixth Congressional District and to expand activities into the Fifth Congressional District. With such limited manpower, finances, and transportation it is literally impossible to us to be in every parish every month and when we are not, in some parishes nothing is done. However, we try to work each month in as many parishes as possible.

Now, enough about the general impediments encountered in our voter registration endeavors in Louisiana. I could go on and discuss areas and personalities. However, I shall try to confine my subsequent remarks to reference to three areas of thought: (1) activities in the parishes you mentioned before March, 1962;

(2) parishes we have not been able to work and reasons why cannot and/or could not work them; and (3) what parishes involved in the 21 parish Federal decree we can work and parishes of the 21 we cannot work with the limited available resources. I shall try to deal with the above on a parish-by-parish basis.

East Baton Rouge: After corresponding with National CORE and VEP it was decided that voter registration could best be conducted in this parish by local people; namely the Second Ward Voters League (Acie Belton, President) and the local NAACP branch. I refer to the letter of Mr. Wiley Branton of August 13, 1963. Periodically, upon the request of local leaders, we send in workers to assist. I don't think that we should work this parish on a permanent basis because of antiCORE sentiment and split Negro Leadership, as well as numerous unethical political coalitions. Whenever the local leaders want us we go in to help as we did when we last reported on December 15, 1963. Prior to March, 1963, the same problems existed in the Negro community. The registrar, Jodie Smith has never changed. He is considered by some as a liberal registrar.

East and West Feliciana Parishes: Prior to March, 1963 there were no Negroes registered in West Feliciana Parish and less that 72 Negroes registered in East Feliciana. Of course, from Oct. 17 to Nov. 7, 1963 we managed to get 13 Negroes registered out of 67 applicants. In East Feliciana prior to March, 1963 there was a purge which took over 1,500 Negroes off the registration rolls.

Federal suits are pending against the registrar, Fletcher Harvey, in West Feliciana and Earl Palmer in East Feliciana. As the result of the Federal suits filed individually against the registrars and the 21 parish Federal decree, these registrars and the 21 parish Federal decree, these registrars have closed their doors to registering anyone. We have sent numerous persons to registration offices in both parishes since Nov. 7, 1963, and the registrars will accept neither white nor black applicants. The Justice Department is trying to force the registrars to accept applicants. When the Justice Department gets the registrars to accept applicants, then registration progress will begin once again in these parishes.

Plaquemines and St. Bernard Parishes: We have only done scouting in these parishes and cannot work them because of geographic location, staff limitations, and fear of severe economic and physical reprisals by the local people. Mary Hamilton, who is no longer in Louisiana, is responsible for this area.

West Baton Rouge: As in East Baton Rouge, CORE should only periodically work because the same conditions exist.

Ouachita: Due to parish elections, registration books were closed for April and several other weeks, but reopened on May 18, 1964. In this parish, the registrar, Mrs. Mae Lucky, is very technical. The Justice Department has filed a suit against her and the local Federal judge has given both sides 120 days to file briefs. No relief is forseeable at the present moment here.

Iberville, St. Helena, Pointe Coupee, Tangipahoa, and Ascension: These parishes are ripe for voter registration and we are doing our best to get people registered. However, we have problems of apathy, Uncle Tom leadership, limited community support, etc., but we are making progress.

We are still doing our best to establish community roots in Washington Parish.

In Ouachita Parish we shall continue to use as a base for north Louisiana voter registration activities Monroe, expanding (retroactive May 1, 1964) to Jackson, Union, Morehouse, Richland, Madison and Franklin Parishes. We periodically check on Tensas Parish because local people don't want us to work there on a large scale and definitely they don't want us there working openly.

We cannot work Avoyelles, Bienville, East Carroll, Rapides, St. Landry, West Carroll, and Webster because of these reasons: (1) geographic location; (2) quality of our contacts; and (3) community attitudes towards CORE, and, most importnant, because of limited manpower, transportation, and finances.

21 Parish Decision: The parishes involved which we'll be able to work are those named on our enclosed parish assignments for the same reasons that we cannot work the other parishes previously discussed.

However, let me point out that although these 21 registrars are not using the old and new constitutional tests, registration is still difficult because they are blocking applicants for technical errors on the application forms. No significant change has been made in voter registration because of this decision.

I am enclosing several scouting reports which may help you understand our position.

According to our records, your office should have reports for:

Ouachita Parish: 2/164 - 3/31/64
St. Helena: 2/1/64 - 3/31/64
Tensas: 2/1/64 -3/31/64
Iberville: 2/1/64 - 3/31/64

April reports have been sent to you for Pointe Coupee, Iberville, Ascension, and St. Helena. Our April field reports have already been mailed to you by way of National CORE in New York. I am enclosing our recent staff assignments and scouting reports recently submitted by staff.

We shall do our best to send you a detailed statistical and narrative report on each parish worked or visited every month. However as you probably know, writing of reports is a problem for field workers.

I hope that these comments have thrown some light on the questions at hand. For additional information, please write us again. I know you will.

By the way, May should be a fruitful month for voter registration in our area.

Very truly yours,

Ronnie M. Moore
Field Secretary, CORE

cc: Richard Haley
Marvin Rich
James T. McCain

PRESENT STAFF ASSIGNMENTS

STAFF	AREA	REMARKS
Mike Lesser	Fifth District:	One car leased by CORE
Henry Brown	Ouachita	
Claudia Edwards	Jackson	
Thomas Richardson	Madison	
(volunteer)	Union	
	Morehouse	
	Richland	
	Franklin	
	Tensa (periodic checking)	
Howard Messing	Sixth District	One car leased by CORE
Mimi Feingold	Iberville	
Loria Davis	Pointee Coupee	
Tom Valentine	East Feliciana	
Spiver Gordon	West Feliciana	
Lawrence Mitchell	St. Tammany	
	St. Helena	
	Ascension	
	Washington	
	Tangipahoa	
	Livingston	

[1964, June 27]

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT REPORT

ORGANIZATION: CORE
306 Ivey Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana

PERSON REPORTING: Ronnie Moore

PERIOD COVERED: June 1 to June 25, 1964

DATE SUBMITTED: June 27, 1964

PARISH	CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT	NUMBER REGISTERED AS A RESULT OF THIS PROGRAM
Tangipahoa	6	35
St. Helena	6	44
East Feliciana	6	4
West Feliciana	6	8
Iberville	6	97
Pointe Coupee	6	33
Ascension	6	41
Jackson	5	38
Ouachita	5	17

June 18, 1964

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
Mr. Wiley Branton
5 Forsyth Street, Room 502
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Wiley:

Enclosed are the VEP Reports for February and March.

Reports for East and West Feliciana were not submitted because the books are closed due to the twenty-one (21) parish suit.

Yours truly,

Lawrence A. Mitchell Jr.

cc: Jim T. McCain
Enclosures

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

July 10, 1964

Mr. Ronnie Moore
306 Ivey Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana

RE: VEP 3-5

Dear Mr. Moore:

We appreciate all of the information contained in your recent lengthy letter to us, and the subsequent reports forwarded both from your office and the CORE office in New York. It is still unclear, however, just which parishes you are serving on a regular scheduled basis, and which ones you only visit occasionally.

We have received no reports which cover activities for the month of June. It would be helpful to us if you could forward these reports to us immediately. It would also be extremely helpful to us if you would use the reporting forms which we sent to you at the beginning of your current program instead of the forms which you have been using for some time.

In addition to the statistical reports, we would hope your final report would include some narrative evaluation of your experiences in each of the parishes for which you assumed responsibility.

Very truly yours,

Barbara I. Whitaker

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Research Assistant

BIW:js

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

July 17, 1964

Mr. Ronnie Moore
306 Ivey Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana

RE: VEP 3-5

Dear Mr. Moore:

I am enclosing three progress reports you sent to us back in June because there is some question in my mind as to whether these reports are all for Iberville Parish or not.

Would you clear up this matter for me so that my records can be accurate and correct?

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Barbara I Whitaker

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker

BIW:js

Encls. 3

306 Ivey St.
Plaquemine, La.
July 20, 1964

(Mrs.) Barbara I. Whitaker
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Whitaker:

I am returning the three progress reports that you sent back to us for clarification. The clarifying changes are written in on the report sheets. Sorry for the delay.

Yours for freedom,

Ronnie M. Moore
Field Sec. Core

RMM/jpw

COPY

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

July 21, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: All Participating Agencies

From: Wiley A. Branton

Re: Voter Registration Film "Right Now"

Mr. Robert Newman, of the United Church Board for Homeland Ministries in New York has produced a voter registration film which concerns itself with the problem of registration of Negroes in the South, and what is being done to combat this situation in one particular community - Savannah, Georgia.

The production details on this film are as follows:
28 minutes; 16 mm; color; sound; title, "Right Now."

The Voter Education Project has invested in the purchase of several prints of this film, and it is available for free distribution to our participating agencies, as long as we have copies available. It is felt by everyone here at VEP that this film will be a great help in motivating individuals to not only register themselves, but to also help in getting others registered.

If you are interested in obtaining a copy, or copies, for your use, please write to us and let us know. After viewing the film in your particular community, we would appreciate your sharing with us your evaluation of it. We have prepared a memorandum concerning suggested narration that can be used at the beginning and at the conclusion of the film which can be enlarged upon as you see fit. Although this film is being made available to you, it remains the property of VEP.

WAB

js

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
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COrtlandt 7-6270

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STAFF
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program director
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

STATISTICAL AND VOTER REGISTRATION INFORMATION

PERIOD: June 1, 1964--August 31, 1964

The voter registration books were opened from June 1 to June 25, 1964.

Books are closed from June 26 to July 26, 1964--30 days prior to the first Democratic primary for state and federal election.

Books will be opened -- July 27, 28, & 29 when we expect to flood the office of 9 or more registrars in 9 or more parishes and expect to net over 500 registered voters.

From July 29 -- August 29, Books will be closed prior to the second Democratic primary.

Field reports will be sent to you on or about August 3, 1964.

Yours for freedom,

Ronnie M. Moore

Ronnie M. Moore,
Field Secretary, CORE

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

August 4, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: All Participating Agencies

From: Wiley A. Branton, Project Director

Staff Changes:

We regret to announce the resignation of Randolph T. Blackwell as Field Director, who has joined the SCLC staff, and of Barbara Whitaker, Research Assistant, who is now working for Emory University.

We are pleased to announce the addition of two new research assistants to the VEP staff in the persons of Mrs. Jane Bond Moore and Mr. Joe L. Tucker. All progress or field reports should be addressed to the Voter Education Project rather than to any individual.

Request for Information:

VEP is compiling information as to the racial composition of registered voters in precinct or ward. Will you please assist us by sending the following information:

1. Number and name of each voting precinct or ward in your city and county.
2. Give the number or percentage of white and colored voters in each precinct.

Note: We would prefer official figures, but if this is not possible, then give us your best estimate.

We would also appreciate your sending VEP the following news articles from your local papers between now and November 10, 1964:

1. Articles concerning registration programs or registration figures, and particularly those pertaining to Negro registration anywhere in your state.

2. Information concerning Negro candidates.

3. Information concerning any political race where the racial issue is involved in the campaign, or where Negro groups have expressed special interest.

4. Election results following any of the races described in paragraph 3.

Note: If you send the entire newspaper, then please mark the articles of interest. If you cut out the article, then please write the date and name of newspaper at top of article.

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

October 8, 1964

Mr. Marvin Rich
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

RE: VEP 4-10

Dear Mr. Rich:

Mr. Branton has asked me to remind you that as the deadline for registration in the general election is over in Louisiana, we will be expecting the final narrative report from the CORE project there no later than October 28th.

If you have any questions or comments, please don't hesitate to get in touch.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane Bond Moore
Research Assistant

✓

cc: Mr. Ronnie Moore
P.O. General Delivery
Louise Street Branch
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

① Final Report
② Further information
③

Send copy to Marvin Rich

file

Ronnie M. Moore
CORE
Louise Street Post Office
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
October 16, 1964

Mrs. Jane Bond Moore
Voter Education Project
Room 206
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Moore:

The final narrative report on our Louisiana project, requested in you letter of October 8, 1964, has been forwarded to you by way of our national office.

We would be happy to send you any further information directly, if you have specific questions in mind.

Sincerely yours,

RM Moore

Ronnie M. Moore

cc. Marvin Rich
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

RMM/jmj

[1964, Dec 12]

Date ____________________________

Dear ______________________________:

We in the Capital Voter's League along with others who have been involved in the Field of politics and Voter Registration in the 6th Congressional District, have come to the conclusion that there is a great need for unification and some coordination among the many fine organizations and civic minded individuals in the 6th Congressional District.

The Capital Voter's League has been working in conjunction with the Congress of Racial Equality, and both organizations are dedicated to political action and political organization such as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

The only way that an effective challenge of the existing political system in Louisiana can take place is as the result of an organized program and cooperation between groups.

We wish to invite you to a meeting of the leaders of the 6th Congressional District. The purpose of the meeting will be to promote some type of cooperation among leaders, to establish a District wide system for registering the many Negro citizens of voting age, and to develop a program in the district for improving conditions politically, economically, educationally, etc.

Your attendence is of upmost importance. It is only through serious dedicated cooperation and leadership that our goals can be achieved.

The meeting will be at St. Mark's Methodist Church, Rev. W. T. Handy, Pastor, on Saturday, December 12, at 12:30 p.m. Enclosed is an agenda of the meeting.

Sincerely,

Herbert Bell

Herbert Bell, President
Capital Voters League

Enclosure
HB/jmj

1

apparently c. April, 1964

NORTH FLORIDA SUMMER REGISTRATION PROJECT

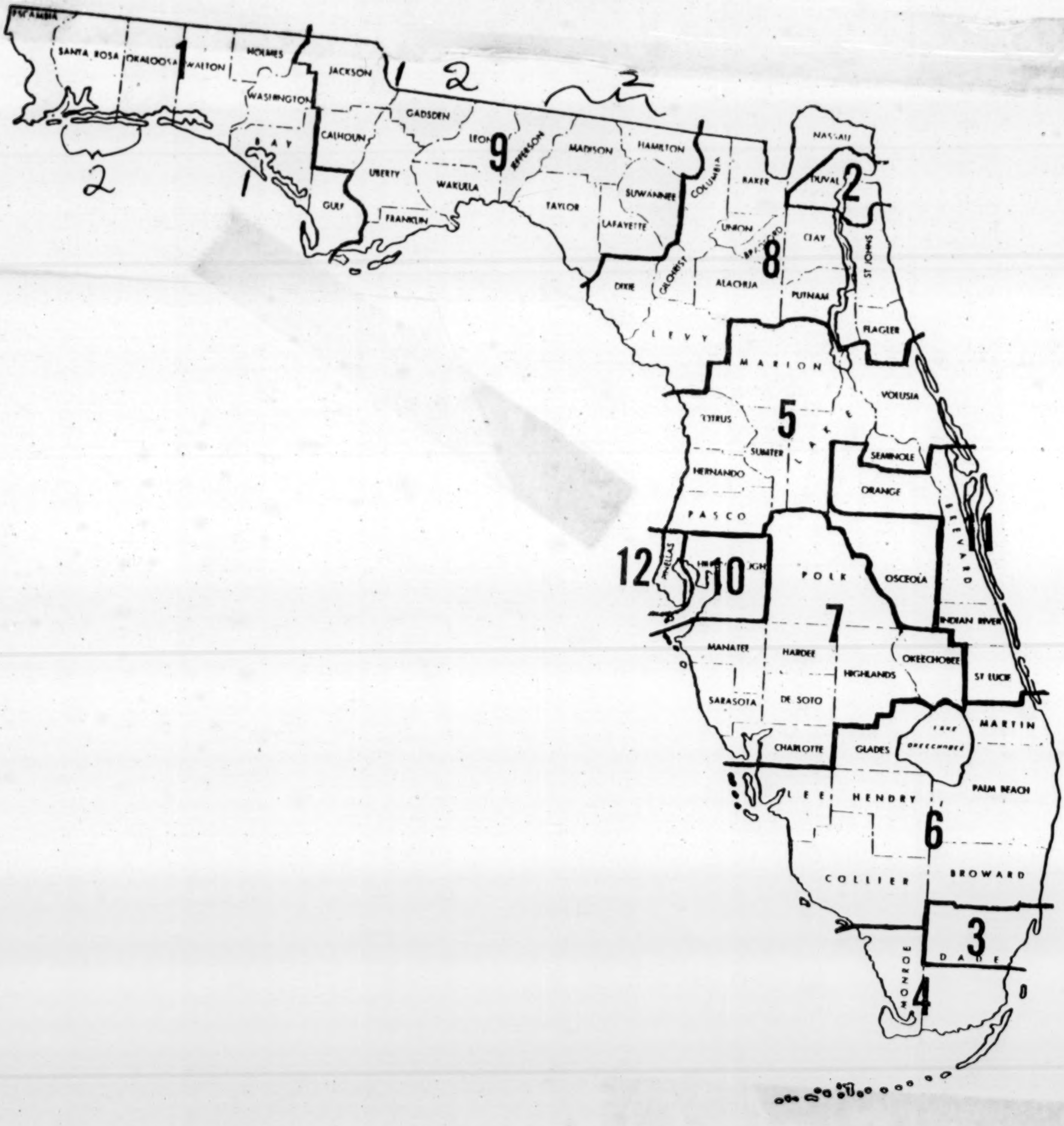
Revision

For the sake of maximum efficiency during the summer registration period, the number of counties suggested for inclusion in the project has been cut from 16 to 8. Thus, although half of the original counties will not benifit from a registration campaign, the total number of potential registrants who will not benifit is only 2,959. Due to increased registration in all 16 counties the potential total for all 16 is 29, 759, while the registration potential for the eight now under consideration is 26, 800. The original total potential of 33,044 was calculated before the latest registration figures were available to us. In conclusion we feel that by including only those counties with significant potentials we gain much by dropping eight from the point of view of efficiency and lose very little from the point of view of total effect.

1. Geographic areas

On page two of this report is a map of Florida with the counties under consideration marked in yellow. Beginning at the West with Escambia and Okaloosa, we have indicated at least 2 staff. Escambia has 6,966 unregistered Negroes while Okaloosa has 959. We would suggest then that the two staff live in Escambia (Pensacola) County to begin with, working both counties together. Later, because of the greater work involved in Escambia, both could devote most of their time their with one person detaching himself when necessary to work in Okaloosa county.

STATE OF FLORIDA


ESCAMBIA
SANTA ROSA
OKALOOSA
WALTON
HOLMES
WASHINGTON
BAY
1
2
1
JACKSON
CALHOUN
GULF
1
2
2
GADSDEN
LEON
LIBERTY
WAKULLA
FRANKLIN
JEFFERSON
9
MADISON
HAMILTON
TAYLOR
SUWANNEE
LAFAYETTE
COLUMBIA
BAKER
NASSAU
DUVAL
2
UNION
BRADFORD
CLAY
ST JOHNS
8
DIXIE
GILCHRIST
ALACHUA
PUTNAM
FLAGLER
LEVY
MARION
VOLUSIA
CITRUS
5
LAKE
SUMTER
SEMINOLE
HERNANDO
ORANGE
PASCO
BREVARD
11
12
PINELLAS
10
POLK
OSCEOLA
INDIAN RIVER
7
MANATEE
HARDEE
HIGHLANDS
OKEECHOBEE
ST LUCIE
SARASOTA
DE SOTO
MARTIN
CHARLOTTE
GLADES
LAKE OKEECHOBEE
LEE
HENDRY
PALM BEACH
6
COLLIER
BROWARD
3
DADE
MONROE
4

Jackson and Bay counties, with a total potential of 3, 498 would also begin with two persons working both counties. After acquainting the communities with the program, one staff would locate permenently in Jackson county and one in Bay. They should probably live in Marianna (Jackson) in the beginning. As with the Escambia-Okaloosa combination, the Bay-Jackson area represents a county (Escambia and Bay) in each area with a relatively large town and somewhat cosmopolitan and a more agrarian community (for the other county).

Gadsden County, due to its high number of unregistered Negroes, should have at least 2 staff who remain in that county during the entire project. (10,836 unregistered).

The Jefferson-Madison-Suwanne area should have at least two staff. Madison (the town of) would be a good central point for these staff to begin in, being no farther than 25 miles from the county seat of the other two counties.

Staff

We have suggested here that there be eight field staff for these counties. For maximum effectiveness there should also be a Field Secretary who could help in all areas with information and be free to coordinate activities. If this is not possible, it would probably be best to have 7 field staff with the Field Secretary living in Gadsden County (which is central) and helping with the program there also.

Central Office

It would be necessary for the project to have one central office in Quincy where the Field Secretary could work in order to coordinate the distribution of materials and where field staff could make contact with operations. Quincy seems the best place for a number of reasons. First, the office could serve as a center both for the entire project and the Gadsden County project in which nearly half of the unregistered voters are. Second, the office we are now using is free. It would be necessary to install a private phone because the phone there now belongs to Rev. Crutcher, and we might interfere with his living conditions severely. Also, his phone is a four party line which has its limitations. We should also be prepared to give a small sum, perhaps $15 a month to him for the utilities and use of his bathroom. In this way he can continue to justify our use of the office to his parishoners, who support it now.

Other offices

It is very possible, that as in Leon County, a registration office could be set up in the other areas, supported by the communities themselves. These offices, however, would not come under the expenses of the project itself.

Transportation

For maximum mobility and effectiveness it would be helpful if there were a car for each county area--one for Escambia-Okaloosa, one for Jackson-Bay, and one for Jefferson-Madison-Suwanne. In Gadsden County there are a number of teenagers and adults willing to drive staff most of the time, and one man will loan his car any time it is really necessary, even for long trips. The field secretary should have a car.

Gas and other transportation

Based on our experience here, total transportation costs either in the form of gas or **bus** run about $15 per week per person. This includes most repairs, except unforeseen major repairs, which have run about $100 per car for four months--although I can't remember earlier repairs. This figure would vary of course, particularly after the project gets well under way.

Supplies

Suuplies such as stamps, paper, etc., not used directly for county projects but in correspondance with other staff, etc., seem to run around $2 per person per week. The community would be expected, of course, to provide paper, etc., for leaflets and other projects in the specific county.

Occasional emergency telephone calls will undoubtedly occur. With good coordination however, these calls should not exceed $80/month. It would probably be the case that these calls would be to or from the Quincy office. Unless large amounts of funds could be collected in Gadsden County or from occasional benifits in Leon County, we should expect that the project be prepared to bear this cost.

Lenth of Project

The expected length of this project is from around the 5th of June to the 5th of September. All calculations are based on this period.

Tentative Schedule

Assuming that the staff could be in Tallahassee around the 5th of June, it seems necessary to have about a week here of staff orientation. Housing (free) could be arranged for all staff, with perhaps a number of free or inexpensive meals provided by the community. We would cover the following:

1. orientation to Florida--North Florida particularly
2. registration figures and developments in counties under consideration.
3. geographic orientation.
4. politcal orientation--which candidates have Negroes generally supported in these counties and why.
5. social and economic problems for Negroes in these counties
6. a comprehensive orientation in registration project techniques--canvassing, block work, mass meetings, posters, bumper stickers.--Mr. Hunter, etc.
6. Good sources for interesting speakers throughout state
7. Fund raising--such as musical benifits--Mrs. Shaw
8. How to handle funds -Mr. Sorey
9. participation in community--attending churches, other meetings and events of interest to community

10. involving teenagers
11. non-violence in voter registration
12. what to do in case of arrest and how to use it most effectively.
13. reports to field secretary and expense reports, etc., to national office.

After this period of training staff would go to their various areas. For the first four weeks there would be a staff meeting once a week, probably in Gadsden County or Leon County, with Field Secretary visiting each group of staff during the week. After the first month one staff meeting every two weeks would probably be sufficient with frequent visits from Field Secretary. These meetings would be useful in sharing problems and solutions, getting new materials and renewing the feeling of being a part of a large total effort.

It is very likely that as the project progresses some staff would be shifted in either area or emphasis, as suggested earlier.

COST OF PROJECT

		Subtotal	Total
Staff:	8 Task Force for 3 months @$10 0/month	2,400	
	1 Field Sec. for 3 months @$ 400/month	1,200	
		3,600	3,600
Central Office:			
	Utilities for 3 months @ $15/month	45	
	base cost phone and long distance for three months @$90/month	270	
	coordinating supplies for 3 months @$30/month (includes area leaflets when unavailable from community)	90	
	Mimeograph machine	50	
		455	455
Transportation:			
	$60/month per person for 3 months	1,620	
	$100/4 cars repairs	400	
		2,020	2,020
Project supplies for staff:			
	$2/week per person for 3 months	216	216
Miscillanious:		500	500
Bond reserve for arrests:		1,000	1,000
Cost of intial training session and eight subsequent conferences: @ approx. $15/////////////// per one day sessions and $75 for initial		195	195
			$7,986

NON-WHITE REGISTRATION STATISTICS--1964--COMPARATIVE

COUNTY	ELIGIBLE	REGISTERED	% REGISTERED	REG. POTENTIAL
Escambia (Pensacola)	18,041	11,075	61.5	6,966
Okaloosa (Crestview)	2,097	1,138	54.1	959
Bay (Panama City)	4,964	3,473	70.0	1,491
Jackson (Marianna)	5,390	3,382	62.7	2,008
Gadsden (Quincy)	12,261	1,425	11.5	10,836
Jefferson (Monticello)	2,600	636	24.5	1,962
Madison (Madison)	3,067	1,602	52.2	1,465
Suwannee (Live Oak)	2,159	1,046	48.4	1,113
				26,800

STAFF ORIENTATION
NORTH FLORIDA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT
July 7—July 11 [1964]
Quincy, Florida

July 7 (Tuesday)

8:00 A.M.	Breakfast
9:30	Get Acquainted session (background of each staff—5 minutes each)
10:30	History and Philosophy of CORE.
11:30	Florida politics and racial situation.
12:00	Lunch
1:30	North Florida Citizenship Education Project—background and plan.
2:30	break
3:00	Registration techniques—canvassing, block work, meetings, posters, etc.
5:00	break
5:15	Dinner
8:00	Get acquainted session with Gadsden County Steering Committee.

July 8 (Wednesday)

8:00 A.M.	Breakfast
9:30	Registration problems in general in Florida.
10:30	Specific problems in counties involved (representatives speak)
12:00	Lunch
1:30	Social and Economic Problems for Negroes
2:30	break
3:00	Role playing to review previous material.
5:00	break
5:15	Dinner
7:00	Community participation—churches, schools, civic groups, etc.

July 9 (Thursday)

8:00 A.M.	Breakfast
9:30	Discussion and Summary.
10:00	Song Fest
12:00	Lunch
1:30	Group Discipline
2:30	break
3:00	Special Problems in Gadsden County.
5:00	break
5:15	Dinner
7:00	What to do in case of arrest.
8:00	Funds

cont.

July 10 (Friday)

8:00 A.M.	Breakfast.
9:30	Briefing on Quincy.
10:00	Field in Gadsden County.
12:00	Lunch
1:00	Field Reports.
2:00	Field in Gadsden County
5:15	Dinner
7:00	Discussion of Field Activities.

July 11 (Saturday)

8:00 A.M.	Breakfast
9:30	What to include in reports.
10:30	What to expect in communities (room, board, etc.)
12:00	Lunch
1:30	Expense reports.
2:30	Keeping in touch with the central office.
3:30	break
4:00	Begin Discussion of rules for task force workers.
5:00	break
5:15	Dinner
7:00	Continuation of rules for task force workers.
8:00	Review of entire program--next staff meeting plans.
9:00	Materials issued and explained.

July 12 (Sunday)

Leave for assigned area.

STAFF QUALIFICATIONS, REGULATIONS AND CONDUCT
North Florida Citizenship Education Project

1. Persons under 21 years of age must have written permission of their parents or legal guardian. This must be notorized and attached.

2. All staff are on 24 hour call. They must be willing to work at any time and in any place; they must accept transfers if necessary.

3:

3. Staff are responsible for obtaining room and board. Subsistence housing and board conditions are the rule rather than the exceptions on such a project.

4. Staff must make adjustments to their particular communities. Personal appearance should at all times be acceptable, neat and clean. Appropriate dress and behavior for church and other functions is required of all staff.

5. Staff members are expected to work constantly, to maintain high moral standards, and not to engage in outside activities which are not in the best interests of the project. The community judges you 24 hours a day.

6. It is understood that voter registration work in North Florida can be dangerous.

7. Persons bringing automobiles to be used on the project will fully expect that National CORE will only be liable for minor repairs or for repairs of damage incurred in the line of duty.

8. It should be clearly understood that staff may have to make personal arrangements for bond in case of arrest. The standard for the summer is "no bail for jail". No guarantee can be made that all participants will be out of jail by the end of the project.

9. CORE philosophy and methods will be followed in every circumstance, and staff must be willing to submit to group discipline and the project director's
10. authority.

10. Persons who cannot adjust to the requirements of the project will be removed from the project immediately by the person or persons in charge.

SCHEDULE

July 7th	Meet in Quincy for training to run through July 11.
July 12	Go to assigned area.
Sept. 7	Close of project.

. . . .

I HAVE READ THE ABOVE QUALIFICATIONS, REGULATIONS AND RULES OF CONDUCT FOR THE CORE NORTH FLORIDA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT. I AGREE TO ADHERE TO THE ABOVE AND TO ACCEPT THE DISCIPLINE SUGGESTED.

______________________________ (name) ____________ (date)

POPULATION STATISTICS *

COUNTY	NEGRO	WHITE	TOTAL POPULATION	NEGRO POP. AS % OF TOTAL POP.
Bay	9,894	57,080	67,131	15%
Okaloosa	3,972	56,979	61,175	07%
Escambia	35,856	137,425	173,829	20%
Suwannee	4,064	10,888	14,961 ✓	27%
Madison	6,723	7,430	14,154 ✓	47%
Jefferson	5,641	3,901	9,543 ✓	59%
Jackson	11.232	24,966	36,208	30%
Gadsden	24,944	17,038	41,989 ✓	59%

* As of 1962 Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of Florida Counties

NON-WHITE REGISTRATION STATISTICS - - COMPARATIVE *

COUNTY	ELIGIBLE	REGISTERED		% REGISTERED		REG. POTENTIAL
		1963	1964	1963	1964	
Bay (Panama City)	4,964	3,246	3,473	65.4	70.0	1,491
Okaloosa (Crestview)	2,097	899	1,138	42.9	54.1	959
Escambia (Pensacola)	18,041	10,827	11,075	60.0	61.5	6,966
Suwanne (Live Oak)	2,159	610	1,046	28.3	48.4	1,465
Madison (Madison)	3,067	1,147	1,602	37.4	52.2	1,465
Jefferson (Monticello)	2,600	443	638	17.0	24.5	1,962
Jackson (Marianna)	5,390	3,602	3,382	66.8	62.7	2,008
Gadsden (Quincy)	12,261	452	1,425	3.5	11.5	10,836

1963: Nov. 5 1964: April 4

INCOME

The per capita income of Florida's counties in 1960 varied from $3,136 (in Hendry County) to $783 (in Calhoun County). Every county included in the North Florida Citizenship Education Project is below the state average.

Source: Bureau of Economic and Business Research. University of Florida.

COUNTY	PER CAPITA INCOME 1959	1960	1961	rank in state (1960)
Bay	$1,724	$ 1,529	$1,657	31st
Okaloosa	1,695	1,863	1,707	19th
Escambia	1,872	1,919	1,875	13th
Suwannee	1,247	1,215	1,238	45th
Madison	990	993	962	59th
Jefferson	1,176	1,998	1,066	57th
Jackson	1,126	1,134	1,162	52nd
Florida	1,960	1,985	1,990	

POLITICS*

COUNTY	BURNS	HIGH
Bay	13,971	3,293
Okaloosa	11,932	1,883
Escambia	33,817	9,914
Suwannee	4,234	921
Madison	3,160	926
Jefferson	1,929	628
Jackson	7,704	2,129
Gadsden	4,492	1,227

The above election results refer to the May 25th run-off election for governor. The winner of this Democratic primary has always been assured of victory in the general election. Burns, Mayor of Jacksonville, ran on a segregationist platform and a generally conservative program. His two main issues were High being an NAACP candidate and his own success in business. High ran on a moderate platform, agreed to enforce the civil rights bill, and showed symptoms of liberalism in other areas. He was strongly supported by Negroes and civil rights groups.

WHAT TO DO IF ARRESTED

I. At the police station you should demand the right to complete one phone call.

Make this call to someone who can notify the necessary people listed below. Example:

1. Pat Due - MA 7-8458 (Quincy) at night or if necessary daytime.
2. Pat Due - MA 7-7244 (Quincy) daytime
3. Someone you have confidence in, in your area (This person should have a copy of this information sheet.)

The above person who is contacted should notify whomever of the following are necessary:

1. Carl Rachlin CO 7-6270 (New York City) General Council for CORE
2. Florida Civil Liberties Union -- Tobias Simon (or Herbert Heiken)
   FR 7-4627 (Miami, Fla)
3. NAACP Legal Defense Fund:
   Earl Johnson in Jacksonville
   Charles Wilson in Pensacola
4. Lawyer's Constitutional Defense Committee
   VA 9-3126 (St. Augustine, Fla)
5. FBI in Tallahassee, Jacksonville, and or Washington D.C.
6. Press Releases

II. If a police officer tells you to get in his car or follow him to the station ask "Am I under arrest?" Even if the officer says "NO", if he tells you you'd better do as he says, then you ARE under arrest.

Ask what the charges are.

Let the police know that you know your rights.

Ask for a lawyer. Remember, you are entitled to counsel of your own choosing. (NOTE: A Supreme Court Decision this month says that you may not legally be interrogated without your lawyer being present)

As stated above, you are entitled to COMPLETE one phone call. Demand this right, if necessary.

If you are arraigned without having a lawyer, when told to plead guilty or innocent, do not plead. Say "I stand mute" or "I refuse to plead."

III. Let people know where you are!

When going someplace, especially out of town, it is a good idea to call and let someone know you are coming. When you get there you should call the place you left from and let them know you arrived at your destination. If you are more than thirty minutes late arriving or making your phone call and you have not called in then someone at each end of your trip should notify the police, FBI, etc. It may be well to use a code for this type of telephoning.

IV. When followed, intimidated, or when a car prowls around your house, record the license number of that vehicle. Notify the police and FBI of the incident and tell them the license number and brief description of the car. Also, keep a permanent record of such incidents.

FIELD REPORT
NORTH FLORIDA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT
(every two weeks four copies to Quincy office)

NAME Johnny Lee Watson

DATES COVERED 7/13/64- 7/20/64

COUNTY Gadsden

I. HARASSMENT (detailed information for FBI) We have been constantly followed by the police and other whites. Whites have fired shots at Negroes in their yard. They also have burned two crosses, one in front of my house and one in front of the Chicken Shack. Some whites let the air out of our cars tires. There have also been threatening calls to Mrs. Due and the Crutcher's.

II. COMPLAINTS ABOUT REGISTRATION PROCESS (for Justice Dept)

The registrars office is only open on Monday's from 9:00 P. M. until 12:00 noon and from 2:00 P. M. until 5:00 P. M. The lady registers are rather rude to Negroes who want to register.

III. PEOPLE CONTACTED (List by method, such as meetings, canvassing, telephone etc.)

(EXAMPLE)

MEANS	NUMBER OF PEOPLE
1. Canvassing	Approximately 300
2. Factories	Approximately 50
3. Choir Unions	Approximately 50
4. Churches	" 125

IV. NUMBER OF PEOPLE AGREEING TO REGISTER 200.

V. ACTUAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE TAKEN TO REGISTER 60.

VI. APROXIMATE NUMBER OF PEOPLE REGISTERED DURING THIS PERIOD 175.

VII. NUMBER OF PEOPLE REFUSING TO COOPERATE. (List their reasons)

Four--- They didn't want to bother with it because they couldn't read and write and didn't want their name on anything.

VIII. TOTAL NUMBER REGISTERED TO DATE ~~1650~~ 175.

FIELD REPORT
NORTH FLORIDA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT
(every two weeks four copies to Quincy office)

NAME Bruce Huston & Mike Geison

DATES COVERED July 13-20, 1964

COUNTY Madison

I. HARASSMENT (detailed information for FBI)

On July 14, we were stopped and questioned by patrolman Norman Herndon of the Madison city Police. July 15, I, Bruce Huston was stopped and questioned in a hostile manner by deputy sheriff Edward Porter. Reports of these two incidents have been sent to the FBI in both Washington and Tallahassee and to Patricia Due.

II. COMPLAINTS ABOUT REGISTRATION PROCESS (for Justice Dept)

Normally the registration books in Madison are open all day Friday and Saturday morning. However, we have been told that the Supervisor of Registration, A .E. Ragans, has been ill for at least three weeks . and that during this time the registration books have not been open. Mrs. Ragans who is supposed to be deputy registrar is also ill, we are told. No one, including Mr. Ragan's son, seems to know where Mr. Ragans is or when he will return. (Cont'd at bottom of page)

III. PEOPLE CONTACTED (List by method, such as meetings, canvassin , telephone etc.)

(EXAMPLE)

	MEANS	NUMBER OF PEOPLE
1.	canvassing	246
2.	NAACP meeting	10
3.	Steering committee meeting	15
4.	two church meetings	50

IV. NUMBER OF PEOPLE AGREEING TO REGISTER 37.

V. ACTUAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE TAKEN TO REGISTER 0.

VI. APROXIMATE NUMBER OF PEOPLE REGISTERED DURING THIS PERIOD 0.

VII. NUMBER OF PEOPLE REFUSING TO COOPERATE. (List their reasons)

11 - one man was too old, but most were simply complasant

VIII. TOTAL NUMBER REGISTERED TO DATE ~~1502~~ 0.

(cont'd from II)
At our request a local white citizen, Mr. Bill Mack Hendry, made inquiries concerning Mr. Ragans, but was unable to obtain any information. Mr. Hendry is presently trying to get in touch with State Senator Gibson concerning this, but Mr. Gibson is out of town. Today, July 20, we visited the county judge, but he said there is noone, except Mr. Ragans or the Governor of Fla. who can appoint a deputy registrar.

FIELD REPORT
NORTH FLORIDA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT
(**every two weeks** four copies to Quincy office)

NAME Elinor Horner, Doris Rutledge

DATES COVERED July 13- July 19

COUNTY Suwannee

I. HARASSMENT (detailed information for FBI) We were originally livingwith a Mrs Brown,6278.Houston. We arrived late on the 13. By evening of the 14,she said that we had to leave because she was scared. We couldn't get any specific information from her. At one point she said that she had been told by a Negro policeman that it was against the law for us to live there. We contacted him on the 15 and he denied this. On the 15, Mrs Brown received phone calls inquiring about our presence. She refused to give us any information about the identity of the caller(s) or about what happened on the 14. We moved out the evening of the 15. As far as we know, no one has bothered the people we are now staying with.

II. COMPLAINTS ABOUT REGISTRATION PROCESS (for Justice Dept)

III. PEOPLE CONTACTED (List by method, such as meetings, canvassing, telephone etc.)

(EXAMPLE)

	MEANS	NUMBER OF PEOPLE
1.		
2.	canvassing	100
3.	voters league meeting	20
4.	church	60
	talking to people(cafes, bars, on the streets) 130; Total 310	

IV. NUMBER OF PEOPLE AGREEING TO REGISTER 40.

V. ACTUAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE TAKEN TO REGISTER 4.

VI. APROXIMATE NUMBER OF PEOPLE REGISTERED DURING THIS PERIOD 4.

VII. NUMBER OF PEOPLE REFUSING TO COOPERATE. (List their reasons)

2- wouldn't even give name, and "not ready"

VIII. TOTAL NUMBER REGISTERED TO DATE 4.

FIELD REPORT
NORTH FLORIDA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT
(every two weeks four copies to Quincy office)

NAME Mike Geison & Bruce Huston

DATES COVERED July 26 thru August 1, 1964

COUNTY MADISON

I. HARASSMENT (detailed information for FBI)

NONE

II. COMPLAINTS ABOUT REGISTRATION PROCESS (for Justice Dept)

Registration books are only open one and a half days per week and according to the county commission records, from 1937 forward, this has not been authorized by the county commissioners. Furthermore, the registrar, Mr. A.E. Ragans, will not hire or us a volunteer for an additional deputy. Mr. Ragans himself only supervises, ie. sits and watches. He will not register anyone. If he would work, twice as many people could be registered in any given length of time.

III. PEOPLE CONTACTED (List by method, such as meetings, canvassing, telephone etc.)

(EXAMPLE)

	MEANS	NUMBER OF PEOPLE
1.	Canvassing	400
2.	bars & restaurants	50
3.	speaking	75
4.		

IV. NUMBER OF PEOPLE AGREEING TO REGISTER 150.

V. ACTUAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE TAKEN TO REGISTER 120.

VI. APROXIMATE NUMBER OF PEOPLE REGISTERED DURING THIS PERIOD 77(exactly).

~~25 said they would not register, not interested, useless, don't have time, etc.~~

VII. NUMBER OF PEOPLE REFUSING TO COOPERATE. (List their reasons) ~~About 66 people~~

25 said they would not register, not interested, useless, don't have time, etc. About 66 people finked out, broke promises and wouldn't go when transportation came

VIII. TOTAL NUMBER REGISTERED TO DATE 119. this project

1602 previously

TOTAL 1721

1346 left to register

FIELD REPORT
NORTH FLORIDA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT
(every two weeks four copies to Quincy office)

NAME Johnny Lee Watson

DATES COVERED July 28 - August 3, 1964

COUNTY Gadsden

I. HARASSMENT **(detailed information for FBI)**

The police and whites gathered at the city hall and took pictures. They also made a few minor arrests.

II. COMPLAINTS ABOUT REGISTRATION PROCESS **(for Justice Dept)**

The Registrar's is open only on Monday and the hours are from 9:00 - 12:00 and 2: 00 - 5:00 P. M.

III. PEOPLE CONTACTED **(List by method, such as meetings, canvassing, telephone etc.)**

(EXAMPLE)

	MEANS	NUMBER OF PEOPLE
1.	Canvassing	475
2.	Church Gathering	1,500
3.	Leafleting	500
4.		

IV. NUMBER OF PEOPLE AGREEING TO REGISTER 1000.

V. ACTUAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE TAKEN TO REGISTER 300.

VI. APROXIMATE NUMBER OF PEOPLE REGISTERED DURING THIS PERIOD 225.

VII. NUMBER OF PEOPLE REFUSING TO COOPERATE. **(List their reasons)**

There were only a few people plain right refuse. They refuse because of differences.

VIII. TOTAL NUMBER REGISTERED TO DATE ~~2100~~.

739

FIELD REPORT
NORTH FLORIDA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT
Route 3 Box 428-F
Quincy, Florida

(send 5 copies every week to the central office)

NAMES OF STAFF Stuart Wechsler, Scott McVoy, Steve McVoy, Johnny Watson, Ira Simmons

WEEK ENDING August 17, 1964

COUNTY Gadsden

I. HARRASSMENT. (brief notes)

Illegal rearrest of two whose cases had been removed. Threats to lives of farm canvassers (FBI notified)

II. COMPLAINTS ABOUT REGISTRATION PROCESS.

Coldwater signs plastered all over registration office.

III. PEOPLE CONTACTED (List by method, such as church, canvassing, leafleting, etc)

MEANS	NUMBER OF PEOPLE CONTACTED
1. Canvassing	350
2. churches	200
3. leafleting	2,000
4. mass meetings	300
5.	

IV. NUMBER OF PEOPLE AGREEING TO REGISTER 400

V. ACTUAL NUMBER TRANSPORTED BY WORKERS 75

VI. APPROXIMATE REGISTRATION THIS PERIOD 187

VII. NUMBER OF PEOPLE REFUSING TO COOPERATE 2 (REASONS BELOW)

politics is dirty

VIII. TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE REGISTERED DUE TO YOUR EFFORTS SINCE BEGINNING OF PROJECT 900

IX. TOTAL NEGRO POPULATION REGISTERED 2,300

X. REGISTRATION POTENTIAL 9,900

FIELD REPORT
NORTH FLORIDA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT
(every two weeks four copies to Quincy office)

NAME Bruce Huston & David Dukes

DATES COVERED August 17-23, 1964

COUNTY Madi son, Fla.

I. HARASSMENT (detailed information for FBI)

If I explained in detail our harrassment problems of this week, I think you would send us a staff psychiatrist. Details are in the hands of the lawyers in Tallahassee.

II. COMPLAINTS ABOUT REGISTRATION PROCESS (for Justice Dept)

Very very slow still.

III. PEOPLE CONTACTED (List by method, such as meetings, canvassing, telephone etc.)

(EXAMPLE)

	MEANS	NUMBER OF PEOPLE
1.	Canvassing	100
2.	Mass meeting	500
3.		600
4.		

IV. NUMBER OF PEOPLE AGREEING TO REGISTER 100.

V. ACTUAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE TAKEN TO REGISTER 50.

VI. APROXIMATE NUMBER OF PEOPLE REGISTERED DURING THIS PERIOD 75*.

VII. NUMBER OF PEOPLE REFUSING TO COOPERATE. (List their reasons)
4 The reasons are generally fear or apathy.

VIII. TOTAL NUMBER REGISTERED TO DATE 350*.

* Due to unavoidable tie-ups in t ransportation Saturday, we were unable to determine the exact number registered. We can obtain this informatio n next week by checking the numbers on the registration cards.

FIELD REPORT
NORTH FLORIDA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT
(every two weeks four copies to Quincy office)

NAME Bruce Huston

DATES COVERED 8/2-8/15

COUNTY Madison, Fla.

I. HARASSMENT (detailed information for FBI)

Police harrassment is now negligible. Private harassment includes the beating of Ned Taylor, a firebomb under Mike's car, and a mosquito bomb thrown at the house last Tuesday evening.

II. COMPLAINTS ABOUT REGISTRATION PROCESS (for Justice Dept)

III. PEOPLE CONTACTED (List by method, such as meetings, canvassing, telephone etc.)

(EXAMPLE)

	MEANS	NUMBER OF PEOPLE
1.	Canvassing	150
2.	Church meetings	150
3.	Other meetings	150
4.		450

IV. NUMBER OF PEOPLE AGREEING TO REGISTER 100.

V. ACTUAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE TAKEN TO REGISTER 50.

VI. APROXIMATE NUMBER OF PEOPLE REGISTERED DURING THIS PERIOD 156.

VII. NUMBER OF PEOPLE REFUSING TO COOPERATE. (List their reasons)
20- Most often the reason is apathy or that they just can't see the value of voting. A few have admitted that they were afraid.

VIII. TOTAL NUMBER REGISTERED TO DATE 275.

NORTH FLORIDA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT

Route 3 Box 428 - F
Quincy, Florida

Sponsored by CORE-Congress of Racial Equality
Telephone 627-8458

27 October 1964

Dear Ministers of Northern Florida:

As a fellow Minister and a Field Secretary of CORE on special assignment in your state working on Voter-Registration, I feel like Saint Paul, I long to meet each of you but time and space will not permit the same.

Please permit me to lay November 3rd on your hearts. The New Testament says, "Let us do good to all men, especially to those of the household of faith". This you and I must do on Election Day, Novemeber 3. We must help people to fulfill their Christian and American right-the right to vote for those who will rule over them.

WILL YOU HELP TO GET-OUT-THE-VOTE? I hope you have long made up your mind to do so. You and others can by doing the following:

1). Tell all citizens to VOTE and to carry others to the polls. It must be Johnson andnot Goldwater. Every vote counts for Negroes especially.

2). Use your cars to carry all you can to vote.

3). Help groups or others to arrange car-pools to run all day at certain stops to pick up persons. Make sure such stops are pre-announced!

4). Lift an offering this Sunday to assist in gas, food, many expenses since July to aid the Negroes and whites who have help to get over 5,000 new Negroes out to register. Mail or bring to above address. Thank you.

5). Ministers can vote early and remain at the polls to give silent support to others. Ladies can bring them lunches.

6). Let us join liberal whites in celebrating VICTORY on the evening of November 3 for Johnson and pray for the souls of Goldwater and Miller.

I appreciate your care, your concern, your cash for a better Florida. I am

Yours for "LBJ",

(Reverend) B. Elton Cox, Field Secretary of CORE and Director of NFCEP.

GET OUT AND VOTE FREEDOM RALLY
October 28, 1964
St. John A.M.E. Church

Mr. William Robinson, Master of Ceremonies

INVOCATION ....Rev. Daniels

SCRIPTURE..........................Rev. Farmer

SELECTION..........................Freedom Choir

GREETINGS..........................Mr. Johnny Watson
Miss Francina Moore
Rev. Edward Jones

SELECTION..........................Freedom Choir

REMARKS ON CITIZENSHIP.............Mr. Sim Wilson

POEM...............................Mrs. Daisy Barkley

THE NEXT SHERIFF OF GADSDEN COUNTY.......................Mr. Jewel J. Dixie

INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKER............Rev. J. T. Crutcher

SPEAKER............................Rev. B. Elton Cox

CLOSING REMARKS....................Rev. B. L. Mitchell

"WE SHALL OVERCOME"................Audience

* * * * * * * * * * *

REMEMBER TO VOTE ON NOVEMBER 3-- 7 a.m. to 7 p.m.

IF YOU WANT MORE INFORMATION ON VOTING, OR IF YOU NEED A RIDE TO THE POLLS, CALL 627-8458.

FREEDOM NOW---FREEDOM NOW---FREEDOM NOW---FREEDOM NOW---FREEDOM NOW

---

10). CORE Chapters in State of Florida, our relationships

11). National Office - New York
Southern Office - New Orleans
Project Office - Quincy, Florida

"Freedom House"
-Food
-Washing Clothes
-Cooking
-Cleanig

12). Legal "Arm" of Project

13). Personal rights and affairs
-Dress
- Rules of Project

14). Future of Project
-Areas we will work in as Education
Housing
Employment
Community Relations

15). New Field Secretary

16). New Task Force Workers

17). New Staff Assignments

18). How to program a Rally

19). ____________________

20). ____________________

FROM: B. Elton Cox

b. elton cox, Director and Field Secretary

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October 28, 1964
St, John A.M.E. Church

Mr. William Robinson, Master of Ceremonies

INVOCATION	Rev. Daniels
SCRIPTURE	Rev. Farmer
SELECTION	Freedom Choir
GREETINGS	Mr. Johnny Watson Miss Francina Moore Rev. Edward Jones
SELECTION	Freedom Choir
REMARKS ON CITIZENSHIP	Mr. Sim Wilson
POEM	Mrs. Daisy Barkley
THE NEXT SHERIFF OF GADSDEN COUNTY	Mr. Jewel J. Dixie
INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKER	Rev. J. T. Crutcher
SPEAKER	Rev. B. Elton Cox
CLOSING REMARKS	Rev. B. L. Mitchell
"WE SHALL OVERCOME"	Audience

* * * * * * * * * * *

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FREEDOM NOW---FREEDOM NOW---FREEDOM NOW---FREEDOM NOW---FREEDOM NOW

Freedom No. 4! now!

NORTH FLORIDA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT

29 October 1964 Quincy, Flordia

STAFF MEETING AGENDA

10:00 - 12:00 P. M.

B. Elton Cox, Field Secretary
and Director, Presiding

1). Greetings
2). Purpose of meeting
3). Approval of Agenda
4). History of CORE-Congress of Raciality Equality
5). Purpose of Project
6). Reports from each area and county
  - Madison County
  - Gadsden County
  - Chattahoochee
  - Jefferson County
  - Havana

7). Expenses:
  - Salaries
  - Rented Cars
  - Telephone Calls
  - Rented typewriters
  - Church rally money
  - Checking accounts
  - Expenses
  - Personal Cars
  - Monies
  - Office materials
  - Free gifts
8). Reports
  - Weekly expense
  - Monthy written
  - Weekly written
  - Other reports
9). Volunteers as aid on projects.

10). CORE Chapters in State of Florida, our relationships

11). National Office - New York
Southern Office - New Orleans
Project Office - Quincy, Florida "Freedom House"
  - Food
  - Washing Clothes
  - Cooking
  - Cleanig

12). Legal "Arm" of Project

13). Personal rights and affairs
  - Dress
  - Rules of Project

14). Future of Project
  - Areas we will work in as Education
    Housing
    Employment
    Community Relations

15). New Field Secretary

16). New Task Force Workers

17). New Staff Assignments

18). How to program a Rally

19). ____

20). ____

FROM: B. Elton Cox

b. elton cox, Director and Field Secretary

No 5.

I, Alfred Walker, did, on 17 October, 1964, Drive the 1964 Red Volkswagon, Licence No. 2E-1896, rented from National Car Rental System, and did on that date disconnect the speedometer cable, thus breaking the seal.

Alfred Walker
(Signed)

30 Oct. '64
DATE

Witnessed by:

Doris G. Rutledge

Sidney Daniels

Date: 30 October 1964

C.O.R.E.

FREEDOM RALLY

Rev. B. Elton Cox
CORE Field Secretary
High Point, North Carolina — SPEAKER

8pm this Friday (Oct. 31)
624 N.W. 2nd Street
Mt. Pleasant Church — TIME & PLACE

1. Hear the TRUTH about Barry Goldwater
2. Wear anything you want--this is a Freedom Rally!!!
3. Lincoln and G.H.S. Freedom Fighters needed !!

facts about Rev. Cox: Rev. Cox is pastor of a High Point church and serves CORE in the South. He has been arrested 17 times for civil rights. He is the minister who swore to burn himself in oil a year ago if certain desegregation demands were n ot **met**. He is an exciting speaker.

Error! Not so! Cox

COME OUT FOR A RIP-ROARING GOOD TIME THIS FRIDAY EVENING

No. 7

CORE

IS HAVING A MASS

Freedom Rally!!!

Rev. B. Elton Cox
CORE Field Secretary
High Point, North Carolina | Speaker

8 pm this Friday (oct. 31)
Mt. Pleasant Church
624 N.W. 2nd Street | time and Place

1. hear the truth about Barry Goldwater
2. wear anything you want - this is a Freedom rally!!
3. Lincoln + G.H.S. Freedom Fighters needed!!

come out for a rip-roaring good time

~~No. 8~~ Xro18

CORE
MASS FREEDOM RALLY
Mt. Pleasant Methodist Church
Friday, October 30, 1964

. . . . Rev. W.M. Ferguson . . . .
Master of Ceremonies

Opening Prayer	Rev. T.A. Wright Paster, Mt. Carmel Baptist Church
Song	"Oh Freedom"
Greetings	Mrs. Beverly Jones Gainesville Women for Equal Rights
	Rev. T.A. Wright N.A.A.C.P. Adult Branch
	Jim Harmeling Student Group for Equal Rights
	Franklin Simmons N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council
Song	"This Little Light of Mine"
Welcome	Judy Benninger Gainesville CORE
Introduction of Guest Speaker	Mr. Arrigo Welch President, Gainesville CORE
Main Address	Rev. B. Elton Cox CORE Field Secretary High Point, North Carolina
Offering	Rev. W. M. Ferguson Pastor, Mount Pleasant Methodist Church
Announcements	
Benediction	Rev. Cox

"WE SHALL OVERCOME"

Fla proj.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE NORTH FLORIDA PROJECT.

David S. McVoy, task force, Flriida

I. Voter registration statistics: As of October 3, 1964, when the registration books closed in all of Florida, the following number of Negroes was registered in each of the counties presently worked by the North Florida Project: Gadsden -- 4447; Madison -- 2392; Jefferson -- 1375; and Suwannee -- 1654. See attached sheet for more complete statistics.

II. Approximate registration potential: In the four counties presently worked by the project, the following number of Negroes are eligible to vote: Gadsden -- 12,273; Madison -- 3,067; Jefferson -- 2600, and Suwannee -- 2159.

III. Presently organized voter education groups: In Gadsden county, the Civic Interest Group, a group made up mostly of teachers, ministers, and hospital workers, was very actively engaged in conducting citizenship classes. Over a three week period, over 1000 newly registered Negroes attended their classes. They expect to continue the classes after the election. In Jefferson County, the Voters League is somewhat active in voter education. The group is small, and task force workers have reported that the group is reluctant to cooperate with CORE. Before the election the group held classes in several areas of the county, and emphasised teaching illiterates to write their names. Apparently they were somewhat successful, but it seems unlikely that after the election they will continue the operation. In Madison county, the NAACP Youth Council and a local group of citizens working with Rev. Jamison attempted classes, but their success was limited. In Suwannee counti, the Voters League fell apart after the task force workers left, and practically no work was done on voter education after Sept. 19.

IV. Suggested expansion in activities: The most urgent concern in North Florida at the present time is the economic situation. The project should explore methods of opening employment to Negroes, and of organizing existing businesses (Negro) into cooperatives in order to lower prices to compete with white businesses. Since much of North Florida is farming area, a great deal of emphasis should be places on developing community spirit in rural areas. An attempt should be made to draw teenagers into the movement in North Florida. At present, the teenage group appears headed toward total decadence, since there are absolutely no recreation programs in the counties, and part-time jobs are impossible to find. A community center program with primary emphasis on the teenagers should immediately be initiated, to provide recreational and educational programs for young people. A nursery program should also be initiated, since many Negro children start school with a severe educational and cultural handicap. This program could possibly be run by existing groups, at least in Gadsden County.

V. Suggested expansion geographically: Two counties in this area have no registered Negro voters--Lafayette and Liberty. Though these are small counties, they are a symbol among Negroes of racial discrimination. If progress could be made in Lafayette and Liberty, many here-to-fore quiet citizens would join in to better conditions in their own counties. If possible, the project should expand into all the counties of the ninth congressional district. The population is such in this district that a moderate or liberal candidate would have an excellent chance if Negro registration was high. These counties are: Jackson, Calhoun, Liberty, Hamilton, Franklin, Wakulla, Leon, Jefferson, Madison, Suwannee, Taylor, Lafayette, and Gadsden. Leon counti could be eliminated, since it is fairly progressive as compared with the rest of North Florida.

VI. Personnel and Equipment needed in new couties : At least two task force workers are neaded in each county, and at least one car. In Gadsden county, four workers and three cars are needed to effectively cover the area. In addition a mimeograph machine in needed in every three counties, and a typewriter in each county.

VII. Present and expected relationahip with white community. In the counties presently worked, an understanding is gradually being reached with the white community. It is expected that in Gadsden and Jefferson counties, which both have Negro voting majorities, an appeal will be made to Negro voters in the 1966 elections, and that business leaders will begin to take notice of Negro citizens. Already several white moderates have expressed some interest in the voter registration program, and it is hoped that bi-racial committees can be set up in the near future to discuss mutual problems. In new counties, the problem will be more severe. It is to be expected that support or even tolerance from the white community will come only after the task force has established itself znd has had considerable success among the Negro community in carrying out the programs.

VIII. Monthly budget:

1. Project working in present counties: Gadsden, Jefferson, Madison, and Suwannee.

a. Task force workers -- salaries	
Jefferson, Madison, Suwannee, 2 each @$25/wk.	$600
Gadsden, 4 @25/wk	400
	$ 1000
b. Field secretary -- salary and expenses @ 100/wk	400
c. Task force workers --expenses @$15/wk	600
Total	$2000
d. Rented cars	
Madison, Jefferson, Suwannee, 1 each @$300/mo.	$ 900
Gadsden, 2 @$300/mo.	600
	$1500
e. Office expenses.	
Telephone	$ 150
Rent, utilities for central office	60
Paper, mimeo supplies, etc.	50
Rental of mimeo machine and typewriter	30
	$290

TOTAL EXPENSES FOR MONTH, 4 COUNTIES $3790

note: it is expected that expenses for mimeographing, rent, etc. in individual counties will be paid for by local donations.

2. Project with present counties and expansion into two additional counties; Liberty and Lafayette. Expenses in addition to above.

a. Task force workers 4 @$25/wk	$400
b. Task force workers -- expenses @$15/wk	240
c. Rent, office expenses for counties (it is doubtful that local contributions will cover these expenses at first. Also, additional expenses at the central office will result from the two added counties	100
d. Rented cars -- 2 additional @$300/mo.	600
	$1340

TOTAL EXPENSES FOR MONTH, 6 COUNTIES $5130

3. Project with present counties and expansion into 8 additional counties; Jackson, Calhoun, Liberty, Franklin, Wakulla, Tayl Hamilton, and Lafayette. Expenses in addition to above.

a. Task force workers @ $25/wk	
2 each, 8 counties	$1600
1 additional for Gadsden to serve as assistant to field secretary.	100
b. Task force workers, expenses @$15/wk	1020
c. Rented cars 1 per county, @ $300/mo.	2400
1 for assistant to field secretary	300
d. Additional office expenses	
telephone	100
rent, utilities in counties	300
mimeo supplies	100
rental of 4 mimeo machines	60
rental of typewriters	100
	$6080

TOTAL EXPENSES FOR MONTH, 12 COUNTIES $9870

IX. Miscellaneous information. It is absolutely necessary that, if the project is to continue either as it is or expanded into new counties, that a full-time lawyer be available. Many arrests could be avoided if local police were kept on their toes by a lawyer. Also, the project will be moving ingo areas in which task force personnel have no legal knowlege, such as community centers and job opportunities. If we are to continue without becoming ensnarled in legal problems, we must have a lawyer to give us advice before we initiate a project. Leasing cars on a year-round basis should be investigated, as should the purchasing of cars. At present, over half of our expenditures are on cars.

Respectfully submitted
David S. McVoy
David S. McVoy
Task force, Florida

NORTH FLORIDA CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT
FINAL REGISTRATION STATISTICS
October 3, 1964

SITUATION	GADSDEN	MADISON	JEFFERSON	SUWANNEE*
Negro Pop. at % of tltal	59%	47%	27%	59%
# of Negroes eligible to Reg.	12,261	3,067	2,600	2,159
Negro Registration July 7	1,425	1,602	638	1,046
% of registration July 7	11.5%	52.2%	24.5%	48.4%
Negro registration OCt. 3	4,755	2,392	1,375	1,654
% of registration Oct. 3	38.9%	77.9%	52.8%	76.6%
Number registered this proj.	3,330	790	737	608
% increase this proj.	27.4%	25.7%	24.3%	28.2%

* * * * * * * * * * *

Total Registration all counties this project: 5465

These figures are unofficial, based on our count at the registration offices.

* Since there has been no staff eember in Suwannee County for the last two weeks, these figures are estimates mased on the usual rate of registration.

North Florida Citizenship Education Project
Route 3, Box 428-F
Quincy, Florida
Phone: 627-8458
January 15, 1965

To: George Wiley, Associate Director, Richard Haley, Southern Director
From: Spiver W. Gordon, Florida Field Secretary
Subject: Field Report for North Florida Project
Period Covered by Report: September 1, 1964 to January 15, 1965
Project Jurisdiction: Gadsden, Madison, Jefferson, Leon, Liberty, Lafayette and Suawannee Counties

1. Program: September 1, to October 3, 1964 The project was entirely devoted to voter registration and much emphasis was placed on developing local leadership.

October 3 to November 3 The project was concerned with voter registration, arranging election day details, and canvassing to get out the vote on Nov. 3.

November 4, 1964 to January 15, 1965 The vows of the project changed somewhat with the continuation of voter registration and the beginning of community organization programs, Freedom Schools, community Centers and the establishment of a Voter Group. An attempt has been made to implement the anti-poverty program in North Florida. In Liberty and Lafayette Counties, an Education class has been set up and is doing well.

2. Staff: September 1 to November 8, 1964

NAME	POSITION	DUTIES	AGE
Rev. B. Elton Cox,	Field Secretary,	Direction (Returned to N.C.)	
David S. McVoy,	Asst. Director,	Direction (Left Project)	21
Stuart Wechsler,	Task Force Worker,	Field Work	22
Sidney Daniels,	Task Force Worker,	Field Work	19
Sadie Jones,	Task Force Worker,	Field Work	22
David Dukes,	Task Force Worker,	Field Work	18
Scott McVoy,	Task Force Worker,	Field Work (Left Project)	20
Doris Rutledge,	Task Force Worker,	Field Work (" ")	20
Laura Geison,	Volunteer		

3. Facilities: Office and Centers
State office--20-B S. Adams St., Quincy, Fla., Phone: 627-8458 (includes Freedom Library)

Havana office--Palace AME Church, Havana, Fla., Phone: 539-6236
Chattahoochee Center--338 P. O. Box, River Junction Station, Chattahoochee, Fla.

Autos
one 1965 Plymouth, owned by Spiver Gordon, financial arrangement by CORE, 7 cents a mile when able, at this time, out of his salary
one 1959 Simca, owned by Laura Geison, financial arrangement provided by project (now broken down beyond repair)

Major Items of Equipment
one old typewriter, one file cabinet (one drawer type), one old desk, one television set, five hundred books in library, one rented mimeo machine, one slide projector, owned by local CORE group

4. Budget: (figures are approximate)

	Nov. '64	Dec. '64	Jan. & Feb. '65
auto expense	$ 57.	$ 50.	$ 50.
rented cars	$400.	$ 25.50	--
phone bills	$140.	$ 75.	$ 50.??
rent, utilities	$115.	$115.	$ 75.
mimeo supplies	$175.	$150.	$150.
salary and expense advance	$ 60.	--	--
travel expense	--	--	--
rent of office (state office in Quincy, Fla.)	$ 40.	$ 50.	$ 50.
rent of offices in other counties	--	--	--
Totals	$987.	$465.50	$375.

Debts owed locally by project, money for which is needed NOW! (no record at national office.)

gas bill -- 2 months	-- $150.
telephone bill -- 2 months	-- $200.
rented mimeo machine	-- $200.
rent of office -- 3 months	-- $150.
Total	$700.

5. Evaluation: Major accomplishments

1. The project in North Florida has had the highest number of Negro voters (increase) in the entire South (about 7,000 in 7 counties).
2. Perhaps the most successful get-out-the-vote campaign in the State.
3. We witnessed and aided the fall of all-white voter registration (for the first time since reconstruction days) in Liberty and Lafayette Counties.
4. A beneficial atmosphere was created by the Task Force Workers in their respective areas whereby tenant farmers realized that FREEDOM is not just a word.

6. Failures:

1. The project has had something of a failure in its efforts to find strong leadership in a few counties.
2. There has been a lack of communication between whites.
3. It has been difficult to arrange communication between Negro groups separated by great distances.

7. Problems:
    1. Staff limitations (number of workers)
    2. Financial limitation
    3. Legal arm
    4. Lack of equipment
    5. Constant police harassment
    6. Reprisals by white employer on farms and elsewhere

8. Recommendation:
    1. Prompt payment of $700. in debts.
    2. An additional car (lease $125/month plus $150 operating expenses).
    3. One mimeograph machine.

QUINCY
PUBLIC SAFETY
3

NORTH FLORIDA PROJECT HISTORY

By Ed Hollander

Southern Regional Office

March 6, 1965

The north Florida projects of CORE are among the most successful in voter registration anywhere in the South. In Gadsden County, the base of the north Florida project, there were 452 Negroes registered in January, 1964. By October 3, when the books were closed for the Presidential election, more than 4,500 Negroes were on the rolls, and over 3,500 voted - the first time in their lives for nearly all of them. Gains in other counties were equally significant, though the numbers not as large.

The gains have not come easily. Gadsden County is one of the major U.S. sources of shade-grown tobacco and the county has 15 white millionaires. The whites are, however, the minority racial group in the county - 41% - and they could not be expected to allow Negroes, many of whom are tenant farmers and day laborers on their plantations, to become a voting majority. The other counties did not have Negro majorities, but that did not make the work any easier. We must remember that the whole of northern Florida borders on Georgia and Alabama. Almost all the areas in which CORE is working are within 20 miles of the Georgia border and conditions resemble those of that state rather than the more liberal areas of Florida. In the course of their work, the CORE Task Force and volunteer workers weekly, if not daily, endure arrests, beatings, cross burnings, shootings and other forms of harrassment and intimidation.

The original staff person in northern Florida was Patricia Stephens Due, who was a leader of the sit-ins in Tallahassee in 1960 and has been active in CORE ever since. Late in 1963, Judy Benninger, a white University of Florida student (Gainesville), joined the Task Force and together they conducted a voter registration project in Tallahassee. In the beginning of 1964, Pat and Judy began to scout in areas surrounding Tallahassee; there was little if any civil rights work being done in these areas, but the need was greater. In largely small-town and rural areas, Negro registration is almost universally low and a combination of fear and apathy is sure to keep it low without the encouragement and catalyst of the CORE staff.

The Florida summer project was to include four counties, but in Jefferson the registration books were closed until the last week of the project and only 167 people were added to the rolls there. A staff of eleven, about half of which was native to Florida of both races, worked the remaining three counties. When the two workers arrived in Madison, county seat of Madison County, they found that the books were closed; the registrar, who had held this position for 28 years, was sick, and his wife, the deputy registrar, had broken her arm. The books were just closed, not as a racist plot, but the ordinary way of life in a north Florida town of 3,000. Of course, the arrival of the CORE workers did not hasten the opening of the books - the registrar was suddenly "out of town" and no one, including his son, knew where he was or when he would return. The CORE workers enlisted the aid of a local white man, but he could learn nothing either. The problem was complicated by the fact that only the governor or the registrar can appoint a deputy registrar, so an LCDC attorney let the county officials know that he would file suit if the books were not opened within a week. The books were promptly opened, but the project had lost three weeks while they had been closed.

Even under normal conditions, the books were only open on Fridays from 9-12 and 2-5. Half of the Negroes eligible were already registered at the start of the project, but by the end nearly 70% (almost 500 new registrants in two months) were on the rolls. Negroes made up 47% of the population, so full registration would make a great difference in the lives of every Negro in the county. Work in those two months was difficult - and dangerous. The 1964 summer project was the first serious voter registration campaign the county had ever seen, and there was strong resistance from law enforcement agencies. As time went on, this subsided, but "private" intimidation continued. One day a firebomb was rolled under Mike Geison's car, but fortunately it did not go off. One evening the workers found that their car had been shot five times; the next day they got a call: "That five was a miss - the next five won't be - get out of town." A restaurant owner who had served an integrated group (after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act) was followed out of town by nearly a hundred whites, who forced his car off the road and gave him a beating. He escaped serious injury only because he held them at bay with a gun.

But the CORE workers and local Negroes did not get off so easily in some cases, though some places served them. Nine people were arrested while waiting for service at one restaurant; a law student from New York was beaten by whites while attempting to investigate another public accommodations case; Mike Geison, a white Task Force worker from Miami, was questioned at the police station for two hours, then released without being charged with anything (he filed a $100,000 damage suit for false arrest in federal district court in Jacksonville).

Two workers were placed in Live Oak, seat of Suwannee County. They experienced less harrassment from the whites than those in Madison County, but had to overcome greater reluctance to register on the part of the Negroes. After their first night in the area, the Negro woman they were staying with told them they would have to leave because she felt it was dangerous for her to have them. The project was the first serious voter registration effort here, too, and the staff (bypassing the established Negro leadership) canvassed in bars, cafes, on tobacco farms and in rural churches, in addition to door-to-door in the town. On every registration day more people were waiting to register than time would allow them to be processed.

In a sheaf of typewritten progress reports from Suwannee, there is a handwritten one which says "Sheriff went to Mr. Baily. Now Mr. Wilson won't let us use his typewriter" (not actual names). The same report tells of the registrar's arbitrarily closing his office 45 minutes early, with six people waiting to register. The registrar called the sheriff and the police chief and had the six people and the CORE staff ordered out of the office.

An LCDC lawyer visited the registrar and county officials and got an agreement that the books would not be closed early any more. He also persuaded them to hire additional staff for the registrar's office and to put in more chairs for people who are waiting to register.

Harrassment was frequent, but not as serious as in other counties. On numerous occasions, workers were followed by police, and sometimes stopped and questioned. They also heard rumors that whites were organizing to run them out of town, though no such attempt was made. One evening a shot was fired at Elinor Lerner in front of the house where she was staying; the following day, she and Doris Rutledge were threatened downtown. Negroes participating in the drive were threatened with physical harm and economic reprisals. During the 8-week project, despite all the obstacles, the portion of eligible Negroes actually registered rose from 48% to 73%, a net increase of over 500 new registrants.

Gadsden County, with a Negro majority of 59%, had six workers assigned to it because of the large number of unregistered Negroes. In the six previous months, before the summer project began, Judy Benninger and Pat Due had registered a thousand new voters, raising the total from 450 to over 1,400 - but 88% of eligible Negroes were still unregistered; 10,800 remained to get on the rolls.

A full range of intimidations hampered the process of erasing the effects of the past century. Pat reported canvassing on tobacco farms "where conditions are identical to slavery". The workers were followed by police and other whites, arrested from time to time, had the air let out of the tires of their car, and threatening phone calls became routine. Two Task Force workers were arrested while trying to be served in a drive-in restaurant. During the orientation period at the beginning of the project, one of the new volunteers was attacked by a white man in another restaurant; when he tried to have the man arrested for assault, the police said he had already been convicted and fined $35, though LCDC lawyers could find no record of this. In a similar case, Steve McVoy did not fare that well - he was beaten by several whites in front of the registration office in the presence of a deputy sheriff and a city police officer; when he tried to have the man arrested, he was told that if he pressed charges he would be arrested also, and his fine would be twice that of the men who beat him. Steve's cousin, Scott McVoy, was beaten around the head with the butt of a rifle by a white man who first threatened to shoot him. For attempting to use a "white" rest room, Johnny Watson was attacked and beaten by a white service station attendant. Stuart Wechsler, a Task Force worker from New York, had the dubious distinction of participating in a "first" among the horrors to which CORE's Southern staff is subjected: he was kidnapped while canvassing on one of the large tobacco plantations. Three men told him to leave, and as he was doing so, one struck him across the back with a heavy walking cane; they chased and caught him again, threw him into their car, and took him to one of the farmers' houses; a deputy sheriff arrived to arrest Wechsler, but the men asked the officer to leave so they could "finish him off"; Stu was finally taken to jail, after the three men gave him another beating with the canes.

The registration office was open only one day a week. LCDC attorneys persuaded the registrar to open every day - but that would not go into effect until September, when most of the staff and volunteers would have left. The registration office in Quincy, the county seat, was in the office of the Gadsden County Times and the editor of the paper, who frequently attacked CORE and the registration project in his paper, was the registrar. During the latter part of the summer, the registration office was plastered with Goldwater signs.

One day there was a particularly large line at the registration office, which caused a crowd of whites and police to gather at the fire station. As a uniformed police officer began taking motion pictures of the people in line, Stu stood between the camera and the group of people. He demanded that the officer stop intimidating the people waiting to register, and was promptly arrested; he was released later that day without being charged. Another day the office closed at the legal hour of 5 PM with 75 people standing in line. The St. Petersburg Times of July 28 reported:

> Quincy (AP). The Congress of Racial Equality said 350 Negroes in Gadsden County registered yesterday in its massive drive to qualify more Negroes as voters. The CORE spokesman, Judy Benninger of Gainesville, said Supervisor of Registration J.L. Hutchinson closed his office doors at 5 PM in the face of some 75 Negroes waiting in line to register. She said the office would remain closed until Monday. Hutchinson, who keeps the voter registration books in the office of his newspaper, the Gadsden County Times, was unavailable for comment. Earlier he said he opened the office once a week because of the lack of business.

There was widespread community cooperation. Every registration day the local people had arranged at least ten cars and drivers to bring their fellows to the registration office. The local registration steering committee decided it would raise money to hire a local person. As in all the counties, they provided housing and often food for the workers, and a good deal of manpower for canvassing and other work. The Quincy chapter of CORE decided to take direct action at the registrar's office if other methods did not succeed in opening the books more than one day a week. The local people shared in the harrassment by whites. Crosses were burned at some of their homes, and on two occasions Negroes were shot at near their houses. They also received the usual threatening phone calls and other monor intimidations by whites. In spite of it all, however, by the end of the two month project, over 1500 more Negroes had been added to the rolls, making ¼ of the eligible Negroes registered, a total of just under 3,000.

On August 1, the first issue of the Gadsden County Free Press was published. After four issues, the name of the paper was changed to the Florida Free Press and was circulated in all the project areas. The newsletter carried both freedom news and social and community news; it quickly became one of the most valuable tools of the northern Florida project. After the first two months in Gadsden County, the Free Press had a circulation of 5,000 and the staff estimated that it reached over 90% of the 25,000 Negroes in the county. Scott McVoy reported going into homes and seeing school children reading it to their illiterate parents. In an early issue they ran a request for various materials and were almost flooded with donations. The first issue carried a story about that week's registration, including:

> At about 2:45 a car from Chattahoochee arrived. Bystanders watched as a lady 109 years old was lifted from the car. Born in slavery, she told CORE workers that it was about time she got to vote. When asked what party she wished to affiliate with, she said "Just put me down for Johnson." Upon returning home, she told her neighbors that there was nothing to it. Her daughter, 80 years old, plans to register this Monday.

That day, 165 people registered and the next registration day, 204 were added to the rolls.

The Free Press enabled the CORE workers to carry on a non-violent battle with Hutchinson (registrar and editor of Gadsden County Times). The following is from the Free Press August 22 issue:

> REGISTRAR HUTCHINSON READS THE GADSDEN COUNTY FREE PRESS
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> If you read "Bits and Pieces" in this Thursday's Times, written by the registrar of this county, you will soon note that he must read carefully the freedom newsletter. We are glad to learn this, because we know that all men need their freedom and want to hear the gospel. We are also happy, alhtough surprised, to learn of the great love that Hutchinson has for the Negro people. He tells of his strong ties to Negroes and of the many contributions he has made to Negro efforts. Hutchinson seems to think that the good white people of Gadsden County (and he says there are hundreds like himself) will now refuse to aid the Negroes because CORE workers are in town urging people to register to vote. Get this Editor Hutchinson: Give the Negro a fair break, an equal break, and he won't need a hand-out from his "great white fathers" any more. If Hutchinson is really so concerned about Negroes, why hasn't he made it convenient to Negroes to register in this county instead of keeping the books open 6 hours a week???

Headlines from other stories can give a further impression of the Free Press:

> FIRST MASS MEETING HELD IN CHATTAHOOCHEE
>
> 2 CORE WORKERS RELEASED FROM JAIL
>
> PATRONIZE BUSINESSES WHERE YOU ARE TREATED LIKE A FIRST CLASS CITIZEN
>
> TEACH YOUR NEIGHBOR TO WRITE "JEWEL DIXIE"
>
> 216 REGISTER LAST MONDAY
>
> JEWEL DIXIE TO RUN FOR SHERIFF
>
> CORE WORKER GOES TO WASHINGTON
>
> MRS. CRUTCHER RECEIVES HER M.A.
>
> REV. JONES' CHURCH WANTS FREEDOM
>
> WORKER TO LIVE IN HAVANA
>
> NEGRO SCHOOLS REOPEN

The summer project ended on September 7 when most of the students had to return to school. More than 2½ thousand persons had been added to the registration rolls in four counties. Perhaps more important, the four counties had gone through a solid and successful civil rights summer. All four established permanent steering committees of local people to carry on registration work and prepare for the November election; not that the staff was pulling out - on the contrary - one of the project's goals had been to have local people carry on projects with their own organizations. It was probably this kind of orientation that led the people to contribute $2,000 (raised partly from the raffle of a 200 lb. hog) to support the project and actually hire a local person as a full time staff worker. This orientation also showed its effectiveness in that every registration day in each of the four counties brought more people to the lines than could be accommodated. The closing of the registration door, by this time regarded as the gateway to freedom, in their faces made them more determined than ever to register, rather than discouraged them.

Long before the summer project ended, the staff saw that there was a need to continue the project on a permanent basis and expand it. Almost a month remained to register people, a month in which the books would be open five days a week. Then, after the books closed, it was vital to conduct a get-out-the-vote campaign to have the newly registered people vote - for the first time in their lives - on November 3rd. It was vital that a large number of people vote, both for its effect on the white community and for the development of the Negro community.

At the end of the summer, Judy Benninger had to leave the project to return to school and Pat Due had to leave to have some serious operations. The Task Force carried on by itself for several weeks, until Rev. B. Elton Cox came to supervise the project on a temporary basis until Spiver Gordon could c come to take permanent direction of the project.

Registration continued during September up until October 3 when the books closed prior to the election. The Free Press reported the 3,000th Negro was registered at 3 PM on September 9; by the end of the week, the total passed 3,100 as prospective Negro registrants huddled under the awning of the Gadsden County Times office, braving the beginning wind and rain of Hurricane Dora. The Free Press also reported an aged, nearly crippled Negro woman who struggled to the registration line one afternoon; seeing that each step was an ordeal for her, both whites and Negroes waiting in the line stepped aside and let get go to the head of them. A woman then came out of the registrar's office and yelled at her to go to the end of the line, and slammed the door in her face.

Every issue of the Free Press carried an article about the campaign of Jewel J. Dixie, Negro write-in candidate for sheriff, and sometimes included paid political advertisements. The Times ran an article, in response to a Free Press story about the low pay and poor conditions of the tobacco workers, which explained that the tabacco farm owners could not pay their labor more because each year they had to take a gamble on weather and other conditions which could ruin their whole crop. The Free Press answered by pointing out that the laborers had nothing to fall back on from their $20 a week salary during hard times, unlike the farm owners, many of whom are quite wealthy. The Free Press suggested that a profit-sharing plan be instituted so that the laborer's income would vary with the owners, thereby relieving the owners of that burden. The Free Press also carried the following one-line story:

THANKS TO MR. HUTCHINSON

> We wish to thank Registrar Hutchinson for correcting the registration irregularities which he had denied existed.

By the middle of September, Rev. Cox had arrived and the registration figure for Gadsden County reached 3,600. Helen Anderson, a new Task Force worker and native of Quincy, wrote an article for the Free Press:

I WANT TO BE FREE

> I, Helen Henderson, was born and reared in this county. For 33 years and 8 months I was lost. I didn't know what I wanted, or what I wanted to be. But now I know that I want to be free so I can have a decent job, a decent home and the dignity I deserve as a human being. Do you know the meaning of freedom? I do. It means no more being a second class citizen. It means...

The Free Press also carried a report on the death of Mrs. Louise Herring, of H Havana. Mrs. Herring died giving birth to her 14th child. All her previous children were delivered in her home and without trouble, but this time her family knew that she should be in a hospital, or at least have a doctor conduct the delivery. Mrs. Herring could not afford to go into the hospital and the local doctor had not been accepting maternity cases for five years, since he had a heart attack. A doctor came in from Calvary, Georgia, but arrived too late to save her life.

At the end of the registration period approached, the project began citizenship classes to train all newly registered people the proper mechanics of voting and to discuss the issues and candidates in the campaign. The first week there were four classes in Gadsden County, and as the election came closer, there were as many as eight classes a week.

The election was not the only issue before the people. In Suwannee County, the Voters League appointed a committee to meet with the Superintendant of Public Instruction to find out why no Negroes were appointed to a 15-man co committee to investigate the county's schools. In Madison County, a delegation of 63 students and 5 parents went to the school board to discuss their demands for improving the educational system. Their demands included the addition of foreign languages to the curriculum, new and additional textbooks, more athletic equipment and the integration of the schools. The board said it would consider the requests.

The north Florida project carried on a battle in their respective newspapers not only with Hutchinson but with a Times columnist who writes under the name of "Suber". The articles below, from the Free Press, are examples of the constant verbal war:

HI THERE AGAIN, SUBER...

> Well, once again we lock horns with Suber. Never let it be said that we held back from shedding a little light on the darkness of ignorance. Yes, Suber, the income of a Negro family might be substantial when all its members work, but have you ever asked yourself if five year old children might not be happier playing with each other, rather than priming tobacco together under a hot July sun? Have you ever asked yourself whether a sixteen year old boy might spend his time more profitably in school preparing for his future, rather than in the fields farming another man's tobacco? Have you ever asked yourself what a little child goes through because throughout the day his mother is laboring in a packing house to get him some food to eat and cannot furnish the constant attention and love all infants need? Have you ever asked yourself if you would be happy with the lot of a tenant farmer? And don't say you would work yourself up. Not at those odds, mister. Not when you have to struggle 24 hours a day to survive! (September 26, 1964)

MAYBE SUBER WILL SOMEDAY SEE THE LIGHT...

> Well, Suber, as they say, "If ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise." Yet we won't give up - we will try to wake you from your blissful slumber. Yes, it is true that

> the segregated schools that the Negroes attend are cut during the peak of the tobacco season. The good white folks have seen to it that the Negro children won't have their tobacco priming interfered with by something as trivial as education. Instead they can start school one month earlier than the white children, so that while the hot August sun is high in the sky these lucky Negroes can swelter in school... (October 3, 1964)

The battle continued with Hutchinson, as well, who did not limit himself to civil rights issues, as the following indicates:

> DEAR HUTCH:
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> We would like to answer the question posed by your good friend Brig. Gen. Louis Wadsworth. You want to know where we were during the hurricane. First, we will relate a few facts that you did not bother to ascertain in your headlong rush to heap abuse upon the CORE Task Force.
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> At the time of the storm the whole Gadsden County staff volunteered themselves and their cars to both the Gadsden County and Tallahassee Red Cross. We also let the local CD headquarters know we were available for rescue duty. Although we were not called by either of these organizations we spent the whole afternoon helping people secure their homes and taking them out of areas that might be threatened with flooding. The staff members in Madison and Monticello spent their time taking people to shelters. In Suwannee County the staff consists of only one woman, who had no car. Despite this obstacle, she did what she could in her community.
>
> You ask where was CORE and the NAACP? Neither of these organizations is involved with rescue work, unless you want to call leading America out of the flood of hate and prejudice a rescue mission. If you think civil rights organizations should engage in a rescue operation why did you not ask where was the Republican Party and Barry Goldwater; where was the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizen's Council?
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> Now we would like to ask you a question. Did the Red Cross volunteer to send aid to Mississippi, an area that we have designated a disaster area? Mr. Hutchinson and Gen. Wadsworth, do you feel any need to question these actions of the Red Cross in Madison when Dave Dukes sought shelter from the raging storm and was sent back into the wind-driven rain with the words, "Your shelter is at the Negro High School"?
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> You type us as "totally imbecilic". Is this because we are

> stupid enough to still believe that the Great American Dream of equal justice for all men is still possible? Is it because we still expect that when our country is fighting a war thousands of miles away to make a country safe for democracy, that a man won't be sent away from the safety of a shelter, back into the teeth of a raging storm because he has black or brown skin?

The Free Press also continued with its local community news, such as the following:

> Thanks to the school principal who anonymously donated an alarm clock, a mop, Drano, floor wax and a towel rack. We hope to have your support in the future.

As the election moved closer, the Quincy chapter of CORE reported that the town library had integrated quietly and without even a test by the chapter. When the registration books closed October 3, there were 4,700 Negroes on the rolls eligible to vote. The problem the project then faced was to have as many as possible actually vote. The Free Press carried sample ballots, campaign material from Jewel Dixie; November 3 was called "Jubilee Day" by the CORE workers and the Negroes of Gadsden County, and the get-out-the-vote campaign was carried on in the citizenship classes where people were also trained in the mechanics of voting, both by paper ballot and machine. A drive was started to have a car pool to take people to the polls as part of the Negro community's organization for Jubilee Day.

The Free Press received and printed a courtious letter from a local white citizen urging moderation in the Negroes' drive. The paper answered it, disagreeing but praising the writer for the maturity of his thinking.

The Free Press also printed a list of the polling places, in every issue for a month preceeding the election. Of course, all the polling places were in "white" parts of town and, as polls everywhere, they are localized. Any Negro voting could easily be seen and recognized by whites in his community. This fact alone serves as a detrrent to Negro voting in a Deep South area, particularly voting for the first time in his life.

Similar campaigns were carried on in the other counties of the project, although Gadsden was given priority due to the very large Negro pupulation. In Jefferson County, where the books were not opened until almost the end of the summer project, Task Force worker Sidney Daniels worked alone on voter registration from the end of August until October 3. When he started there were 638 Negroes registered; 5 weeks later when the books closed, there were about 900 additions. Negro registration had been more than doubled, and rose from less than ¼ to over ½ of its potential of 2,600.

On Jubilee Day in Gadsden County, over 3,500 Negroes went to the polls and voted for the candidate of their choice. A car pool of over 100 cars helped many hundreds of Negroes get to and from the polls. Election officials conducted the election fairly, but city police and sheriff's deputies used every method in their power to discourage Negroes from voting, such as stopping the cars in the car pool, searching them and threatening the drivers with arrest. Jewel Dixie received 1,529 votes; his opponant, Otho Edwards (the only candidate listed on the ballot) received 6,3000votes. Dixie said, "We lost, and won, for this is only a beginning." Although the state went for Johnson, the county went for Goldwater with 5,207 votes, to Johnson's 4,556 - a total of 9,763 votes cast. In 1960 (when the state went for Nixon) Gadsden County went for Kennedy with 4,353 votes cast. 1245 more people voted, then, in 1964 than in 1960.

Results of the Negro vote were immediately apparent in Gadsden County. There had been a ten-year grossly unsuccessful campaign in Quincy to have street lights installed in the Negro community. In just a few weeks, 136 street lights were being installed. A step-up in the completion dates of two new Negro schools was announced, along with plans for paving several dirt roads in the rural part of the county. In Jefferson, there were no such material benefits, but the Negro community - the 900 who registered between August and October, in particular - were overjoyed when they realized that their votes were the ones that carried the county for Johnson. In November, after the election, another hundred registered, but in December the registration became very slow, as it did in all of north Florida. The Voters League began regular once-a-week classes in voter education. Some public accommodations testing was done and initial organizing for a CORE chapter. The following is an excerpt from a field report of Sidney Daniels, the lone Jefferson County worker:

> Economic affairs. The civilian labor force in Jefferson County is composed of 2,250 workers, over half of them are Negroes. Over half of the total labor force is employed in agricultural work. Negroes who farm independently own their own spreads as a whole, have federal assistance, good machinery and are doing considerably well. Whereas, the remaining segment of the labor force is split among manufacturing, construction and other jobs. Wages are very low and as a result many Negro families are living in homes owned by whites, which are unfit for people to live in and should be condemned
>
> Public education. The public schools in Jefferson County are attended by a total of 850 whites and over 1400 Negroes along the old line of separate but equal. The white schools are accredited by the state and national organizations because they have enough facilities and staff to meet the requirements. The Negro schools, on the other hand, have never received accreditation from the state because they fail

> to meet the requirements. The state requires that a teacher teach no more than 6 classes a day and that her classes not exceed 30 pupils during each session. However, at the Negro schools most teachers teach as many as eight classes a day with more than 40 pupils in attendance at each session.
>
> In spite of the fact that there are more Negro taxpayers in Jefferson County and that the county buys three new school buses anually, the Negro school children are given only two buses and most often these are hand-me-down buses from whites. Many Negroes are transported as far as 20 miles to school, while passing a white school only a few miles away...

After the election, an additional 250 persons were registered in Madison County before the pace slackened in December. Task Force worker Sadie Jones and David Dukes attended two meetings of the school board and presented the demands which the steering commitee had drawn up. They were also involved, as was the whole north Florida project, in a reshaping of their program, following the big election push. Also, Spiver Gordon arrived shortly after the election to take permanent charge of the project. The period it took him to familiarize himself with the staff, programs and people probably prevented him from immediately taking up the post-election slack.

In Chattahoochée a Progressive Club was formed to raise money for the operation of a community center and to help plan and carry out the program. In November they raised enough money to support the center for two months and by the installation of a juke box and pinball machine, an additional $107 was raised the first month. Soda pop, potato chips, candy, etc. are also sold by the teenagers in the center to raise money for its operation. One of the first projects of the Progressive Club was a series of fund-raising events for the "heater project"; they scheduled a talent show, square dance, hootnanny and formal dance, all of which would have an admission fee. Stu Wechsler met with employees of the Florida State Hospital (the state's largest mental hospital) to see if anything could be done about patient and employment conditions there (example: one Negro ward with 354 patients must manage on 9 bars of soap a week).

In Havana the staff tried to find out how many Negroes were registered to vote in city elections. They had trouble finding out, and prospects of improving the situation were not good anyway because the city registration books are only open 6 days a year. The CIG (Civic Interest Group) started to expand its program from Quincy to include Havana with its citizenship classes and community improvement program. The staff also worked on a community survey to see if there was interest in having a freedom school and community center. The staff reported that there were no recreation facilities for Negroes anywhere in Havana.

When trying to eat at the Havana Bus Terminal restaurant, two of four Negro testers were trapped in a phone booth by the manager, who had picked up and loaded a shotgun. A white female observer outside was knocked down and had her camera ripped from her neck. The four testers were then taken to a gas station nearby, where they were threatened for an hour before they were released. The manager told them "If any nigger ever comes to my place, someone will go to hell. As long as I can pull a trigger, no nigger will ever use the front door of my place". The following day, Richard Williams, a white volunteer, was arrested on a traffic charge and during his 2-day stay in the county jail, white prisoners were released from their cells to beat him.

Gadsden County had 150 Negroes register in November after the election. Among a number of their public accommodations tests was one at the B&B restaurant where a Negro couple was charged $7.11 for a ham sandwich. Negotiations by Quincy CORE failed to resolve the situation and several days later 15 people participated in an"eat-in" which turned out to be a "shut-out", because the restaurant owner closed rather than serve them. Some days later they received a letter from a representative of the management saying "The management would rather have a bunch of hogs eat there than you and your kind". At Clark's Motor Court four Negroes were chased out with a chair by the manager, while another man threatened them with a knife. The radio and TV classes continued in freedom hall and a freedom library was opened with 1,000 books and a selection of records.

A community survey called "Operation Bialogue" was begun. Its purpose was to poll a section of the Negro community about what they felt their most important problems were. The following is a tabulation made during the project before all the results were in; still, three concerns seemed to be mych more important than the others:

Better schools	182	Better recreation facilities	27
Better jobs	181	Better housing	26
Better roads	174	Better medical facilities	14
Better police	37	Mail delivered to house	9

On December 8, an arsonist set six fires in the CORE office in Quincy. The police department said they received an anonymous phone tip about the fires at 3:30 AM; the fire department did come and put the fires out. They were started with rubbish soaked in kerosene and did some damage to the floors and furnishings. Reports and records in the files appeared to have been deliberately destroyed by the arsonist. The CORE workers were roused from bed at 4 AM and rushed to the office. Viewing the damage after the fires had been put out, Spiver said, "Florida at one time had the reputation of being one of the better of the Southern states, but this proves that the haters in Florida have come out of the same rotten barrel as those in Mississippi and Alabama." He said that the project had duplicates of all the records which were destroyed and stated that the arsonist "did not scare us and he did not inconvenience us; he wasted his time."

About 75 people went down to the Liberty County courthouse in Bristol on Saturday, December 12, only to find that the registrar had decided to take that day off - the day the registration office is usually open. Liberty County had no Negroes on the rolls and was widely known in north Florida to both whites and Negroes as one of the toughest counties to crack. The Negroes in Gadsden County advised CORE workers not to go into the county because conditions were so bad. In 1956 twelve Negroes managed to register, but the whites gave them such a hard time that they all went back and removed their names from the rolls, and some even left the county. (See attached clipping). On Wednesday, December 16, the registrar announced the office would be open. In an atmosphere of peaceful quiet, 62 Negroes went to the courthouse and 62 Negroes registered to vote. The all-white voters list in Liberty County became a thing of the past; those 62 are believed to be, in effect, the first Negroes registered there in the 20th century.

In January, cartons of materials began pouring into the office for the beginning of a community center in Quincy. The *Free Press* ran an article saying that CORE would help get the center started--but that the money, staff, building and programming would have to come from the community.

A few days later, the owner of the local Jitney-Jungle donated materials to the project's First Emancipation Program on January 22. And in February, James Dennis Harmling, grad students in psychology and ex-Task Force worker, announced his running for student body president at the University of Florida, in the Freedom Party; this produced the first integrated slate of student candidates.

Said Stuart Wechsler: "North Florida is on the road to Freedom. All we need is the car fare."

[1965, ca. April 13]

WHITT ALTON CAMPBELL QUALIFIES

Whitt Alton Campbell qualifies for the position of City Commissioner, City of Quincy. Mr. Campbell is endorsed by the required number of City voters.

He attended the grade schools of Gadsden County, recieved his Bachelor of Science Degree from Bethune Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida, served as principal of County Elementary Schools for eight years prior to spending three years in the service of his country during World War II.

After the War he continuted his education at Florida A and M University where he received his Master's of Art Degree in Supervision and Administration, and since that time he have been employed by the Board of Public Instruction, Gadsden County, as Principal of Stevens Elementary School.

He is married to the former Miss Ola Scott and is the father of 9 year old Alton Campbell.

Mr. Campbell has proven himself to be a man of integrity, loyalty and honesty. We feel that Mr. Campbell is interested in the welfare and progressiveness of Quincy. We believe that he is interested in hearing and ansdering any questions that one might have. We will appreciate your support and vote for Mr. Witt Alton Campbell on April 13.

AREA AND PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

[1963, Nov 4]

November 4, 1964 - January 31, 1964

AREA: Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth and Second Congressional Districts

I. Voter Registration
   A. Jackson
   B. Ouachita
   C. Madison
   D. Caddo
   E. Bienville
   F. Rapides
   G. East Baton Rouge
   H. Iberville
   I. Ascension
   J. St. James
   K. East Feliciana
   L. West Feliciana
   M. St. Helena
   N. Pointe Coupee
   O. Tangipahoa

II. Congressional District Meetings
   A. Scouting
      1. Fifth District
      2. Sixth District
   B. Political organization for district
      1. Sixth District meetin
      2. Fifth District meeting

III. Freedom Schools
   A. Monroe
   B. Jonesboro
   C. Tallulah
   D. Shreveport
   E. Clinton
   F. St. Francisville
   G. Greensburg
   H. Plaquemine
   I. Donaldsonville
   J. Baton Rouge
   K. Hammond
   L. New Roads
   M. Alexandria

IV. Community Center at St. Francisville
   A. Physical plan - blueprint
   B. Functions
   C. Erection of building

V. Research
   A. Economic structure
   B. Party structure
   C. Political structure

D. Voter Regristration potential
    1. State
    2. District
    3. Tri-parish
    4. Parish
    5. Ward
    6. Precinct
E. Negro and white registration
F. Political action

VI. Economic Projects
A. Olin-Mathieson at Monroe
B. Discrimination of labor unions at various plants such as Sterlington, Louisiana (Population 1,300) - 2 Plants
    1. Commercial Solvent Corporation
    2. Thermatomic Carbon Company Division
C. Bus boycott at Monroe under consideration
D. Sweet Potato co-op at St. Francisville

VII. Testing Civil Right Law
A. Monroe
B. Shreveport
C. Alexandria
D. Baton Rouge
E. Hammond
F. Other places when possible

VIII. Political Action
A. Election of Negro and/or liberal candidates
    1. Iberville
    2. Donaldsonville
    3. St. James
    4. Other places based on research
B. Governmental and party challenges (when possible)

NOTE: Special projects may be suggested by staff

[1963, Nov 7]

(8) In order to show a substantial statewide voter registration increase from now up to the presidential election we must extend our program beyond the Sixth Congressional District and set up VEP campaigns in atleast 20 parishes of the @ 64 in the state with task force workers serving as coordinators, advisors, and organizers with total emphasis on voter registration which will Re(direct action for Northern section of Louisiana.

OUTLINE OF PROGRAM: Nov. 7 until?

I. Chapter Development

- A. Baton Rouge
- B. Clinton
- C. Plaquemine, La.
- D. Hammond
- E. New Roads
- F. St. Francisville

II. Limited Direct Action

- A. Perfecting boycott in Plaquemine
- B. Perfecting boycott in Clinton

III. Voter Registration (Preparing applicants when books reopen December 8, 9, & 10, 1963 and to repeat when books close for January 7, 1963 the day of the Second Democratic Primary)

- A. Techniques
  1. Clinics, canvassing, rallies, etc.
  2. Setting up Committees on registration education. in parishes and districts where no local organizations on registration and/or politics exist.
     - a. St. Francisville - a committee is needed.
     - b. Organizing and Pepping up the Sixth Cong. Dist. Voters League is needed.
- B. Parishes Under Assignment and/or Requested Help
  1. Iberville
  2. Tangipahoa
  3. Pointe Coupee
  4. St. Helena
  5. West Feliciana
  6. East Feliciana
  7. St. Landry
  8. Avoyelles
  9. Tensas (No Negro is registered. last)
  10. St. Tammany and/or Ascension

IV. Expansion and Exploration Re: VOTER REGISTRATION DIFFICULTIES IN NORTH LOUISIANA

A. Methodology
   1. Meeting and confering with contacts
   2. Community evaluating
   3. Coordinating and organizing voter registration campaigns for when the registrar's opening days in December and for a long range statewide push for registered voters beginning January 8, 1963

B. North Louisiana Territory Suggested for Scouting and Limited VEP campaigns in December and Intensification in January
   1. Shreveport (Caddo Parish) General Area including Bienville, Red River and Webster Parishes at first.
   2. Monroe (Ouachita Parish) General Area including East Carroll, West Carroll, and Madison parishes at first.
   3. Alexandria (Rapides Parish) General Area including Winn parish to start

V. Manpower and Other Essentials

A. Workers - 8 assigned in Louisiana.

   1. Four to be assigned to the ten named parishes under Roman Numeral III section B

   2. Four to be assigned to North Louisiana

B. Transportation (5 good running preferably new cars)

   1. 2 cars for North Louisiana

   2. 2 cars for the other named parishes in or around the Sixth Cong. District

   3. 1 car for circulating the parishes

C. Means of Securing Cars and/ or Availability Of

   1. Jerome Smith has managed to get a car for this project in Louisiana.
   2. Core should keep the Ford Station Wagon.
   3. Core should sell the Studebaker and Rambler and purchase a new car on the installment plan and we in Louisiana will try to meet the notes from local communities involved in the porject.
   4. We'll try to get the other cars either from staff or local volunteers.

VI. BUDGET BEGINNING NOVEMBER 7, 1963 - Weekly

Office Rent	5.00
Telephone	25.00
Care for cars, gas, limited car repairs, etc. for 5 cars	85.00
Office Supplies, stationery, traffic tickets, minor bond fees	35.00
	$150.00

[1963, Nov 7?]

A PROPOSED VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT FOR LOUISIANA: RURAL AND NORTH

BASIC CONTENTIONS TO BE CONSIDERED:

(1) CORE is Louisiana's most noted civil rights organization because of its courageous endeavors and unique accomplishments in both voter registration and direct action projects.

(2) Louisiana is ripe for chapter development, particularly in rural parishes of the Sixth Congressional District and probably in North Louisiana. We should work North Louisiana because of the great Negro voting potential and because SCLC has been a flop in its efforts in that section. We have the people who can do the job.

(3) CORE's way into these areas in through voter registration in preference to direct action. However, the latter will be the outgrowth of voter registration endeavors as it was in Plaquemine and Clinton, Louisiana. Therefore, at present we should curb on an overall basis all direct action and concentrate on voter registration.

(4

(4) Expansion is essential. However, I feel that CORE can get the most cooperation from communities in areas where help is needed most instead of places like New Orleans where political competition between groups is more important than uniting efforts against segregation. It is suggested that VEP drives in New Orleans be directed by the CORE group in that area assisted by one or two task force workers.

(5) In East Baton Rouge and West Baton Rouge parishes we should refrain from conducting registration drives. However, in Baton Rouge CORE should reorganize and reactivate a CORE chapter.

(6) If we work North Louisiana, work in St. Bernard and Plaquemines parishes should be postponed until we can meet the parishes with great force.

(7) Bill Brown is a good worker but due to personal problems cannot stay on in Louisiana. If possible, and feasible, to assign him to his home state of Arizona for chapter development, this would be an excellent move.

(8) In order to show a substantial state-wide voter registration increase from now up to the presidential election, we must extend our program beyond the Sixth Congressional District and set up VEP campaigns in at least 20 parishes of the 64 in the state with task force workers serving as coordinators, advisors, and organizers with total emphasis on voter registration which will be direct action for the northern section of Louisiana.

OUTLINE OF PROGRAM: Nov. 7 until ?

I. Chapter Development

A. Baton Rouge
B. Clinton
C. Plaquemine
D. Hammond
E. New Roads
F. St. Francisville

II. Limited Direct Action

A. Perfecting boycott in Plaquemine
B. Perfecting boycott in Clinton

III. Voter Registration (preparing applicants when books reopen Dec. 8, 9, and 10, 1963, and to repeat when books open after January 7, 1963, the date of the second Democratic primary.)

A. Techniques
1. Clinics, canvassing, rallies, etc.
2. Setting up Committees on Registration Education in parishes and districts where no local organization on registration and/or politics exists.
a. St. Francisville - a Committee is needed.
b. Organizing and pepping up the Sixth Congressional District Voters' League are needed.
B. Parishes Under Assignment and/or Requesting Help
1. Iberville
2. Tangipahoa
3. Pointe Coupee
4. St. Helena
5. West Feliciana
6. East Feliciana
7. St. Landry
8. Avoyelles
9. Tensas (no Negroes are registered)
10. St. Tammany and Ascension

IV. Expansion and Exploration Re: VOTER REGISTRATION DIFFICULTIES IN NORTH LOUISIANA

A. Methodology
1. Meeting and conferring with contacts
2. Community evaluating
3. Coordinating and organizing voter registration campaigns for when the registrar's office opens in December and for a long range state-wide push for registered voters beginning Jan. 8, 1963.

B. North Louisiana Territory Suggested for Scouting and Limited VEP campaigns in December and Intensification in January.
   1. Shreveport (Caddo Parish) - General area including Bienville, Red River, and Webster Parishes at first.
   2. Monroe (Ouachita Parish) General area including East Carroll, West Carroll, and Madison parishes at first.
   3. Alexandria (Rapides Parish) General area including Winn parish to start.

V. Manpower and Other Essentials

A. Workers - 8 assigned in Louisiana

   1. Four to be assigned to the ten named parishes under Roman numeral III, section B

   2. Four to be assigned to North Louisiana

B. Transportation (5 good running, preferably new, cars)

   1. 2 cars for North Louisiana

   2. 2 cars for the other named parishes in or around the Sixth Congressional District.

   3. One car for circulating through the parishes.

C. Means of Securing Cars and/or Availability of Cars:

   1. Jerome Smith has managed to get a car for this project in Louisiana
   2. CORE should keep the Ford Station Wagon
   3. CORE should sell the Studebaker and Rambler and purchase a new car on the installment plan and we in Louisiana will try to meet the notes from local communities involved in the project.
   4. We'll try to get the other cars either from staff or local volunteers.

VI. BUDGET BEGINNING NOVEMBER 7, 1963 - WEEKLY

Office Rent----------------	5.00
Telephone------------------	25.00
Care for cars, fas, limited car repairs, etc. for 5 cars	85.00
Office supplies, stationary, traffic tickets, minor bond fees	35.00
	$150.00

[1963, Nov. 7?]

LOUISIANA CITIZENSHIP PROGRAM

As doctor is obligated to take care of the whole patient making an analysis of all physiological and psychological defects of the human body, we must also take on ourselves the responsibility of meeting the needs of the whole community. With this rationale ~~[illegible]~~ in mind, our expansion must not only be geographic but also in scope and depth of program: ~~We must go into communities with the primary purpose of seeking out community issues, defining the needs, and setting up~~ (1) economic, (2) political, (3) social, (4) educational, (5) legal, ~~and other type programs of necessity to meet the essential demands of the local people~~.

I. POLITICAL

- A. Voter Registration
- B. Community organization
  - 1. Voters league
    - a. ~~Parish~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~block~~, ~~Block~~ precinct, ward, parish
    - b. ~~District-block organizations, etc.~~ district
    - c. State
    - ~~[illegible]~~
- C. Party challenges by commencing with state push to get Negroes elected to the state Dem. Central Committee
- D. Congressional challenges by challenging election via courts or seating
- E. Parish and State elections [illegible] or Negro candidates via House of ~~[illegible]~~ Representatives
- F. Law suits for incorporation into city limits

II. ECONOMIC

- A. Occupational problems
- B. Discrimination in both private and public employment and/or labor unions.
- C. Unemployment
- D. Special problems
  - 1. Surplus foods in some parishes
  - 2. Sweet potato market in St. Francisville
- E. Federal programs

III. SOCIAL

- A. Desegregation of public facilities and public accommodations through 1 testing ~~and~~ 2 legal action machinery set up in the civil rights law.
  - ~~1. Discrimination by public institutions using federal funds.~~
  - 3. ~~2.~~ Pressure exerted by National ~~regulations~~ NEGOTIATIONS
- B. Direct action (Selective buying and mass protests, etc.)
  - 1. Nature
  - 2. Time
  - 3. Place

IV. EDUCATIONAL

- A. Community Centers-To be ~~proposed~~ outlined in detail,
- B. Freedom Schools-To be ~~proposed~~ outlined in detail
  - 1. Young people
  - 2. Adults-Leadership training and literacy school
- C. Collegiate and Community Leadership Conferences TO BE OUTLINED IN DETAIL

V. LEGAL ACTION (Suits, injunctions, etc.)

- A. ~~Suits on~~ Actions on segregated public facilities
- B. ~~Suits on~~ Actions on Public and Private conspiracies
  - 1. Intimidation by law enforcement officials and parish or state authorities.
  - 2. Private acts of harrassment.

~~[illegible]~~ On Suits on school desegregation

In order to begin work in the broad areas mentioned above, we must; first of all, survey each parish through personal conferences and research, and secondly; outline a long range program on a parish by parish basis to meet the community needs and issues, and thirdly, ~~[illegible]~~ determine from your survey ~~[illegible]~~ the minimum needs ~~outline program on some sort of base on~~ in manpower and financial resources. ~~essential for your program implementation~~. In short, our action emphasis will depend on the community demands rather than a program priority of our own.

Ronnie M. Moore
Field Secretary

[1963, Nov 7?]

FORMAT OF FACILITIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PROJECT OFFICE

I. Programming and Assigning of Staff by Field Secretaries in charge and Director of the Southern Regional Office

II. Coordinator of Community Organizations
  - A. Political coordination and Voter Registration
    - 1. parish voter groups
      - a. precinct
      - b. block
    - 2. Tri-parish voter groups for state legislative offices and judicial races.
    - 3. District voter groups
    - 4. Serve as advisory agent and coordinator for political action on **all levels** of state structure
  - B. Fund raising and Associate Membership Drives
  - C. Public Relations

III. Clerical Work
  - A. Office Keep
  - B. Filing
  - C. Bookkeeping
  - D. Communications to anf from field staff
  - E. Recording and Reporting

IV. Research
  - A. Federal Programs
  - B. Federal Funds to State and individual parishes
  - C. Parish and State Structures
    - 1. political
      - a. state
      - b. political party
    - 2. Economic
    - 3. Social
    - 4. Educational
    - 5. Legal
  - D. Special Programs
    - 1. Surplus foods
    - 2. Employment
      - a. private
      - b. public
    - 3. Other

V. STOCK

VI. ESSENTIALS to include usual office equipment, space to carry out functions, and sufficient staff

CORE

[1963, Nov 7?]

What We Expect To Gain From The Summer Project

1. 600-800 Negroes to Be registered.

2. Community organization leading to chapter development.

3. Training of persons to be ready to apply for registration in September which is the last month for registration before the presidential election.

4. Freedom Registration

   A. Freedom Registrars
   B. Presenting of application forms to Parish registrars, Federal Judiciary, and at National Democratic Convention.
   C. Freedom Delegates to National Democratic Convention.

5. Direct Action aimed at implementation of the Civil Rights Bill.

6. Stand Ins at the registrars offices in protest of disfranchisement.

7. To service and / or scout 17 parishes and to make contacts for continued programs after the project.

COPY

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LOUISIANA Voter Education PROJECT

September — ~~February~~ February 28, 1964

I. OBJECTIVES

A. VOTER REGISTRATION

B. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

C. Filing complaints of racial discrimination to U.S. Dept. of Justice in voting, public accommodations, ~~etc~~ education, etc.

D. NONVIOLENT Institutes

E. Chapter Development

II PARISHES — 24 — 8,000 votes

300 A. Washington
300 / B. St. Tammany
500 C. Tangipahoa
300 , D. Livingston
} 2 1c

E. ~~[illegible]~~

100 U. St. Bernard
100 V. Plaquemine
21,000 W. Orleans
} 2w 1c

500 F. St. Helena
500 G. East Feliciana
500 H. West Feliciana
} 2 1c

500 I. Pointe Coupee
500 , J. Iberville
200 Ascension
200 St James
} 2 1 car

100 K. Madison
100 L. Franklin
100 M. Richland
100 N. Morehouse
100 , O. Union
400 P. ~~Lincoln~~ → Ouachita
200 Q. Jackson
} 4 2 cars

100 , R. Caddo 2 1 car
500 S. Rapides 2 1 car
300 T. St. James

16 workers

III Mechanics of Project

A. 16 workers
B. 8 cars (including 2 cars already rented)
C. Centers
  1. New Orleans (use Regional office)
  2. Monroe (office)
  3. Plaquemine (headquarters)
  4. Shreveport
  5. Alexandria

IV Budget — (six months)

A. office rented $60.00 a month	360.00
B. Subsistent wages to 16 workers at $25.00 a worker equaling $400.00 a week $1,600.00 a month	9,600.00
C. 6 cars rented at $200 each 1,200 a month	7,200.00
D. Gasoline for 8 cars at $5.00 per car per day equal $40.00 1,200.00 a month	7,200.00
E. Voter Registration Material	1,500.00
F. Office Supplies,	800.00
G. Expense Advances to workers and miscellaneous 100.00 a week 400 a month	2,400.00
	$29,060.00
H. Telephone Bill	1,000.00
	$30,060.00

NOT INCLUDED
salary and personal
expenses of field
secretary in charge,
bond, legal fees,
etc.

IF we reach the
indicated VR goals
in the different rural
and semi different
urban areas we'll
be paying a
minimum of
3.76 per vote.

[1964, ca. March 1]

SUPPORTING STATEMENT FOR EXPANSION PROGRAM IN LOUISIANA

In the past two years CORE has been the biggest threat to the conservative wall of massive political resistance in Louisiana than any other civil rights group in recent times. We ended the era of 'WHITE ONLY" voter registration in West Feliciana Parish and thereby promoted the recent registration of Negroes in Tensas. We have pushed the name of CORE and the name has become identified with every significant social change toward freedom in the state.

In Iberville Parish alone we can show a voter registration increase of over 700 Negroes. Other substantial gains in this area are well known. Needless to say, in Iberville in particular we have made political changes also. We have an active chapter already affiliated which recently sent on its own a delegate to lobby in Washington, D.C.

Due to the fact that CORE has been consistent in concentrating in one area, we have been able to set up a congressional district voters' league known as CAPITAL Voters League. For the same reason, we have managed to coordinate nonviolent direct action projects in the sixth congressional district with nearly 65 or more CORE members across four parishes attending a nonviolent clinic in Plaquemine a few weeks ago.

May we just throw this in for a last touch. We have very successful selective campaigns underway in Clinton and Plaquemine.

EXPANSION OF CORE'S ACTIVITIES IN LOUISIANA

I. Objectives
    A. Chapter Development
    B. Direct Action
    C. Voter Registration
    D. Education in Techniques of Nonviolence
    E. Statewide Coordination
    F. Follow up Work in Communities of Past Action Projects
    G. Core must begin to file suits to desegregate public facilities

II. Reasons
    A. Chapters are already in the making in St. Francisville, Plaquemine, Hammond, Greensberg, and other places where CORE has previously worked and is presently working.
    B. CORE is to Louisiana as SNCC is to Mississippi and the NAACP recognizes this fact and is presently recruiting

a field secretary for state coordination and chapter development in Louisiana.

C. There are roughly 152,000 Negroes registered out of a voting age potential of 700,000, and with the pending federal suits due to CORE's complaints, the possible civil rights bill, CORE's long range past endeavors, and the atmosphere of the presidential and congressional elections ahead, a statewide voter registration project could increase Negro registration by the thousands.

D. Follow up work is imperative.

E. Louisiana's white fathers are becoming sophisticated.

III. Permanent program for Louisiana on a statewide basis (Commencing March 1, 1964)

- A. Area
  1. Fourth, fifth, and sixth congressional districts (First Region) (NE)
  2. First, second, and third congressional districts (Second Region) (SW)
- B. Workers
  1. Field Secretary and 10 Task Force Workers for the First Region
  2. Field Secretary and 10 Task Force Workers for the Second Region
- C. Centers
  1. First Region - Plaquemine, La.
     - a. Clinton
     - b. Monroe
     - c. Shreveport
  2. Second Region - probably at New Orleans

NOTE: The field secretaries heading their respective regions and being responsible for task force workers therein assigned will meet periodically to bring about statewide coordination in CORE activities and to foster statewide action on voter registration, direct action, and chapter development. This proposal is based on our past approaches in Louisiana of vr, da, cd, and staff follow up methods.

IV. Summer project to promote permanent program

- A. 34 participants
  1. 20 for First Region (Concentration should be in North Louisiana.)
  2. 14 for Second Region
- B. Training of participants at Plaquemine or Greensberg
- C. Pushing for the same objectives previously outlined
- D. Participants should be carefully selected and should be willing to accept indefinite jail terms with no restrictions.

E. Acts suggested under Roman Numberal III must begin immediately to lay groundwork for the project.
F. Rented cars must be used.

BUDGET FOR LOUISIANA'S EXPANSION PROGRAM

Period: 43 weeks, March 1, 1964 - December 31, 1964

		Weekly	Period
1)	Twenty Task Force Workers $25.00 per week	$500.00	$21,500.00
2)	Task Force expenses, office, phone, miscellaneous costs, etc. ($150.00 for First Region; $100.00 for Second Region)	250.00	10,750.00
3)	Uncertain developments	50.00	2,150.00
		$800.00	$34,400.00

Summer Project

Period: July 14 - August 25, 1964 Est. 41 days

1)	34 participants (Food, housing, general, car rental costs, etc.) $4.00 per person per day equaling $136.00 per day for 41 days	5,576.00
2)	Uncertain developments	2,000.00
		$ 7,576.00

ANNUAL CALCULATIONS:	$34,400.00
	7,576.00
	$41,976.00

NOTE: Salaries and personal expenditures of field secretaries are not included.

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ANNUAL CALCULATIONS:	$34,400.00
	7,576.00
	$41,976.00

NOTE: Salaries and personal expenditures of field secretaries are not included.

[1964, ca. April 25]

Louisiana Summer Report

1964

I. Pre-summer-project activity:

The Louisiana delegation to the National Democratic Party Convention will be chosen by the Democratic State Central Committee in early May. It is important to protest the fact that both the State Central Committee and the delegation will be all-white, and will therefore not represent a sizeable minority of Louisiana's population. As part of the freedom registration and elections, we plan to organize a freedom delegation from the sixth Congressional District which will challenge the seating of the Louisiana delegation at the National Convention.

On April 25, 1964 there will be a meeting of the Capital Voters' League in St. Francisville, La. The Sixth Congressional District CORE task force will make sure that there are at least the following minimum representations from these parishes of the Sixth Congressional District: 6 persons from East Baton Rouge Parish, 3 persons from Tangipahoa Parish, and 2 persons from each of the other parishes.

The Capital Voters' League will elect 10 Negroes of the 17 Committeemen to represent the people of the Sixth Congressional District on the Democratic State Central Committee. The persons will request to be seated with members of the State Central Committee already elected from the Sixth Congressional District. When the State Central Committee convenes in early May in Baton Rouge, it will have to face the challenge of the freedom delegation and if it refuses to seat the Negro delegation, the latter will meet separately and elect 3 to 6 delegates to the National Democratic Convention (i.e. 1/8 of the 24 to 48 delegates usually selected by the State Central Committee to the National Convention. The exact number of delegates from the State Central Committee will be decided at their meeting in early May; either 24, each with a whole vote or48, each with a half vote, will be elected.) We hope to send the delegattes representing one Congressional District in Louisiana jointly with the Mississippi delegation, which will represent the whole state.

II. Freedom Registration:

The first state-wide law suit against Louisiana voter registration procedures filed by the United States Department of Justice attacked the constitutionality of the registration applicatioon form is valid only as an application form and cannot be used as a test. Additional law suits against individual registrars clearly point out that the constitutional tests, old and new, are unconstitutional.

Therefore, we contend that all potential registrants meeting the following qualifications be registered: 21 years of age, American citizen, and residency requirements as outlined in the laws of Louisiana. Moreover, they must fill out in their own handwriting(without or with the assistance of the freedom registrars) a regular application form. In the case of those who are unable to do so(illiterate, disabled, etc.) an who are able to give the information to the registrar, they should provide the registrar with the requested information.

The application suit is now pending before th U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. We plan to get every potential Negro voter who can fill out the application form in the manner described earlier to do so, sealing it in a blank envelope before a freedom registrar who will present it to the parish registrar for acceptance. If the application is denied, then it will be held in a central and protected place later to be presented with approximately 100,000 others to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The presentation at the Fifth Circuit will be as follows: 5 to 10 freedom registrars from each parish will carry all of th applications to the chambers of the five judges of the court asking that the Court declare the applicants registered as a part of the lawsuit filed by the U.S. Department of Justice. If the judges order the freedom registrars(numbering approximately 12 - to 240) to leave, taking the applications with them, they will refuse to do so, risking contempt of court.

In each of the parishes of the Fifth and Sixth Congressional Districts we plan to send in teams of voter registration workers who will serve and/or recruit local people to serve as freedom registrars, commencing a freedom registration campaign. This will involve setting up freedom registration posts in churches, grocery stores, club houses, Masonic Halls etc. Each registrar will sign notorized statements that they will carry out registration procedures in the above manner, and will appoint local people to serve as deputy registrars. The registrars and their deputies will carry out the general objective of reaching every unregistered Negro and getting him to fill out an application form which will go through the channels described above.

In the freedom registration campaign we plan to reach 24 parishes, 48 to 56 communities, and two Congressional Districts which geographically cover1/3 of the state. It is clear that this will be the most progressive organizational step by CORE toward setting up a state-wide program in Louisiana for the future.

lll. Stand-ins:

In several communities of the Fifth and Sixth Congressional Districts we plan to have lines of Negroes flooding the registrars' offices on the three days when the registration books are open between the first and second Democratic primaries. This endeavor may result in a few more names being added to the registration rolls.

lV. Political Campaign

We plan to have candidates for Congress and local public office to enter the Democratic primaries.

NOTE: The above is part of Louisiana Summer Project

The Long Hot Summer

Louisiana, 1964

Schedule:

June 10 - 15: Training in Iberville Parish

June 16 - 25: Mass voter registration drives in both districts and kick-off of political campaigns.

June 26 - July 26: Freedom registration, political campaigns concluding July 25, and preparation for stand-ins.

July 27, 28, 29: Stand-ins and mass voter registration drives

July 30 - Aug. 6: Freedom registration

Aug. 7: Presentation of application forms to parish registrars.

Aug. 10: Presentation of applications to judges of Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

Aug. 11: Terminate project.

Aug 12: Project evaluation.

VI. Practical Aspects:

Although the plan for a summer project may be interesting and dramatic, we are concerned about several practical aspects.

Community interest in such a project cannot be overlooked. And we have problems in this regard in both the Fifth and Sixth Congressional Districts, particularly in North Louisiana. With present staff we have been unable to fully scout North Louisiana and our work has been limited to a couple of parishes. Resistance on the part of the whites in this area will be especially stubborn and work will be dangerous, recall Mike's being run out of Tallulah. Thus, reaching and inspiring the Negro communities will be an arduous task and we can only be hopeful of success.

Before freedom registration could begin and little if any work could be done on the freedom election, workers could most probably be arrested, intimidated, and even severely infured by members and associates of the White Citizens Council and the KKK.

VII. Follow up Program and Staff:

We hope to have a staff of at least 18 persons left in Louisiana for follow-up purposes.

Plan:

September - Voter registration in the 24 parishes of the 5th and 6th Congressional Districts.
6th Congressional Districts.
IMPORTANT- last month for registration before the presidential election.

October - Voter registration, chapter development, and direct action in same parishes. Preparation for write -in vote.

Nov. 3, 1964 - Write-in election for freedom candidates on the date of the general election.

Nov. 4, - Dec. 31 - Voter registration, direct action to implement civil rights bill, and chapter development.
Rallying communities to file suit to desegregate allpublic facilities.

VIII. Budget and Fund-raising:

1. Five day training session (June 10,- 15) 50 workers

A. Food $2.00 per day per person, totaling $ 100 a day for five days	$500.00
B. 12 cars, costing avout $7.00 a day per car; $84.00 per day for five days	$420.00
C. Housing - $1.00 per person per day; $ 75.00 per day for five days	$ 325.00
D. Miscellaneous - $25.00 per day for five days	$125.00

Freedom registration:

1. In the first two weeks of May, Ronnie Moore will hold a press conference at which he will release to the public our summer plans. At this time he will release a telegram, to be sent to Bovernor John McKeithen. In this telegram, the governor will be asked to do the following:

a. Appoint an impartial and bi-racial Board of Registration, with these names suggested as Negro citizens to include on the board: Spiver Gordon, Ronnie Moore, and W.W. Harleaux.

b. Fire the registrars of the 24 parishes of the 5th and 6th Congressional Districts because of their discriminatory parctices, and use his moral and political influence on the 24 Police Juries involved to appoint new registrars who will not deny to anyone the right to vote on the basis of race. Moreover, he should use his influence on the Police Juries to get them to appoint "egro deputy registrars.

Copies of this will be sent to the 24 registrars and police juries. Gov. Mckeithen will be given will be given one week in which to reply before we take the situation into our own hands.

2. In the event that Gov. McKeithen refuses to comply with our demands, Ronnie will appoint a Board of Freedom Registration, with appropriate releases to the press.

3. At the end of the training session, the Board of Registration will appoint a Freedom Registrar to each parish where there will be Freedom Registration.

4. On the last day of the training session, the registrars will be sworn in a public ceremony by a Notary Public. A procedure will be used similar to that used in real registration.

5. The Freedom Registrars will appoint deputy registrars in the communities they are assigned to, and the deputy registration. All Registrars and their deputies must have proper identification.

6. The procedure for Freedom Registration is as follows:

a. Every applicant must fill out an LR-1 form and the Registrar is required to provide assistance.

b. The registrar must record the name, address, age, and ward and precinct of every applicant in two books: one with an alphabetical list of names, the other with names arranged according to ward and precinct.

c. The registrar must file all completed LR-1 forms.

d. The registrar must provide a Freedom Registration card to all successful applicants. (fill out forms and meet La. residence requirements)

7. The Board of Freedom Registration has overall responsibility for the LR-1 forms.

8. Freedom registrars shall present the LR-1 forms to the parish registrars, asking that all persons who filled out a form be registered.

9. On being turned down by the Registrars, the Freedom Registrars will go to New Orleans and approach the judges of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals with the forms, asking that they take the following action:

a. Enjoin the holding of the election (second primary) on the grounds that Negro citizens were denied the right to register.

b. Appoint federal judges to be referees and register those persons who have been turned down by the Registrars in their respective parishes.

10. In the event the court is unwilling to take these actions, the Freedom Registrars will refuse to leave the judges' offices until their grievances are remedied.

11. Freedom Registrars will then take up residence in the local jails.

Political campaign: June 10 - July 25
Candidates:
    Congressman, 6th Congressional District: Dr. Berttrand Tyson
        Campaign Manager: Capt. Tolbert Harris
    Local: to be announced

Methods:
1. Posters - quantity: 5,000 (as a start)
2. Throw -aways - quantity: 20,000 (as a start)
3. Buttons - quantity: 2,500
4. Hand cards (6 inches long, with ruler along top)
5. Pencils, balloons, ect.
6. Newspapers - press releases (AP, UPL); ads in local papers
7. TV - five 3-minute spots on 2 Baton Rouge stations day before election.
8. Radio - WXOK, WLCS - free and paid announcements.
9. Rallies - churches, public meetings, meetings of civic groups
10. House - to -house canvassing by candidates and task force workers.

Manpower and transportation: We need 48 workers, two to each parish, plus the present staff. We also requestthat an official of National CORE take p permanent residence in Louisiana for the summer project like last year. The purpose of this is that this will be an independent CORE endeavor and we will need additional professional know-how in community relations and organization.

We need at least 12 cars plus the cars now in operation, one car to every two parishes. We hope that with 12 cars and a staff of 48 we will be able to secure additional transportation and volunteers from local communities.

OVER

2nd Weekend Nov

Madison County
~~[illegible]~~
Marketing Coop (incorporating

Poverty Bill workshops

7 counties for ASCS

Nation Handbook
ASCS

County Extension
Agent

mailing list

County

ARA
wash.

Staff admin.
for each prog.
(see org manual)

Co. Adm
Administrative con. level
Handbook Plan -
parish level

write to -
customizing -
mg. asst.
Tom Calder
Reach for ASC
Handbook

Continue VIII

2. Remaining weeks (July 17 - Aug. 30)

A. Food for 50 workers $2.00 per person per day $100.00 per day for 43 days	4,300.00
B. Housing $1.50 per say per person $65.00 per day for 43 days	2,795. 00
C. Transportation 12 cars costing $10.00 per car per day $120.00 per day for 43 days	5,160.00
3. Freedom registration (application forms and related material)	$2,500.00
4. Freedom election 'ballot, buttons, etc.)	1,500.00
5. Other :	
A. Stationery	35.00
B. Phone	11,200.00
C. Miscellaneous	500.00
TOTAL BUDGET FORECAST	$ 19,675.00

END

Ou Le
Ja
Ray
Ead
maps

T. abulah

files
typewriter

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
306 Ivey Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana
687-9131

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

New Orleans, La., May 27, 1964: In Louisiana as in other southern states, Negroes have been denied the right to vote on the basis of race. Out of a voting potential of little over 500,000, we have less than 170,000 Negroes registered. Less than three months ago, there were parishes in Louisiana which did not permit its black citizens to register. At present, neither Negroes nor whites are allowed to register in West and East Feliciana Parishes because registrars Fletcher Harvey and Henry Earl Palmer have vowed to halt registration indefinitely rather than obey Federal court orders. Negroes in many parishes of the Sixth Congressional District and in every parish of North Louisiana are harrassed, intimidated, and brutalized merely for attempting to register to vote.

The Justice Department has filed numerous suits to end the Louisiana legal and political conspiracy to restrict Negro suffrage. The state appoints prejudiced registrars and passes laws which demand of applicants that they complete technically graded application forms and exhibit knowledge of constitutional government by passing a six question test selected at random from a sixty question card system. The Justice Department, however, has not kept up with the

more - more - more

impatient desire of the Negro people in this state to have full access to the ballot.

Since these problems on voting exist in Louisiana and other southern states, CORE plans to initiate in early June a massive non-violent campaign aimed at focusing national attention on the denial of the right to vote to Negroes in Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, northern Florida, and other southern states.

We plan to start the campaign in Louisiana on June 11, 1964 by training a staff of 60 workers in Iberville Parish at Plaquemine, which remains the headquarters for CORE's voter education program in Louisiana. Richard Haley, Associate National Director of CORE and Southern Regional Director, and Ronnie Moore, CORE's Field Secretary for Louisiana will conduct the training session and coordinate the campaign.

The objective of the summer project will be to awake the nation to the fact that Negroes want to vote. They want to vote now without being forced to suffer the humiliation of going before the registrar time and time again, without being afraid of getting fired from their jobs, run out of their home towns and molested by their white brothers who are protected by state political coalitions and traditions from criminal prosecution.

We plan to dramatize our cause by setting up our voter registration campaign in the Fifth and Sixth Congressional Districts, concentrating in seven parishes of the Fifth

more - more - more

Jackson & Madison

Persons turned down by registrar can apply to federal court for testing.

Registrars can register [illegible] people for subsequent election if the books are closed

District; namely, Jackson, Ouachita, Richland, Franklin, Madison, Union, and Morehouse parishes, and in the twelve parishes of the Sixth District - East Feliciana, West Feliciana, Pointe Coupee, St. Helena, Tangipahoa, Washington, Iberville, Ascension, East Baton Rouge, West Baton Rouge, Livingston, and St. Tammany. These parishes were chosen because of their Negro voting potential and because of strong established community backing for our organization.

The highlights of the Louisiana Summer Freedom Campaign will be as follows: Freedom Candidates, Freedom Registration, Freedom Days, and Actual Registration. There will also be a Freedom Delegation challenge at the National Democratic Party convention.

(1) Negroes will make strong bids for public office. Names of candidates will be announced later.

(2) Negroes will protest disfranchisement through mock registration. In such registration all potential voters who are over 21 years old, residents of the state as required by Louisiana laws, and who can supply the Freedom Registrars with information asked for on the Louisiana application form, verbally or in writing, will be registered. No test will be used in Freedom Registration. Freedom Registration will be conducted specifically in East Feliciana, West Feliciana, Pointe Coupee, St. Helena, Tangipahoa, Washington, Ouachita, Jackson, Madison, Richland, Franklin, Morehouse, and Union parishes. Application forms of freedom registrants will be collected by Freedom Registrars who will be appointed by

more - more - more

a State Board of Freedom Registration (which will be announced later) and such forms will be presented to parish registrars and if rejected additional steps will be taken to involve the Federal judiciary and the National Democratic Party.

(3) Freedom Days - On certain days when the registration offices will be open this summer, we plan to hold nonviolent direct action protests at the registrars' offices.

(4) Actual Registration - On as many days as possible when the registration books will be open, we plan to flood the registrar's offices with applicants.

(5) A challenge of the Louisiana delegation recently selected by the Louisiana State Democratic Central Committee to the National Democratic convention will be staged by a Freedom Delegation. The delegation will be selected at a Leadership Conference for the Fifth and Sixth Congressional Districts, to be held in early June. Verbal notice of such a challenge was served on the Chairman of the State Central Committee on Friday, May 22, 1964 by Dr. Berttrand Tyson of Iberville Parish, Henry Washington of Ascension Parish, and Ronnie M. Moore of East Baton Rouge Parish, who represented various civic groups in the Fifth and Sixth Districts. The Chairman ignored the notice. The Freedom Delegation from Louisiana will join similar groups from Mississippi and other southern states in Atlantic City.

The black constituency of Louisiana and other southern

more - more - more

states plans to be represented before both state and national structures which direct the public affairs of America. Many conservative and blind Americans will claim that such a constituency does not exist. However, the day of the non-existant Negro is past. This very campaign year, the people who have long accepted dual citizenship mean to be heard and represented. We cannot sit back while the White Citizens Council, the State Sovereignty Commissions, and KKK members and sympathizers run our state governments and make deals with the Federal government and major political parties.

xxx

LOUISIANA CONFERENCE, JUNE 3 and 4, [1964]

Louisiana Office, Ronnie and Mike

1. Political Organization for La.

2. Agenda for June 5th Meeting--Community Conference

3. Voter Registration

4. Community Organization

5. Communication System for La.

Regional Office-- Judi

1. Political Handbook

2. H.E.W. Programs-- Title VI Workshop by someone for Civil Rights Commission is planned

3. C AP--representative from Civil Rights Commission

4. ASCS elections -- perhaps Mr. Wasserman

Regional Office -- Ann and Dave

1. Operation Headstart--CORE's relation to all such programs throughout the state

2. Freedom Schools

3. Community Centers

Open Discussion

1. CORE's relationship to Deacons and other local groups

[1964, ca. June 10]

THE LONG HOT SUMMER

LOUISIANA, 1964

Schedule:

June 10 - 15: Training in Iberville Parish

June 16 - 25: Mass voter registration drives in both districts and kick-off of political campaigns.

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Aug. 10: Presentation of applications to judges of Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

Aug. 11: Terminate project.

Aug. 12: Project evaluation.

COPY

Training session:

June 10 (Wed.): Arrival and housing
Night: Welcome by Ronnie Moore

June 11 (Thurs.): Morning - goals and structure of summer project
Afternoon - V.E.P. in Louisiana
Louisiana VR procedures
Evening - Canvassing methods, etc.

June 12 (Fri.): Morning, afternoon, and evening sessions to cover the following areas:
- Direct action - methods and defense techniques
- Arrest and jail discipline
- Community relations and discipline
- Press relations
- Boycotts and selective buying campaigns

June 13 (Sat.): Morning and afternoon - workshop on non-violence
Evening - "Louisiana Diary" and evaluation session.
Church assignments.

June 14 (Sun.): Morning - speak in churches in Iberville Parish
Afternoon - canvass parish
Evening - evaluation of day's work in Iberville
assignments to areas in W. Feliciana

June 15 (Mon.): all day - canvass West Feliciana Parish

June 16 (Tues.): Morning and afternoon - canvass West Feliciana
Evening - clinic and rally - Laurel Hill

June 17 (Wed.): Talks on area assignments and orientation to areas.
Afternoon - Swearing in of Freedom Registrars and announcement of Freedom Registration to the press
Evening - Recreation

June 18 (Thurs.): Groups to parishes.

COPY

Freedom Registration:

1. In the first two weeks of May, Ronnie Moore will hold a press conference at which he will release to the public our summer plans. At this time he will release a telegram to be sent to Governor John McKeithen. In this telegram, the governor will be asked to do the following:

   a. Appoint an impartial and bi-racial Board of Registration, with these names suggested as Negro citizens to include on the Board: Spiver Gordon, Ronnie Moore, and W.W. Harleaux.

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COPY

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Political campaign: June 10 - July 25

Candidates:

Congressman, 6th Congressional District: Dr. Berttrand Tyson
Campaign Manager: Capt. Tolbert Harris
Local: to be announced

Methods:

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7. TV - five 3-minute spots on 2 Baton Rouge stations day before election.
8. Radio - WXOK, WLCS - free and paid announcements.
9. Rallies - churches, public meetings, meetings of civic groups
10. House-to-house canvassing by candidates and task force workers

SCHEDULE OF ACTIVITIES

October 4, 1964 - November 3, 1964

I Freedom schools

Monroe
Greensburg
Clinton
Jonesboro
St. Francisville
Donaldsonville
Baton Rouge
(other localities as CORE establishes itself)

II Educational centers

St. Francisville
(others as facilities become available)

III Economic projects

A. Urban

In Monroe and Baton Rouge, CORE intends to increase opportunity and equality in Negro employment in ghetto and downtown businesses, in some larger firms such as Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp., and in bus companies through an approach aimed not only at the particular business but at involving the community at large. CORE will open communication with and use to the fullest extent the local, state, and national organized labor structures, management hierarchies, and the publicity resources of newspapers, churches, industry organs, etc. The approach is community-wide to mitigate the countering effect of the fear of lower class whites of Negro economic competition.

B. Rural

To attack rural economic problems, CORE intends to use the existing (in law but for Negroes not in practice) Federal, state and local political-agricultural structures, e.g., the Agricultural Stabilization Conservation Committees; to encourage and aid in the formation of cooperatives and leagues; to disseminate knowledge of Federal and state programs and to encourage their application; to make available to leading farmers (to teach others) the results of agricultural research. The emphasis is on organized cooperation because of the existing means for it and because only in numbers have the Negro farmers any strength.

IV Testing of Civil Rights Bill: public accommodations, ~~XX~~ public facilities

Baton Rouge
New Roads
Monroe
Hammond

V Expansion into 4th and 8th Congressional Districts

Loci: Shreveport
Alexandria

VI Voter registration Canvassing + Clinic techniques and political organization

East Baton Rouge
Iberville
Ascension
St. Helena
Pointe Coupee
Bienville
East Feliciana
West Feliciana
Ouachita
Jackson
Caddo
Rapides
Washington
Livingston
St. Tammany
Tangipahoa

VII Establish Freedom Democratic Party structure

A. (pilot program) Baton Rouge
Monroe

B. (second stage) New Orleans

C. Shreveport
Alexandria

VIII Louisiana Troupe of Free Southern Theatre

Monroe
Baton Rouge

IX Louisiana Student Union

A. College

Southern University
Grambling College
Northeast State College
Delta Vocational

B. High school

Monroe

X Recruitment

A. Statewide

B. Northern

XI Fund raising

A. Louisiana

Unions
Churches

Fraternal organizations
Civic organizations

B. Northern appeals

XII Research

A. Louisiana socio-economic-political structure

MSS CORE 4
80 SOUTHERN
2-9 REGIONAL

Regional
Office

Projects – Voter Registration: Sample Forms &
Statistics

1955, April
1963, April–
1964, April

And here is one vital thing to make sure of—
Your workers will get plenty tired, so have sandwiches and coffee ready at the tough hours—particularly *after* the booths close, because that's when the *counting* begins.

* * * * *

As the results are known, call them in to headquarters, and if they are good, get publicity.

* * * * *

Election Day is when you add up the results!

All your hard work till then will be useless unless it pans out on Election Day.

That's the One Big Day!

* * * * *

Getting out the vote is the most important job your COPE can do.

Remember:
Every vote counts!

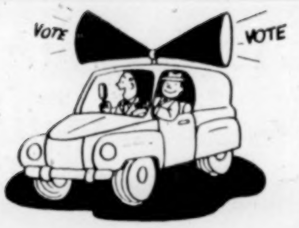
AFL—CIO Committee on Political Education
(COPE)

815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY
Chairman

Cope Publication No. 43

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer



[1964]

How to Get Out The VOTE

ELECTION DAY IS THE PAYOFF!

Check off these points as to how to prepare for Election Day activities to get out the labor vote:

- A COPE headquarters in every precinct . . .
- Plenty of telephones, tables, chairs, stationery . . .
- Recruit a volunteer force NOW, not the last minute . . . Members, wives and husbands, teen-age children, everybody . . .

  Enroll them all in Labor's fighting force for citizenship! . . . Give them all their special jobs—

  Checkers, to keep track of who votes . . .

  Telephoners, to call those who haven't voted . . .

  Messengers, to carry lists and messages, bring sandwiches and coffee, visit people who have no phones . . .

  Drivers and cars to take people to vote . . .

  Baby-sitters—say no more! . . .

  Poll-watchers—who know the law! . . .

  Leaflet passers—underline courtesy! . . .

  Sound-truck crews, and a truck . . .

It may take 20 workers to a precinct . . . be sure you have plenty.

* * * * *

A week before the election, call in *all* your volunteers and set *everyone* to work visiting homes and reminding folks to vote.

That is the time to make a last check to see what help every voter needs.

Compile the information in a card file.

The weekend before the election get your workers together again, and—

Put your card file in order . . .

Make lists of voters who need drivers, sitters . . .

Let everybody know his or her assignment . . .

* * * * *

On Election Day

- Every worker in his place: Checkers, telephoners, messengers, drivers, baby sitters, poll-watchers, leaflet-passers, sound-truck crews . . . and headquarters force.
- Regularly, like clock-work, during the day, the checkers pass the names of those who have voted to the messengers who take them to headquarters where the telephone force takes over.
- Meanwhile, the baby-sitters leave headquarters on telephone call, do their job and come back.
- Cars and drivers follow down the list of voters and take people to vote and come back for more.
- This can get hectic. Plan it well!

* * * * *

Keep your publications table filled and your sample ballots moving out.

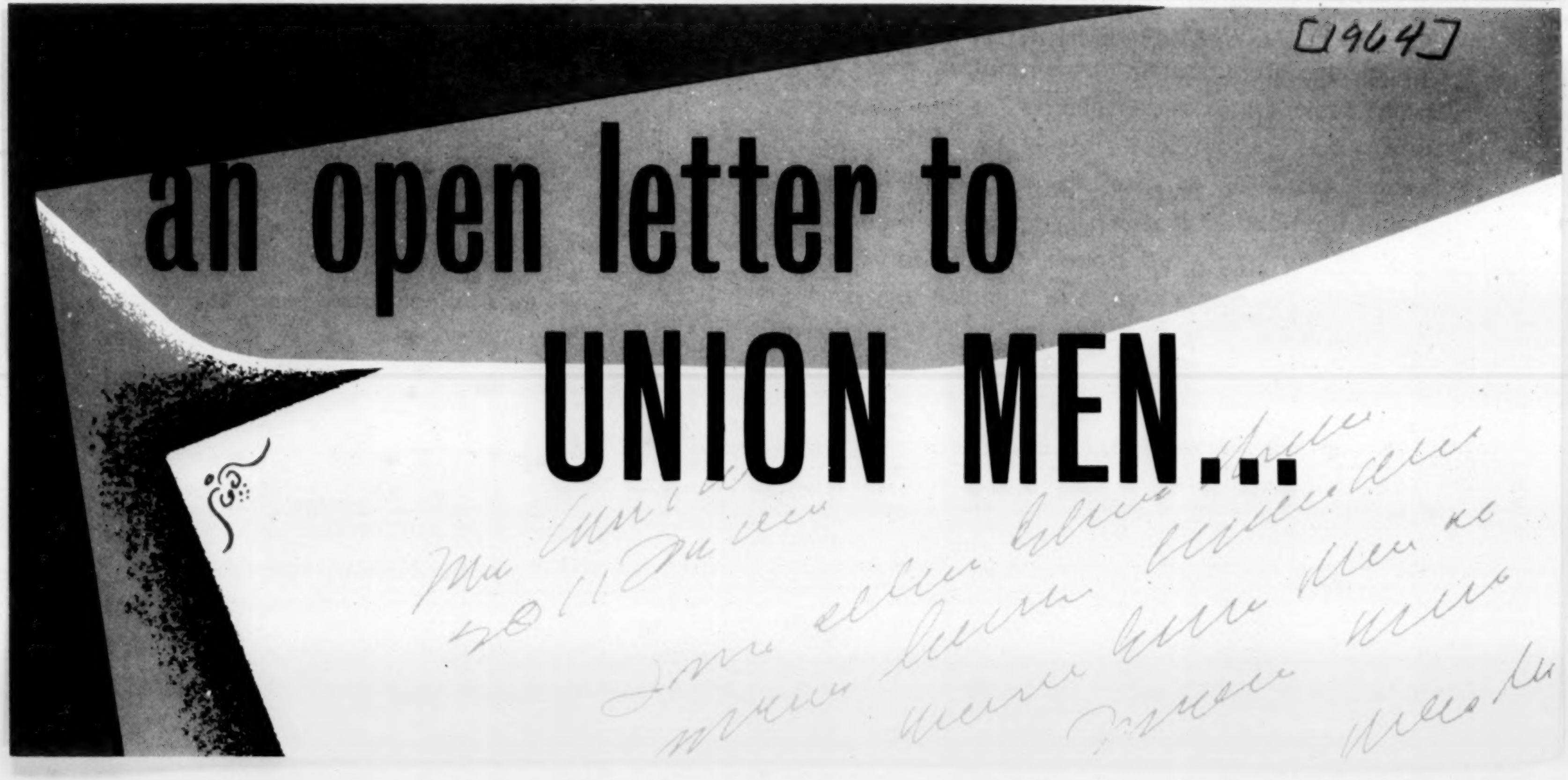
Keep your poll watchers on the job to prevent a steal.

Have your watchers stay to the very end, and go along to the Election Board with the clerks and judges of election.

Be sure all your people know the election laws.

Don't forget to keep your sound truck busy, and make sure you have your permit in advance.

Where workers can have time off to vote, make sure they know about it ahead of time, and that they make the necessary arrangements.



[1964]

an open letter to UNION MEN...

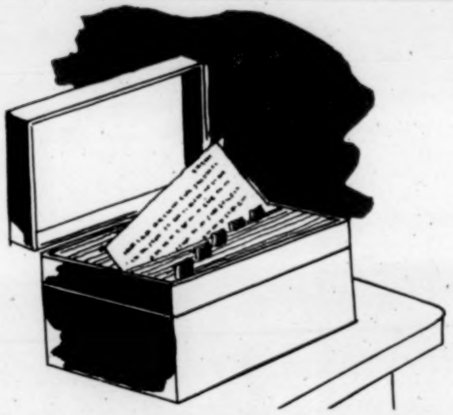
WITHOUT WOMANPOWER, ELECTIONS ARE LOST. That's the straight truth of American politics today.

The facts speak for themselves: Women eligible to vote now outnumber men eligible to vote by more than six million. The difference is expected to increase. Since 1920, when women first got the vote, the number eligible has soared from 29 million to more than 58 million.

So, the wife who cooks your meals, does your dishes, bears and rears your children, darns your socks, washes your clothes, fills your pipe, empties your pockets, saves your pennies, spends your dollars, nags you a little, cheers you a lot—the same wife has another important role, a political role.

And it's not just as a voter. Here's what the "little woman" can do when she's aroused to action on the political front:

Thirty-six women, working together and working hard, elected their candidate for state senate by 5,200 votes over the same man who had beaten him two years earlier by 3,200. THEY ACHIEVED A NET SWITCH OF 8,400 VOTES. Just 36 women, but they made 6,704 phone calls, personally called on 9,528 homes, distributed nearly 50,000 pieces of campaign literature, put in 5,798 hours of voluntary effort, served as baby-sitters on election day and helped with car pools to drive voters to the polls.



These women were members of the COPE WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES DEPARTMENT, and they helped swing an important election. Thirty-six women, not professional politicians, but volunteers working for a candidate they believed best qualified for the office.

Not only are more and more women voting and volunteering time and effort in politics, more and more women are running for office—*and winning*. More than a dozen women are members of the United States Congress, approximately 350 sit in state legislatures, several

are secretaries of state, 10,000 are on city councils or in comparable positions, more than 20,000 serve as county clerks, superintendents of schools, tax collectors, auditors and treasurers.

YES, WOMEN ARE IN POLITICS, IN IT TO STAY, AND IN IT BIG.

If labor's political action and education programs are to succeed, our COPE Women's Activities Department MUST EXPAND AND INCREASE and attract new volunteers. Part of the job is up to you, the union man.

If your wife—or your daughter, sister, cousin, niece, or women members of your union—aren't COPE Women's Activities volunteers, urge them to join up. They have a big and important job in politics, and as Women's Activities volunteers they'll do it.

REMEMBER, IT TOOK JUST 36 WOMEN TO PROVE IT CAN BE DONE.

AFL-CIO COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION
AFL-CIO Bldg., 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
GEORGE MEANY
Chairman
WM. F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer
COPE Publication No. 133

[1964]

6 how to

register voters

REGISTER
REGIS
REGISTER AND VOTE

☞ EVERY VOTE COUNTS *page 104*

☞ GET THE REGISTRATION FACTS *page 105*

☞ START BY REGISTERING YOUR UNION MEMBERS *page 107*

☞ REGISTRATION IN THE PRECINCT *page 114*

☞ REGISTRATION PUBLICITY *page 115*

☞ WHAT YOUR LOCAL SHOULD DO *page 121*

☞ HOW MANY PEOPLE VOTE? *page 124*

☞ HOW CAN WE WIN? *page 126*

> *"If liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost."*
>
> ARISTOTLE
> *Greek philosopher, 384-322 B.C.*

How to register Voters

You're the boss!

This is the title which Edward J. "Ed" Flynn gave the book he wrote on his life story. "Ed" Flynn was the famous boss of the Bronx for many years. As an acknowledged master of politics he rose to become National Chairman of the Democratic Party (1940-43).

Flynn explains the choice of the title for his autobiography this way: ". . . there are really eighty million political bosses in America. And I determined to try and tell them how, through misguided zeal, misspent energy and just plain laziness, most of them had been shirking their duty as soldiers of democracy. So this book is respectfully addressed to you, the reader, because you're the boss."

DO IT YOURSELF

As Paul P. Van Riper put it in his "Handbook of Practical Politics,"—"life and politics in a democracy such as ours are the results of the accumulation of decisions made by millions of 'you's' from every corner of the nation. And, only in a democracy like the U.S.A. do individual citizens of all creeds and colors have even the chance to decide for themselves the really important problems facing them."

Your vote is your chance.

Yet, millions of Americans shy away from that chance. They fail to exercise their right and their responsibility to vote.

They're too busy. They forget. They think politics is a bore. "Let George do it," they say. And "My vote wouldn't count," they argue.

Every Vote Counts

One vote *does* count, of course. People learned that in Newark, Ohio in a recent election. The incumbent mayor in this pleasant city was finally elected, after a recount, by just one vote.

One more vote in each precinct could have elected a Senator in Ohio and in New Jersey in recent elections.

Rutherford B. Hayes was elected President by one vote in 1876. His election was contested and it was referred to an electoral commission. Again he won by a single vote.

The man who cast that deciding vote for President Hayes was a Congressman from Indiana, a lawyer who was elected to Congress by a margin of just one vote. And that one vote was cast by a client of his who, though desperately ill, insisted on being taken to the polls to vote.

There are thousands of other examples which prove that one vote does count.

EVERY CITIZEN A VOTER

But as Ed Flynn said, there are literally millions of American citizens who are "shirking their duty as soldiers of democracy." Little more than half of them eligible to vote actually bother to do so on Election Day. The goal of COPE is "Every citizen a voter!" It is COPE's job to tell every AFL-CIO member and his or her family, every working man, every citizen we can reach "Your Vote is the one that Counts."

Registration Is Essential

Every citizen must register before he or she can vote.

Americans tend to forget this simple fact. They don't want to bother. They think it is too complicated and time-consuming. And many are astonished and disappointed that they can't vote on Election Day because they failed to register.

The idea of registration is very good. It is used to record the names of all those who are eligible to vote so that those names can be checked out on Election Day.

Unfortunately, there is no uniform rule for registration. Different cities and states have different rules. In most places citizens must go in person to the appropriate place to be entered on the official list of eligible voters. In 20 or so states registration can be done by mail.

If you're in a poll tax state, remind your members to pay their poll tax. Otherwise, they can't vote.

First Of All, Get All The Facts

If you are going to register and help others to register, find out immediately what the registration rules are in your state.

You can get these rules from your City or County Clerk, or the Office of the Registrar of Voters in the City Hall or County Building. While you are at it, get all the information you can about voting—how to transfer registration from one precinct to another, absentee voting, etc. You will need this information to answer questions later.

Registration of the greatest possible number of eligible voters will not get done by itself. It requires an orderly and methodical effort—a well-organized drive.

And don't forget the soldier vote and absentee vote. Often they can swing an election.

The Bigger, The Better

A registration drive can be a one-man or one-woman show. An individual can do a lot of good just urging his eligible family members, his friends and neighbors and the people on the job to register and vote.

It is much better, of course, if a systematic, well-organized registration drive is conducted by the union local.

But you'll have best results if your registration drive is conducted on a city, county or statewide basis by the city, county or state COPE.

In many parts of the country, city, county and state COPES initiate area wide registration drives in which every civic, social and political organization participates. This takes some effort but gets best results. It is a vital patriotic service, essential to make our democracy work.

PROPER TIMING

Like any other campaign, your registration drive must be properly timed. The time for your drive should be determined in cooperation with the local Board of Elections or Registrar of Voters since this office usually also conducts special registration drives during which additional temporary registration offices are opened, evening registration is arranged for, and other special services are rendered. Your drive should obviously coincide with such efforts. It should also coincide with the registration drives of other organizations.

BETTER REGISTRATION FACILITIES

A vital part of any registration drive, at least in most communities, is a campaign to get expanded registration facilities from local Boards of Election or Registrars of Voters. The job of registering people is obviously going to be much simpler if there are more roving Registration Boards, expanded hours, more registration places, or even post-card registration and deputizing registrars for door-to-door work.

Any drive needs publicity—all and any means of making people aware of the need to register—and systematic organization.

Start With AFL-CIO Members

Let's talk about organization first. Obviously COPE's first job is to register AFL-CIO members and their families—regardless whether the drive as a whole is conducted in cooperation with other organizations or not.

And the best way to register all AFL-CIO members in the area is to swing the City or County COPE into action. The job is to find out who is registered and who is not and to get the unregistered on the poll list.

EIGHT STEPS

Here are eight steps City or County COPES should follow:

Step 1: Prepare two 3" x 5" file cards for each AFL-CIO member. These cards may either be prepared uniformly by each union local or by the council from membership lists the locals have supplied. (See also Chapter 5 on the membership file.)

NOTICE!
In order to vote every citizen is required to register!

Each card should provide for the following information:

- ★ name of member
- ★ home address and telephone number
- ★ names of all family members eligible to vote (21 years on election day in all states except Georgia and Kentucky where the age is 18)
- ★ ward and precinct
- ★ a place to mark whether or not registered.

Be sure membership files are kept under lock and key. Don't let unauthorized persons near them.

Step 2: Both sets of membership file cards are collected in headquarters. Your registration drive, like any other campaign must have a headquarters to avoid duplication and to coordinate efforts. Headquarters may be the council office or a separate office rented for the occasion.

Step 3: Headquarters marks both sets of cards with ward and precinct number.

Step 4: Break down one set of cards by precincts and again alphabetically within each precinct. That is the way it is arranged on the registration lists. It will be easier to check your cards against this list if you have them in order.

Your other set of cards is arranged in alphabetical order regardless of ward and precinct and stays in headquarters at all times. You must have a record in case the precinct cards get lost. They are handled by many people and it can easily happen. (As we said in the previous chapter this entire operation of setting up a card file can also be done by business machine—at a price.)

Step 5: Check your precinct set of cards against the official list of registered voters in the Registrar's office.

This is the only sure way of knowing who is registered and who isn't. You can't rely on memories. People often aren't sure or they don't remember. They may have moved and have to register again. Or they may have failed to vote in previous elections and thus lost their registration status.

The official list is kept by the election officials. In some states it is printed and can be purchased or obtained free. In some places it has to be copied or used in the office only.

Since this is the heart of your campaign it is definitely worth while to hire someone to check the list. Sometimes you may be able to hire a clerk in the registration office to do this work in his spare time.

You need not get into an argument about getting access to the registration list. It is a public record and you are entitled to it as a citizen.

Checking your membership file against the registration list enables you to see who is registered and who isn't. Mark each card "yes" or "no" in the space left for registration.

Step 6: Now you've got your cards with the names, addresses, ward and precinct designation of all those who are not registered.

Give the name of each unregistered member to the COPE Chairman of his local union. The idea is that the shop steward then approaches the man, and tells him where and when he can register and why it is important to him and his union that he do so.

It is important that each local union COPE makes a real effort in the Registration Drive. Posters should be up, literature should be available, registration should be talked up as much as possible. And it should be followed up with a personal talk with each unregistered member.

Be sure the local union COPE reports back to Registration Drive Headquarters as soon as each man is registered, so you won't have to worry about him any longer.

Step 7: Those who remain unregistered should receive a personal letter. It should be signed by a top local official. The letter points up how vital it is that every citizen exercise his right to vote. It should make plain that, of course, every candidate can vote for whomever he wants . . . but that he must vote. As the Greek philosopher Plato said some 2,300 years ago: "The punishment suffered by the wise who refuse to take part in the government is to live under the government of bad men."

Most of all your letter should give precise and detailed information on where, when and how to register and where additional voter information can be obtained.

Step 8: Now follow up the personal approach on the job (Step 6) and the letter reminding the unregistered to register (Step 7) with a personal visit.

This is the time for your precinct organization (see Chapter 5) to swing into action. It's a good time to make contacts with potential voters, acquaint your blockworker with the people in their blocks.

Distribute the cards of the unregistered to the blockworkers in the block they live in. Let them call on each one, equipped with all the necessary information and a leaflet which they can leave after their visit.

YOUR PRECINCT ORGANIZATION

It is very important that your precinct organization is organized to help people get registered. This means that you should be able to provide baby sitters for mothers who need them to take the time to go to the registration office. It means you should be able to provide transportation for anyone who may need it.

Some precincts organize registration parties. They take a group of unregistered persons to the registration office all at the same time. It's more fun that way, helps everyone to get acquainted and make new friends.

Blockworkers should regularly report on their progress to the precinct chairman. The chairman reports back to Registration Drive headquarters. Headquarters keeps tabs on the over-all effort, helps out with literature and people where needed and doesn't relax until every AFL-CIO member in the area is registered.

SUPPORT YOUR DRIVE WITH PUBLICITY

All this should be supported by a steady and intensive publicity barrage just like an effective infantry attack is supported by heavy and well-aimed artillery fire. (You'll find publicity suggestions later on in this chapter.)

This plan, of course, only takes care of registering AFL-CIO members. It is our minimum objective, so to speak. It's the least good unionists should do to help make democracy work.

The maximum objective is to get *all* working people registered. In many parts of the country AFL-CIO unions can proudly boast of having made a splendid contribution to this effort. It pays off in better government, better officials, better laws.

City Or County-wide Registration Drive

Here is a plan for city-wide registration of working people. Here is how it works:

1) Get the most recent city directory (not more than 12 months old) and get the registration rolls for the city and any surrounding towns covered by the directory. Preferably get a copy of the directory before it is bound into a book. This saves the trouble of taking it apart, and may save you a few weeks time if the directory is just being published.

2) Code the directory by crossing out the names of professional people, business executives, salesmen, supervisors, foremen, etc. (directories list the occupations after each name in the alphabetical section). Mark a dash beside each name not crossed out to make it easier to see on the page.

3) Type the names and addresses on specially prepared forms which you must have printed (order them early!). This typing operation produces three sets of names in alphabetical order.

SORT NAMES

4) The names are then sorted into voting districts, the unit of 3 copies being kept together for this operation. It requires three or four sorting operations by street, by street number, and finally by ward and/or precinct. If your city has only wards, or only precincts, you have one less sorting job to do.

5) These forms, now arranged by voting districts, should be checked against the registration book. Each name should be marked as registered or unregistered and filed accordingly. Names of non-working wives should be on the same card with their husbands. If either one is unregistered, the card should go in the not registered file.

6) The first copy of the form should then be pulled off for mailing purposes. If you keep the names separated by voting districts, it is a simple matter to insert in the envelope local notices giving the time and place of registration for the district if this varies. The form is designed for use with a window envelope to save the job of addressing envelopes.

7) The second copy should then be pulled off, still kept separately by registered and unregistered and by voting districts to be turned over to blockworkers in the precincts who will contact the people at home.

ONE COPY TO THE LOCAL UNION

8) The final copy, still separated by registered and unregistered, should then be sorted by occupation or place of employment. Each trade union council or each local union should be sent the names of all people in their group, whether members of the union or not. In other words, if local XX has the XYZ plant in your city, all names of people employed at that plant should be forwarded to that local union.

The principal advantages of this method are that it gives greater coverage of the city. City directories are probably the most accurate lists available of potential voters, and they offer a cheaper way of getting the names than any involved clerical operation. The principal disadvantages are that the directories include names of aliens, names of 19 and 20 year olds, and directories do not give names of people who work in a city but live in suburban areas outside its limits.

The Real Job: Persuade Them

Both these methods are solely the mechanical means of getting lists of the names and addresses of the unregistered and sorting them so they can be contacted both in the shop and at home.

It is the job of the local union COPE to contact them in the shop. Your ward and precinct organization should do the doorbell pushing.

AFL-CIO women, both members and members' wives, should help in the precincts.

But you'll also want these records not only to find out how you are doing with your registration drive but for later canvassing and "get-out-the-vote" drives (see Chapter 11).

Lists of registered voters are also invaluable for education on issues, candidates and records through later contacts and mailings.

THE BEST WAY

Neither of these plans is a 100% substitute for the one and only accurate and time-tested method; house to house canvass of every block in every street.

Registration In The Precinct

By this method you send a representative of each precinct to the Registrar of Voters office and have him or her copy the names and addresses of every registered voter in the precinct on a file card. It's a formidable job—but not as bad as you might think.

Once you have a card for every registered voter (members of the same family living in the same house or apartment can, of course, be put on one card) you arrange your cards by blocks, streets and house number.

RING DOORBELLS

Next you hand each blockworker his stack of cards. Then let him go from house to house, pushing each doorbell for which he *doesn't* have a card. The people living there obviously, are not registered.

"I am Joe Doe, your COPE blockworker," your man or gal will say. "I notice that apparently you are not registered. Are you eligible?"

If the person is eligible the blockworker provides all the necessary registration information and gives all the help he can to get his "customer" to the registration office. This may involve furnishing transportation, baby sitters, or other help. Sometimes the person has just moved into the community and is not yet eligible because he or she doesn't fulfill the registration requirements.

A CARD FOR EACH HOME

In any event the blockworker should make out a card for the person, noting on it all pertinent information. The card serves two purposes; it avoids duplication and it enables the blockworker to follow up later. In other words, the blockworker will not by mistake call on the same person again until he is eligible to register. But he will call when the time comes—when the "customer" has attained his citizenship, for instance, or has lived in the community long enough to be eligible to vote—to remind him.

Even if you make the primary effort in your registration drive with AFL-CIO members, a complete house-to-house canvass in the precinct is highly recommended. An efficient precinct organization should have a card of every person living in its precinct. It's the only way to see that 1) everyone is registered, 2) everyone is made familiar with the issues, and 3) every voter is brought out to vote.

Registration Publicity

Promotion and publicity is no substitute for a thorough person-by-person canvass but it is a vital and essential part of your registration drive. An effective and aggressive publicity campaign is needed to back up the effort of your COPE workers in the shop and in the precinct. They need this support, as we said before, as much as the infantry soldiers need the support of the artillery.

Every technique of advertising and promotion should be used to alert citizens to the importance of registering.

ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

The most effective way to go about it, is to organize a committee of prominent citizens with representatives from every possible organization in the community. Call it "Your Town's Good Government League" or "Committee for Active Citizenship." Let it be completely non-partisan. For all you want to promote is good citizenship based on the simple and obvious proposition that the more people participate in elections the more representative and truly democratic our government is going to be. Organizations like the Chamber of Commerce, the Republican and Democratic Parties, the League of Women Voters, other trade unions, businessmen's clubs, veterans organizations, student groups, minority organizations, advertising clubs, etc., should all join the Committee and the Registration Drive.

A registration campaign conducted by such a representative group can be extremely effective for two reasons:

1) You reach a very large number of people through these various organizations and the influence they have in the community. And

2) A broad, non-partisan committee opens up practically every means of communication and publicity.

Whether your registration drive is conducted by COPE alone or under the auspices of a representative registration campaign committee, use some or all of the following means of publicity:

RADIO AND TV STATIONS—should give *free* time for:

- ★ special five or ten minute talks by prominent civic leaders about the importance of registration.
- ★ short dramatic skits, live or recorded, stressing the need to register and vote.
- ★ spot announcements urging registration and giving dates, places and times for registration. (Also give phone number of the committee which can arrange for transportation when needed.)
- ★ stress registration and give registration information in regular news broadcasts and news commentaries.

NEWSPAPERS AND WEEKLIES—should give free space for:

- ★ An "Only X more days to register" box, preferably on the front page, every day for the duration of the registration drive.

- ★ "Register to Vote" cut-off slugs at end of stories, columns, editorials, etc., instead of regular rules.
- ★ editorials and cartoons on the "register so you can vote theme"
- ★ news stories about the registration drive. These can be varied indefinitely for instance: stories about prominent women taking part in the registration drive on the women's page; naturalized citizens registering, 21-year olds registering to vote for the first time, oldsters reminiscing about events and issues that were important the first time they voted, feature reports on the registration office and its work, etc.
- ★ ads giving registration information and urging people to register

BUSINESS, ADVERTISING AGENCIES should be asked for cooperation with the following:

- ★ inclusion of registration slogans in newspaper ads or sponsoring of ads exclusively devoted to registration
- ★ registration announcements in radio and TV advertising
- ★ donation of space in streetcars, buses and on billboards for registration messages
- ★ window displays in stores. The Chamber of Commerce can often be persuaded to run a contest for the best window display on the subject
- ★ window displays in the offices of Gas, Electric and Water Companies

Put Up Your Registration Posters

- ★ in department stores, retail shops, public transportation carriers, theatre lobbies, lobbies and elevators of office and apartment buildings, drug stores, and restaurants

★ on bulletin boards in libraries, recreation centers, churches, clubs, unions, factories, colleges and meeting halls

THEATERS

Contact movie *theater managers* about running "register and vote" slides between showings during the campaign period

CLERGY

Ask the *clergy* about mentioning registration in their announcements

ORGANIZATIONS

Get every organization in town or in the county to feature registration announcements. Ask to have a representative of your registration committee speak briefly in their meetings. Also ask them to carry "register and vote" announcements or ads in their bulletins and special mailings. Among the groups to contact are:

★ Elks, civic, religious, fraternal, educational, student, social organizations, clubs and associations

HANDBILLS

Print a simple, attractive *flyer* or *handbill* with registration and voting information in sufficient quantities to distribute them:

★ door to door

★ as inserts with organization mailings

★ on store counters

★ as bill inserts by department and other stores as well as gas, light and water companies

★ at street corners, in front of factories and schools

STAMPS

Print "Register and Vote" stamps and urge organizations and businesses to stick them on all their mailing envelopes.

SPECIAL EVENTS

Schedule *special events* and see that these get good advance publicity and newspaper and radio coverage. Such special events could include:

★ an opening ceremony of your registration drive, kicked off at City Hall or Capitol by the Mayor or Governor, heads of your committee and other prominent citizens

★ registration parades with banners, sound trucks, pretty girls, etc. The parade should include veterans organizations, detachments from different schools, detachments of the various professions such as teachers, doctors, clergy, lawyers, businessmen, etc., as well as the various organizations listed above.

BUTTON

★ "I have registered" buttons—You will find firms making campaign buttons listed in your yellow classified telephone directory. Make up but-

tons with an inscription such as "I have registered—I will vote." Distribute them at registration offices and urge people to wear them. Give the first button to the governor or mayor or some other prominent, newsworthy person. See that people wear your buttons on all publicity pictures.

PORCH LIGHT CAMPAIGN

★ Organize a "porch light" campaign to register voters. If you have a prominent registration committee and built up sufficient publicity and public pressure you may be able to arrange for registrars from the Registration Office to go from house to house to register voters. Pick an evening in the middle of the week and through the newspaper, radio, handbills, telephone brigades, etc., ask all people in a given precinct who are not registered to turn on the light on the porch. The registrar and his staff will then call at homes where the porch light is on and register all those eligible in the family.

DOOR KNOB HANGERS

★ Another gimick you can use—to notify people of the porchlight campaign or directly to urge them to register soon—is a door knob hanger. It's similar to the card that the telegraph company uses to notify you of a telegram delivery when you are not at home. Your door knob hanger should have printed on it the facts about registration, especially when and where to register. Or, you can dress up your door knob hanger with some catchy slogan.

Don't Just Ask—Give

You need publicity, free publicity for an effective registration drive. You'll have to ask a lot of people to cooperate with you. You need the help and cooperation of your local newspapers and radio stations and of various organizations.

To get this needed help you must be prepared to give. Newspaper writers and radio commentators in particular have a lot on their minds and a lot to do. The easier you make it for them to write or broadcast your story the better your chances to get it in print or on the air.

Here are some of the basic materials which you should prepare as soon as possible:

★ a mimeographed or printed sheet listing all pertinent information and voting, including
  dates of registration
  places of registration
  times of registration
  requirements for registration and voting

★ a mimeographed or printed sheet of short register and vote slogans and plugs suitable for use in advertising, cut-off slugs in newspapers, etc.

★ sample spot announcements for radio stations, organization bulletins

★ sample registration boxes for newspapers and advertising agencies, radio programs

What The Local Union Should Do

The most important contribution to any effective AFL-CIO registration drive is made by the local union COPE.

The local union COPE should:

★ talk up registration at union meetings, union socials, in the union hall

★ distribute leaflets, booklets, handbills in the shop or at the gate

★ write to the members of your local at home

★ put up notices, stickers, posters at plant bulletin boards, in the union office, union hall . . . any place you can

★ use a loudspeaker car or truck at the factory gate at shift change

- ★ get a special rubber stamp or sticker to paste on member's dues book or card showing he is registered
- ★ ask management for permission to include a registration reminder slip in pay envelopes
- ★ ask management to pay lost time for registration
- ★ run contests between shops or departments with prizes or citations for the one which first attains 100% registration
- ★ reward shopworkers or blockworkers who do an outstanding job in getting others to register by announcing their names at meetings, giving them certificates of good citizenship, sending them letters of commendation, or honoring them at a registration drive dinner
- ★ open a registration booth in your plant or union hall. Perhaps you can persuade an official from the Voter's Registrar Office to actually register people there at certain hours. Otherwise use the booth to give out registration information.

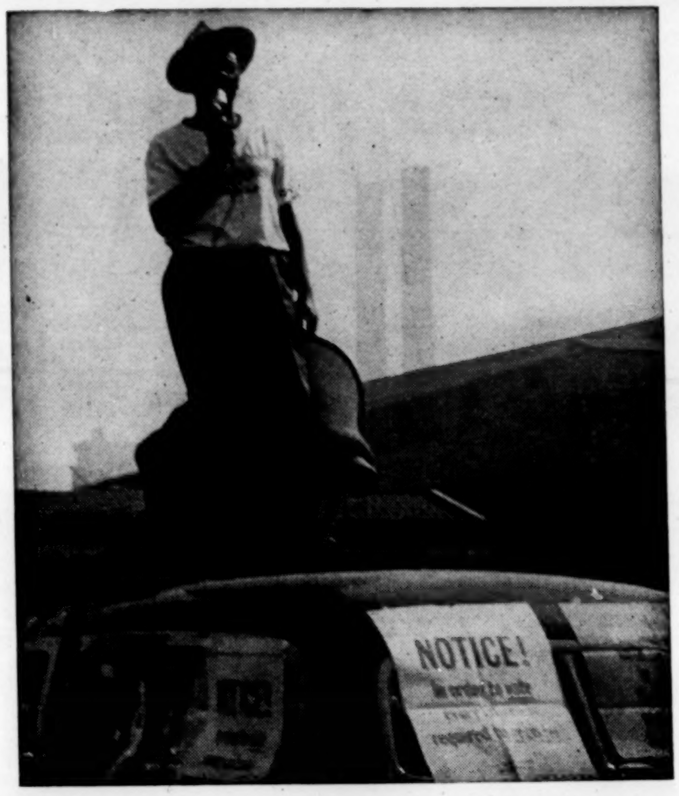
EMPLOYER-EMPLOYEE CAMPAIGNS

Quite possibly you can get your employer to join with your local union in a company-wide registration drive. Suggest to set up a committee consisting of both management and labor to organize it. Such a joint committee could do many of the things suggested above.

A Word About Your Approach

Your literature, your posters, your letters, your speeches and announcements should call on two basic human emotions; pride and shame.

Appeal to the pride of the unregistered by saying: "Be a first class citizen—register to vote!" Or, "Yours is the vote that counts—register today!" There are, of course, thousands of variations on this theme.



Shaming people can also be played in various ways: "Don't shirk your duty—good citizens vote," might suggest possible slogans. In your local union bulletin or even in a handbill print the names of members of the local who are registered. These are the local's first class citizens, your announcement says. The implication is, of course, that the others are not.

Also consider appealing to people's self-interest. Voting gives a citizen his best chance to have his say on such issues as how much taxes he pays, what unemployment compensation he gets, how many schools are built. "Register to Vote so You Can Help Bring Taxes Down," might be a good slogan to fit into this theme.

HOW MANY PEOPLE REGISTER AND VOTE

AS OF 1960

State	Potential Vote	Per cent of Potential Registered	Per cent of Potential Voting
Alabama	1,834,378	50.5	30.3
Alaska	133,675	46.5	45.5
Arizona	731,682	64.8	54.5
Arkansas	1,043,269	57.9	41.1
California	9,660,178	77.3	66.8
Colorado	1,031,263	85.3	70.1
Connecticut	1,591,461	83.3	76.9
Delaware	267,249	92.1	73.3
Florida	3,087,699	65.3	50.0
Georgia	2,409,972	54.0	30.4
Hawaii	348,330	54.6	53.1
Idaho	372,484	97.4	80.6
Illinois	6,280,637	87.6	75.7
Indiana	2,777,924	92.5	76.9
Iowa	1,664,371		76.5
Kansas	1,321,835	94.6	70.2
Kentucky	1,897,987		59.2
Louisiana	1,803,805	63.9	44.8
Maine	580,855	92.6	72.6
Maryland	1,845,067	72.0	57.2
Massachusetts	3,245,066	83.8	73.7
Michigan	4,580,295	89.5	72.4
Minnesota	2,001,455		77.0
Mississippi	1,170,522	47.0	25.5
Missouri	2,695,614		73.0
Montana	388,673	83.1	71.4
Nebraska	858,318		71.5
Nevada	175,365	73.5	61.2
New Hampshire	372,725	94.9	79.3
New Jersey	3,861,074	79.6	71.8
New Mexico	500,675	73.4	62.1
New York	10,880,592	76.8	67.8
North Carolina	2,556,884	78.2	53.5
North Dakota	354,866		78.5
Ohio	5,839,311	61.3	71.3
Oklahoma	1,416,050	79.0	63.8
Oregon	1,073,431	82.7	71.2
Pennsylvania	7,100,482	80.1	70.4
Rhode Island	539,804	86.6	74.5
South Carolina	1,266,251	46.4	30.3
South Dakota	391,597		78.3
Tennessee	2,092,891	71.7	50.2
Texas	5,534,277	50.6	41.8
Utah	467,817	89.6	80.1
Vermont	230,645	89.3	72.6
Virginia	2,312,887	42.3	33.4
Washington	1,717,597	88.7	72.3
West Virginia	1,083,347		77.3
Wisconsin	2,354,489		73.4
Wyoming	190,305		74.0

NATIONAL AVERAGE

106,974,000 POTENTIAL VOTERS

ONLY 64.4% VOTED

AFL-CIO Committee On Political Education
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

George Meany
Chairman

Wm. F. Schnitzler
Secretary-Treasurer

COPE Publication No. 7

SWORN WRITTEN APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION

(By reason of the provisions of Section 244 of the Constitution of Mississippi and House Bill No. 95, approved March 24, 1955, the applicant for registration, if not physically disabled, is required to fill in this form in his own handwriting in the presence of the registrar and without assistance or suggestion of any other person or memorandum.)

1. Write the date of this application:______________________________

2. What is your full name?______________________________

3. State your age and date of birth:______________________________

4. What is your occupation?______________________________

5. Where is your business carried on?______________________________

6. By whom are you employed?______________________________

7. Are you a citizen of the United States and an inhabitant of Mississippi?______________________________

8. For how long have you resided in Mississippi?____________________

9. Where is your place of residence in the district?____________________
____

10. Specify the date when such residence began:____________________

11. State your prior place of residence, if any:____________________

12. Check which oath you desire to take: (1) General____________(2) Minister's______(3) Minister's Wife__________(4) If under 21 years at present, but 21 years by date of general election____________.

3. If there is more than one person of your same name in the precinct, by what name do you wish to be called?____________________.

4. Have you ever been convicted of any of the following crimes: bribery, theft, arson, obtaining money or goods under false pretenses, perjury, forgery, embezzlement, or bigamy?____________

5. If your answer to Question 14 is "Yes", name the crime or crimes of which you have been convicted, and the date and place of such conviction or convictions:______________________________

16. Are you a minister of the gospel in charge of an organized church, or the wife of such a minister?______________________________

17. If your answer to Question 16 is "Yes", state the length of your residence in the election district.______________________________

18. Write and copy in the space below, Section _____ of the Constitution of Mississippi:
(Instruction to Registrar: You will designate the section of the Constitution and point out same to applicant.)

19. Write in the space below a reasonable interpretation (the meaning) of the section of the Constitution of Mississippi which you have just copied:

20. Write in the space below a statement setting forth your understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government.

21. Sign and attach hereto the oath or affirmation named in Question 12.

____
The applicant will sign his name here.

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY OF__________

Sworn to and subscribed before me by the within named__________

________________________________on this the______day of __________

19___.

____
COUNTY REGISTRAR

Voting

SELECTED DATA ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOUTHERN STATES

TING

e	Total Voting-Age Population	Number White Voting-Age Population	Number White Registered	Number Non-white Voting-Age Population	Number Negroes Registered	% of State White Voting-Age Population Registered	% of State Non-white Voting-Age Population Registered
ama	1,924,936	1,415,205	883,732	509,731	68,317	62.4%	13.4%
nsas	1,089,358	886,765	506,799	202,593	68,970	57.1	34.0
ida	3,207,238	2,711,818	1,819,342	495,420	182,456	67.0	36.8
gia	2,549,352	1,893,305	1,152,707	656,047	175,573	60.8	26.7
siana	1,892,402	1,347,405	934,862	544,997	151,663	69.3	27.8
issippi	1,235,072	785,776	390,000**	449,296	23,920	49.6	5.3
h Carolina	2,700,778	2,114,559	1,861,330	586,219	210,450	88.0	35.8
h Carolina	1,344,466	947,618	480,793	396,848	90,901	50.7	22.9
essee	2,193,799	1,864,169	930,198	329,630	150,869	49.8	45.7
s*	2,010,034	1,595,801	658,293**	414,233	111,014**	41.2	26.7
inia	2,437,328	1,977,247	940,115	460,081	110,113	47.5	24.0

These Texas figures include only those 65 counties in East Texas which have more than 15% non-white population.
Statistical Estimate

rce: See back of page.

Note: The data on voting included here was compiled through the research facilities of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia. At the time of printing it is the most up to date information available on state-wide totals. More accurate figures have recently been attained on specified counties. It is to be remembered that this table does not take into consideration the changes in figures that have occurred in the past year.

SOURCES FOR VOTING DATA

Population: 1960 U.S. Census Reports

Registration: Alabama - Compilation made by the Birmingham News, June 10, 1962, from various sources. Chilton County not included.

Arkansas - Report of Arkansas State Auditor, 1962, for 1961.

Florida - Report of Secretary of State, April 19, 1962.

Georgia - Atlanta Journal, April 16, 1962.

Louisiana - New Orleans Times Picayune, May 5, 1962.

Mississippi - 1961 Civil Rights Commission Report (69 of 82 counties.)

North Carolina - North Carolina Advisory Committee, 1960.

South Carolina - Negro: Report of South Carolina Progressive Democrats, April 1962; white: Washington Post, July 1961.

Tennessee - 1961 Civil Rights Commission Report (63 of 95 counties.)

Texas - Compiled by Robert Calvert, Comptroller of Public Accounts; racial breakdown estimated statistically by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Virginia - Letter from Levin Nock Davis, Secretary, Virginia State Board of Elections, August 3, 1962.

II. EDUCATION

A. ILLITERACY (defined here as the inability to read and write a simple message either in English or in any other language).

State	% of Pop. in 1960
Iowa	0.7%
Idaho	0.8
Oregon	0.8
Kansas	0.9
Nebraska	0.9
South Dakota	0.9
Utah	0.9
Washington	0.9
Wyoming	0.9
Minnesota	1.0
Montana	1.0
Nevada	1.1
Vermont	1.1
Indiana	1.2
Wisconsin	1.2
Colorado	1.3
Maine	1.3
New Hampshire	1.4
North Dakota	1.4
Ohio	1.5
Michigan	1.6
Missouri	1.7
California	1.8
Illinois	1.8
Delaware	1.9
District of Columbia	1.9
Maryland	1.9
Oklahoma	1.9
Pennsylvania	2.0
Connecticut	2.2
Massachusetts	2.2
New Jersey	2.2
Rhode Island	2.4
Florida	2.6
West Virginia	2.7
New York	2.9
Alaska	3.0
Kentucky	3.3
Virginia	3.4
ennessee	3.5
rkansas	3.6
rizona	3.8
New Mexico	4.0
North Carolina	4.0
Texas	4.1
Alabama	4.2
Georgia	4.5
Mississippi	4.9
awaii	5.0
South Carolina	5.5
Louisiana	6.3

A. Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports

B. "FUNCTIONAL ILLITERACY" (refers here to a person 18 years of age or older with less than six years of schooling.

State	% of Pop.-1960
Utah	3.3%
Iowa	3.5
Oregon	3.9
Idaho	3.9
Washington	4.0
Nebraska	4.2
Wyoming	4.2
Kansas	4.3
Vermont	4.4
Nevada	4.6
Minnesota	4.7
Montana	4.8
South Dakota	4.8
New Hampshire	5.2
Maine	5.5
Colorado	5.5
Indiana	5.7
Ohio	6.3
California	6.7
Michigan	6.8
Massachusetts	7.0
North Dakota	7.0
Illinois	7.4
Connecticut	7.4
Delaware	7.7
Pennsylvania	8.1
New Jersey	8.2
Missouri	8.3
Washington, D.C.	8.4
Rhode Island	8.7
Maryland	9.0
New York	9.1
Alaska	9.6
Oklahoma	10.1
Florida	10.8
Arizona	11.7
West Virginia	12.9
New Mexico	14.3
Virginia	15.3
Texas	15.7
Kentucky	16.2
Tennessee	17.3
Hawaii	17.6
Arkansas	18.0
Alabama	19.1
North Carolina	19.3
Georgia	20.6
Mississippi	22.0
South Carolina	23.8
Louisiana	24.9

B. Source: New York Times, April 8, 1962

B. SOUTHERN STATES

Median income of families and unrelated individuals in the South in 1960:

State	White	Nonwhite	State	White	Nonwhite
Alabama	$4,240	$1,655	North Carolina	$3,947	$1,685
Arkansas	3,122	1,305	South Carolina	4,121	1,415
Florida	4,311	2,174	Tennessee	3,737	1,801
Georgia	4,370	1,817	Texas	4,457	2,011
Louisiana	4,597	1,823	Virginia	4,608	2,231
Mississippi	3,565	1,168			

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

IV. POPULATION SHIFTS

A. NEGRO POPULATION AS A PERCENT

Negro population as a percent of U.S. total for selected years:

Year	Negro Population	Percent of Total U.S. Pop.
1960	18,860,117	10.6
1950	15,042,286	10.0
1940	12,865,518	9.8

Negro population as percent of South including border states for selected years:

Year	Negro Population	Percent of Southern Pop.
1960	11,311,607	20.6
1950	10,225,407	21.7
1940	9,904,619	23.8

B. MIGRATION FROM COUNTRY TO CITY

Percent of U.S. total population in rural and urban areas in 1950 and 1960. (As used here, "urban" includes persons living in urbanized areas and in places of 2,500 inhabitants or more outside of urbanized areas.)

Year	Total Urban	Total Rural	White Urban	White Rural	Nonwhite Urban	Nonwhite Rural
1960	69.9	30.1	69.5	30.5	72.4	27.6
1950	64.0	36.0	64.3	35.7	61.7	38.3

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

C. SCHOOL COMPLETION

"If a 'drop-out' is defined as a student who fails to complete high school, the higher drop-out rates are found in Virginia, South Carolina Georgia, Kentucky, and Mississippi where half the students do not graduate." ("Education in America: East and West," Paul Woodring, Saturday Review, July 21, 1962, p.37.) The following table shows the percent of students graduated from high school in 1962 that had enrolled in 8th grade in 1957-58. However, reversal of these percentages would not account for such factors as interstate migration and changes of pupils between public and nonpublic schools.)

State	Percent graduated	State	Percent graduated
Wisconsin	92.3%	Delaware	72.0%
Minnesota	88.2	Arizona	71.1
California	86.4	Alaska	70.1
Nebraska	84.8	New Hampshire	69.3
Illinois	84.5	Massachusetts	68.2
Washington	84.2	Oklahoma	67.9
Hawaii	80.6	Maryland	67.5
New Jersey	78.8	Nevada	63.7
Iowa	78.6	Florida	62.9
Michigan	78.4	New Mexico	62.2
Kansas	78.1	Maine	61.0
South Dakota	78.1	Texas	60.6
Pennsylvania	78.0	Arkansas	57.8
Oregon	77.9	Louisiana	57.8
Utah	77.2	Mississippi	57.8
North Dakota	76.8	North Carolina	57.4
Indiana	74.1	Vermont	56.4
New York	74.1	West Virginia	55.5
Montana	73.3	Tennessee	55.1
Rhode Island	73.3	Alabama	55.0
Connecticut	73.1	South Carolina	54.2
Wyoming	73.1	Kentucky	52.6
Missouri	73.0	Virginia	51.9
Colorado	72.9	Georgia	51.8
Idaho	72.5		
Ohio	72.4		

Source: January, 1963, Research Report, National Education Association, Table 47.

III. MEDIAN INCOME

A. TOTALS

Total median income of families and unrelated individuals in the United States in 1960:

All classes	$4,791
White population	5,088
Non-white population	2,520

Total median income of families and unrelated individuals in the South in 1960, both white and non-white:

South	$3,692

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

D. NOTES ON NEGRO MIGRATION

The following is condensed from an article by Charles Silberman, "The City and the Negro," Fortune Magazine, March, 1962. Reprints of the article are available from the Southern Regional Council.

Negroes are engaged in two shifts: from South to North, and from country to city. In 1910, 80% of U.S. Negroes lived in one or another of the eleven Old Confederacy states. Over 90% of these Negroes lived in rural areas. Between 1940 and 1960, Negro population outside these states went up 2¼ times until 48% of the total Negro population lived in the North. In the eleven Southern states however, Negro population rose by only 9%.

Most of the increase outside the South occurred in the central cities of the 12 largest U.S. urban areas: New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco, Boston, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Washington, Cleveland, Baltimore - which now have 31% of all U.S. Negroes. The migration of Negroes has diffused somewhat to smaller cities, for example, Buffalo, Rochester, Newark, New Haven, Fort Wayne and San Diego, during the past ten years.

In the South the number of Negroes in rural areas declined, whereas the proportion of Negroes in Southern cities grew from 7% in 1910, to 21% in 1940, to 41% in 1960. The Negro population in Dallas and Houston rose 2½ times, and went up 75% in Atlanta and Miami.

Compiled by:
Human Relations Special Project
National Student YWCA
Southern Region
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April, 1963

[Voter Registration, New Orleans, La, 1963-1965]

Mrs. Jenett Watson
4326 Johnson
524-6837

Mrs. Myra Davis

524-9647

Mrs. Rosa Lee Watson
3603 First Street
524-8232

Mr. Curtis Woolridge
3609 First Street
525-3552

Mr. Joseph Showers
3422 Jackson Ave.

Millie Pearl Coleman
3323 Second Street

Letha Curtis
3404 Jackson Avenue

Mrs. McCurtis

Mr. Gus Price
Miro
523-4763

Mrs. Evelyn Nicholas
3605 First St.
Ja. 2-8148

Mrs. Willie Mae Woolridge
3609 Fisrt Street
525-3552

Mrs. Helen Showers
3422 Jackson Avenue

Mary Louisa Stepter
3323 Second Street

Edna Brown
3414 Jackson Avenue

Mrs. Russell
Ja. 2-0383

CORE

ORLEANS PARISH VOTER REGISTRATION PROJECT

FROM: Steven H. Rubin
TO: Richard Haley
DATE: March 27, 1964

THE SETTING

Our VR Project was initiated in the 11th Ward of Orleans Parish (New Orleans). The 11th Ward had a 1960 Negro population of 21,449, which accounted for 65.2% of the ward's 32,874 total population. Of the Ward's 21,449 Negroes, only 3,636 were registered voters in 1960 -- 17% of the total Negro population -- as contrasted to 5,670 registered white voters out of a total of 11,425 whites living in the ward. In 1960, then there was obviously a great disparity between the potential voting strength of the ward's Negroes and their actual number of registered voters. I have not been able to up-date the above statistics with any accuracy; it would be interesting to know just how effective the Coordinating Council's VR efforts in the ward's housing project have been. (The Council did not engage in door-to-door canvassing save in that project.) But whatever the Council's effect, it is clear that the 11th Ward represents an area in which if every single eligible voter were registered, the Negro vote would command a 2-to-1 edge over the white vote. (See Appendix A.)

PRESENT EFFORTS

__Personnel__: At present there are 10 canvassers with varying amounts of time and enthusiasm doing door-to-door work, with 2 more likely to begin in a week or so. I have a line on 2 additional prospects. The canvassers are working in pairs, with each pair assigned 2 or 3 blocks to cover; since the vast majority of volunteers are students, their efforts are are of necessity part-time. They are working in the 13th and 14th Precincts. Our first 2 pairs hit the streets approximately 3 weeks ago.

__Clinic__: A VR Clinic is scheduled to open on the evening of March 31 at the New Zion Baptist Church on Third Street, The Church is readily accessible to residents of the 13th and 14th Precincts. Two of our regular canvassers will conduct the clinic on Tuesday evenings, with other canvassers encouraged to attend and lend a hand where needed.

Materials in Use: Canvassers are supplied with copies of all the forms used in the registration process, and are leaving them with prospective registrants after their intricacies have been explained. In addition, a "Useful Information" sheet and a form for recording the results of each attempt to register are supplied to all candidates. It is the canvasser's job to ensure completion and collection of the latter. Finally, canvassers have been asked to fill out "Weekly Tabulation" reports, both for our own information and for their value as stimulants to sustained effort. (See Appendixes B and C.)

PHYSICAL NEEDS

Materials: Oretha Castle assures me that a considerable quantity of the attached Appendix B forms are stored at the Dryades Street "Y" and are available to us, so they are not a problem. I'll have to see just how considerable that quantity is, though. The remaining forms can easily be mimeographed as they are needed. As a rough guess, I would estimate additional costs of mimeographing the above cited Appendix C forms at $15 for the rest of our efforts in this ward.

Buttons: On order from N.Y.C.

Promotion: Considerable promotion and publicity can be achieved at no cost at all simply by establishing favorable relationships with the churches and organizations in the ward. (See "OTHER NEEDS" below) In addition, it seems to me that if we can afford posters and hand-out sheets, we should utilize them. Press releases and letters to newspaper editors can be sent out, and should be as soon as possible.

Canvassers: I can always use more.

ADMINISTRATIVE NEEDS

Lines of authority and responsibility should be clearly established and made known as soon as possible. In addition, I would urge that we agree upon *when* and *where* decisions affecting the Project be discussed and decided. (Decisions of an administrative or policy-making nature should be made in private.)

I am already starting to feel the pinch of supervising the Project with neither an office to work from nor secretarial assistance. If the project gets no larger, we'll get by; if and when our activities or personnel increase, I'm going to need help. I anticipate problems, and if relief is possible earnestly request it.

OTHER NEEDS

The Project's chances for success will be immeasurably increased if we can enlist the co-operation of those civic, fraternal, social and other organizations already existing in the ward. Oretha has said that she would look into this. I have in mind (a) assistance in baby-sitting, to free prospective registrants for their trip to City Hall, (b) assistance in transporting them to City Hall, (c) publicity at group meeting and endorsement of our Project, (d) the possibility of recruiting further workers, etc.

As we move into a specific area, I think it wise to act on Annie Moody's suggestion that we approach every church in the area we're working. The sort of support outlined above may be obtained, and the individual clergymen may provide us with platforms (literal or figurative)for exhorting their congregations. Selected canvassers can handle this.

IMPROVEMENT OF PROJECT TECHNIQUES

As I have it thus far set up, our VR Project is disquietingly similar to other VR Projects that this city has seen. It is commonly believed that no past attempts at widespread VR have succeeded to any significant degree, and certainly the evidence on hand would seem to substantiate that. So that, on the face of it, prospects are somewhat discouraging. But before being discouraged, I think we need to determine a number of things.

1. In terms of time, energy (manpower hours), and money expended, just exactly how have other projects fared? In line with this, can we learn from their mistakes (if any)?

2. If the failure of other projects has been an internal affair (i.e., something they did wrong or failed to do, some critical shortage of personnel or money, etc.), we can perhaps benefit from an analysis of their experience. But we must also explore a possible external problem, the frequently-heard charge that as soon as a VR drive gets 50 Negroes registered, the Registrar of Voters purges 49 of them. I plan to discuss this with the Coordinating Council people once I am able to determine the Council's status and future. (Dr. Walter Young has volunteered to act as a liason in this area, and attorney Lolis Elie thinks that Dr. Young would be a good person to so act.) And I plan to get together with a local woman who has had some access to the Registrar of Voter's records, as well as with representatives of the Justice Department and the Civil Rights Commission when I can.

3. Can CORE use the Project for other purposes? (See POST-PROJECT MATTERS, below)

PROJECT TIMETABLE

The Registrar of Voters' office will be closing on approximately June 25. It will open for a scant 3 days or so a month later, and will then be closed again until approximately August 29. Tentatively, I think we should complete our work in the 11th Ward in the time between now and the first closing of the office on June 25. If that's not possible, we can work on through July, and attempt to have dramatically long lines outside City Hall throughout that 3-day reopening period.

POST-PROJECT MATTERS

Once an area has been worked by CORE VR people, whether it by merely a few precincts or an entire ward, it may be possible to capitalize on the residents' familiarity with CORE. Mary Hamilton has suggested that CORE give serious thought to follow-up activities, and that if it is decided that specific activities are possible and desirable, they take place during or not long after VR work. Organized protests over the disrepair and incompletion of streets, inadequate garbage pick-up or street lighting, rent strikes against slumlords, etc., are all possible. Our VR work will help in softening up an area, and follow-up projects would have the advantage of not having to enter it "cold." Mary is already involved in the necessary research on this. The northern part of the 11th Ward appears admirably suited for such nefarious purposes.

The most likely area into which we might move after completion of work in the 11th Ward is the 2nd Ward. Until contact with the Coordinating Council has been made, I'll be unable to determine how much (if any) work has been done in that Ward. (See Appendix A for 1960 figures) If we decide to move into the 2nd Ward, I will need an assistant to appraise the area, explore its possibilities, and help make out a plan of attack. (If the tentative timetable for the 11th Ward, as outlined above, is followed, we might start our research approximately July 1 and move in in mid-August.)

cc: Oretha Castle
Mary Hamilton

APPENDIX A

1960 POPULATION FIGURES

WARD	TOTAL POPULATION	WHITE	NEGRO
2	16,985	2,993 (17.6%)	13,992 (82.4%)
11	32,874	11,425 (34.8%)	21,449 (65.2%)

1960 REGISTRATION FIGURES

WARD	WHITE POPULATION	WHITE RV	NEGRO POPULATION	NEGRO RV
2	2,993	1,933 (64.6%)	13,992	1,660 (11.9%)
11	11,425	5,670 (49.6%)	21,449	3,636 (17.0%)

APPENDIX B

COMPLIMENTARY SAMPLE APPLICATION

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION FORM

OFFICE OF REGISTRAR OF VOTERS

Parish of Orleans, State of Louisiana

Ward No.________
Prect. No.________
Cert. No.________

I am a citizen of the United States and of the State of Louisiana.

My name is Mr.—Mrs.—Miss ____I was born in the State (or country) of____________________, Parish (or county) of____________________, on the________day of ______________, in the year________. I am now________years,________months and________days of age. I have resided in this State since______________________, in this Parish since____________________, and in Precinct No.______, in Ward No.________of this Parish continuously since__________________. I am not disfranchised by any provisions of the Constitution of this State. The name of the householder at my present address is ______________________________. My occupation is____________________My color is__________My sex is________I am not now registered as a voter in any other Ward or Precinct of this State, except____________________ My last registration was in Ward__________ Precinct____________ Parish________________. I am now affiliated with the____________________________Party.

In each of the following items the applicant shall mark through the word "have" or the words "have not" so that each item will show a true statement about the applicant:

I have (have not) been convicted of a felony without receiving a full pardon and restoration of franchise.

I have (have not) been convicted of more than one misdemeanor and sentenced to a term of ninety (90) days or more in jail for each such conviction, other than traffic and/or game law violations, within five years before the date of making this application for registration as an elector.

I have (have not) been convicted of any misdemeanor and sentenced to a term of six (6) months or more in jail, other than traffic and/or game law violations, within one year before the date of making this application for registration as an elector.

I have (have not) lived with another in "common law" marriage within five years before the date of making this application for registration as an elector.

TURN CARD OVER

I have (have not) given birth to an illegitimate child within five years before the date of making this application for registration as an elector. (The provisions hereof shall not apply to the birth of any illegitimate child conceived as a consequence of rape or forced carnal knowledge.)

I have (have not) acknowledged myself to be the father of an illegitimate child within five years before the date of making this application for registration as an elector. I do hereby solemnly swear or affirm that I will faithfully and fully abide by all the laws of the State of Louisiana, so help me God.

Signature ______________________________

Sworn to and subscribed before me: ______________________________
(Deputy) Registrar

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Date __________ Address ______________ Ward No. ________ Prect. No. ________ Cert. No. ________

Date __________ Address ______________ Ward No. ________ Prect. No. ________ Cert. No. ________

Date __________ Address ______________ Ward No. ________ Prect. No. ________ Cert. No. ________

CHANGE OF NAME

I am now Mr.—Mrs.—Miss ______________________ Date of change __________

Nature of change ______________________________

REMARKS

____

____

The following information forms no part of the application but is for use of the registration records:

Parish of ______________, State of Louisiana. Date ______________, 19____.

Address ______________________________. Color of eyes __________.

Mother's first or maiden name ______________. Name of employer ______________

Property owner __________. Tenant __________. Boarder __________.

Question Form Selected
Circle one
1 6
I do solemnly

this application for
conceived as a con-
s before the date of
l faithfully and fully

Registrar

t. No.

SAMPLE

AFFIDAVIT

Form No. 11

Question Form Selected
Circle one

________________________, Louisiana Date ________________________

1 6 **2** 7 **3** 8 **4** 9 **5** 10

I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully and fully abide by the laws of this State and that I am well disposed to the good order and happiness thereof.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this

______ day of ______________, 196 __

____
(Deputy Registrar)

____
Applicant's Signature

"Applicant shall demonstrate his ability to read and write from dictation by the Registrar of Voters from the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America."

PREAMBLE

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America. (Article VIII, 1 (c) (7) La. Constitution)

CITIZEN TEST FOR REGISTRATION

Circle letter indicating your answers to the four numbered questions you have chosen.

1 — a b c	**3 — a b c**	**5 — a b c**
2 — a b c	**4 — a b c**	**6 — a b c**

(La. Constitution, Article VIII, Sec. 1 (d) and LRS 18:31 (2)

(The above qualification test and a registration application form provided for by Act 63 of 1962, (Form LR-1), were received by me from the ________________ Parish Registrar of Voters upon my request to register, and I have signed both for acknowledgment and identification with my application to register.)

Date: ________________________ 196 __

____
Applicant for Registration

Ward ____________ Precinct ________________

Address ________________________

Form No.

ANSWERS TO THE STATE of LOUISIANA CITIZENSHIP TEST
ON
OUR CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

(The Correct Answers are Underlined)

The applicant must be able to answer any four of the following six questions.

1. The church that we attend is chosen . . .

   a. by the National Government.
   b. by ourselves.
   c. by the Congress.

2. The President must be at least . . .

   a. twenty-five years old.
   b. thirty years old.
   c. thirty-five years old.

3. It is important for every voter . . .

   a. to vote as others tell him to vote.
   b. to vote for the most popular candidates.
   c. to vote for the best qualified candidates.

4. The name of our first President was . . .

   a. John Adams.
   b. George Washington.
   c. Alexander Hamilton.

5. The Constitution of the United States places the final authority in our Nation in the hands of . . .

   a. the national courts.
   b. the States.
   c. the people.

6. The President of the Senate gets his office . . .

   a. by election by the people.
   b. by election by the Senate.
   c. by appointment by the President.

Form No. 2

ANSWERS TO CITIZENSHIP TEST

ON

OUR CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

(The Correct Answers are Underlined)

The Applicant must be able to answer any four of the following six questions.

1. The Congress cannot regulate commerce - - -

   a. between States.
   b. within a state
   c. with other countries.

2. The general plan of a State government is given - - -

   a. in the Constitution of the United States.
   b. in the laws of the Congress.
   c. in its own State constitution.

3. The name of our first President was - - -

   a. John Adams.
   b. George Washington.
   c. Alexander Hamilton.

4. The President gets his authority to carry out laws - - -

   a. from the Declaration of Independence.
   b. from the Constitution.
   c. from the Congress.

5. Our towns and cities have delegated authority which they get from the - - -

   a. State
   b. Congress.
   c. from President.

6. A citizen who desires to vote on election day must, before that date, go before the election officers and - - -

   a. register.
   b. pay all of his bills.
   c. have his picture taken.

Form No. 2

Form No. 3

ANSWERS TO CITIZENSHIP TEST

ON

OUR CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

(The Correct Answers are Underlined)

The applicant must be able to answer any four of the following six questions.

1. Limits are places on the right to vote by the - - -

   a. National Government.
   b. States.
   c. Courts.

2. The Articles of Confederation are - - -

   a. the Constitution we now have.
   b. a plan for State government.
   c. an early plan of government for the original 13 States.

3. The Mail carrier is paid by the - - -

   a. city.
   b. State.
   c. United States Government.

4. The President is elected - - -

   a. for four years.
   b. for six years.
   c. for life.

5. The name of our first President was - - -

   a. John Adams.
   b. George Washington.
   c. Alexander Hamilton.

6. The Congress cannot establish - - -

   a. churches.
   b. courts.
   c. banks.

Form No. 4

ANSWERS TO CITIZENSHIP TEST
ON
OUR CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

(The Correct Answers are Underlined)

The applicant must be able to answer any four of the following six questions.

1. The name of our first President was - - -

   a. John Adams.
   b. George Washington
   c. Alexander Hamilton.

2. The President is elected - - -

   a. by the Congress.
   b. by direct vote of the people.
   c. by the people through electors.

3. We usually decide public questions in the United States by a vote of the - - -

   a. few.
   b. majority.
   c. male citizens.

4. Bad government in a democracy is possible if the people - - -

   a. make wise votes.
   b. forget to vote.
   c. don't stay at home.

5. A Government in which the people delegate authority to chosen officials is - - -

   a. a totalitarian state.
   b. a republic.
   c. a monarchy.

6. Laws for the District of Columbia are made - - -

   a. by the State of Maryland.
   b. by the Congress.
   c. by the people who live there.

Form No. 4

Form No. 5

ANSWERS TO CITIZENSHIP TEST
ON
OUR CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

(The Correct Answers are Underlined)

The applicant must be able to answer any four of the
following six questions.

1. The legislative branch of the State Government - - -

   a. makes the laws for the State.
   b. Tries cases in the courts.
   c. explains the laws.

2. Limits are placed on the right to vote by the - - -

   a. National Government.
   b. States.
   c. courts.

3. The powers granted to the National Government in the Constitution are called - - -

   a. delegated powers.
   b. denied powers.
   c. the final authority.

4. The name of our first President was - - -

   a. John Adams.
   b. George Washington.
   c. Alexander Hamilton.

5. The constitution of the United States places the final authority in our Nation in the hands of - - -

   a. the National courts.
   b. the States.
   c. the people.

6. Each State has as many Presidential electors as it has - - -

   a. Senators.
   b. Representatives.
   c. Senators and Representatives.

Form No. 6

ANSWERS TO CITIZENSHIP TEST
ON
OUR CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

(The Correct Answers are Underlined)

The applicant must be able to answer any four of the following six questions.

1. In case of impeachment of the President, the officer who would preside at the trial is - - -

   a. the Vice President.
   b. the Speaker of the House of Representatives.
   c. Chief Justice of the United States.

2. Money is coined by - - -

   a. the States.
   b. the people.
   c. the National Government

3. Our Constitution has been changed - - -

   a. by the President.
   b. by the Congress and the people.
   c. by the Supreme Court.

4. Limits are placed on the right to vote by the - - -

   a. National Government.
   b. States.
   c. courts.

5. The Constitution of the United States places the final authority in our Nation in the hands of - - -

   a. the national courts.
   b. the States.
   c. the people.

6. The names of our first President was - - -

   a. John Adams.
   b. George Washington.
   c. Alexander Hamilton.

Form No. 6

Form No. 7

ANSWERS TO CITIZENSHIP TEST

ON

OUR CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

(The Correct Answers are Underlined)

The applicant must be able to answer any four of the following six questions.

1. The State governments have the authority to - - -

   a. admit new States into the Union.
   b. set up local governments within the State.
   c. declare war.

2. The Seventeenth Amendment states that Senators shall be elected by - - -

   a. the State legislatures.
   b. the people of the States.
   c. the Congress.

3. The Constitution of the United States places the final authority in our Nation in the hands of - - -

   a. the national courts.
   b. the States.
   c. the people.

4. Presidential candidates are nominated - - -

   a. by the State Legislatures.
   b. by National Conventions.
   c. by the people.

5. The written statement of the things for which a political party stands is called the - - -

   a. ballot.
   b. platform.
   c. candidate.

6. The name of our first President was - - -

   a. John Adams.
   b. George Washington.
   c. Alexander Hamilton.

Form No. 8

ANSWERS TO CITIZENSHIP TEST
ON
OUR CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

(The Correct Answers are Underlined)

The applicant must be able to answer any four of the following six questions.

1. The number of Representatives from each State depends upon - - -

    a. the voters.
    b. the population.
    c. the electors.

2. The Senators and Congressmen from my State are elected by the - - -

    a. State legislature.
    b. voters.

3. The name of our first President was - - -

    a. John Adams.
    b. George Washington
    c. Alexander Hamilton.

4. The Constitution of the United States places the final authority in our Nation in the hands of - - -

    a. the national courts.
    b. the States.
    c. the people.

5. United States judges obtain their offices through - - -

    a. election by the people of their districts.
    b. appointment by the President without the approval of the Senate.
    c. appointment by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

6. A tax on the money a person receives in payment for his labor, of earnings from his property is - - -

    a. an income tax.
    b. a poll tax.
    c. a sales tax.

Form No. 8

Form No. 9

ANSWERS TO CITIZENSHIP TEST

ON

OUR CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

(The Correct Answers are Underlined)

The applicant must be able to answer any four of the following six questions.

1. The name of our first President was - - -

a. John Adams.
b. George Washington.
c. Alexander Hamilton.

2. The Constitution of the United States places the final authority in our Nation in the hands of - - -

a. the National courts.
b. the States.
c. the people.

3. All Bills of revenue (tax) must begin in - - -

a. the Senate.
b. the Supreme Court.
c. The House of Representatives.

4. Most States have a lawmaking body made up - - -

a. of two houses.
b. of one house.
c. of the governor and the department heads.

5. The members of the House of Representatives are called - - -

a. Judges.
b. Congressmen.
c. Senators.

6. The (U. S.) Supreme Court is made up of - - -

a. 9 Justices.
b. 6 Justices.
c. 5 Justices.

Form No.

ANSWERS TO CITIZENSHIP TEST

ON

OUR CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

(The Correct Answers are Underlined)

The applicant must be able to answer any four of the following six questions.

1. Limits are placed on the right to vote by the - - -

   a. National Government.
   b. States.
   c. courts.

2. The name of our first President was - - -

   a. John Adams.
   b. George Washington.
   c. Alexander Hamilton.

3. The judges of the national courts hold office - - -

   a. for five years.
   b. for life if they obey the laws.
   c. for twenty years.

4. The tax we pay on our property is - - -

   a. a business tax.
   b. a property tax.
   c. an inheritance tax.

5. The chief work of the Congress is to - - -
   a. make the laws for the Nation.
   b. explain the laws.
   c. make treaties.

6. The system of courts in a State is called - - -

   a. the executive branch of the government.
   b. the State judiciary.
   c. the Senate.

Form No. 10

APPENDIX C

WHEN YOU GO TO THE REGISTRATION OFFICE:

1. Take as much identification as possible. You must have at least three pieces of identification, one with your signature and two with your name and address. For example: a driver's license, rent receipts, Public Service bills, Blue Cross card, credit cards, personal or business letters.

2. Figure out how old you are in years, months, and days, by the formula we have shown you. If you have forgotten the formula, call your registration worker or the CORE office and they will help you.

3. The application must be filled out exactly the same way as the sample forms you have already done. You may be given a form which looks a little different from the sample, but the questions will be the same. (Do not take the sample with you!)

4. If you make a mistake on the form, do not scratch it out. Write your corrections on the two blank lines at the back of the application, where it says "REMARKS."

5. After you have gone to the registrar, please fill out the attached "Voter Registration Report," and return it to us.

* * * * * * *

Remember: If your application is not accepted, you may try again after a 10-day waiting period, and you may try as many times as you wish.

The Registration Office at City Hall is open Monday through Friday, from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. Their phone number is 529-4311.

* * * * * * * *

Your CORE Voter Registration worker is: ____________________

Phone: ____________________

Your Voter Registration Clinic meets at these times: __________

__________ At this address: ____________________

NEW ORLEANS CORE
2211 Dryades
523-7204

NEW ORLEANS CORE

VOTER REGISTRATION REPORT

Name ________________________ Phone number __________

Address ____________________ Ward ______ Precinct ______

Age ________ Occupation ______________________________

When did you go down to register? ____________________

How many times have you tried to register before? __________

Did you succeed in registering? ________

If not, were you told what was wrong with your application? ____

If they told you what was wrong, or if you remember clearly how you filled out the application, what mistakes do you think you made? ____

____

If you have any complaints about the way your application was treated, or if anything unusual happened, please write your complaint in the remaining space:

Signature: ______________________________

Please return this form directly to your Voter Registration worker, or, if he is unavailable, mail it to the CORE office.

NEW ORLEANS CORE
2211 Dryades
523-7204

APPENDIX C

NEW ORLEANS CORE

VOTER REGISTRATION REPORT

(WEEKLY TABULATIONS)

WARD: ________________ PRECINCT: ________________ DATES: ____________

AREA (Example: 3800 block, Maple Street): ________________________

	NUMBER
Persons contacted by door-to door canvassing who wish to participate	
Persons contacted by door-to-door canvassing who are eligible but refused to participate	
Persons instructed at clinic	
Persons instructed at home	
Persons applying for registration	
Persons successfully registered	
Persons officially denied registration	

CANVASSER'S NAME ________________________________

NEW ORLEANS CORE

VOTER REGISTRATION REPORT

(WEEKLY TABULATIONS)

Feb. 19, 1964 to
Mar. 10, 1964

WARD: 11 PRECINCT: 14 DATES: ~~2/19/64~~

AREA (Example: 8800 block, Maple Street): 2600 Willow St.

2500 Willow st

Dates: March 10 - April 19, 1964

	NUMBER
Persons contacted by door-to door canvassing who wish to participate	
Persons contacted by door-to-door canvassing who are eligible but refused to participate	~~|||~~ ~~||||~~
Persons instructed at clinic	
Persons instructed at home	[redacted] ~~||||~~
Persons applying for registration	None have tried as of yet.
Persons successfully registered	
Persons officially denied registration	

CANVASSER'S NAME Reginald D. Lawson

NEW ORLEANS CORE

VOTER REGISTRATION REPORT

(WEEKLY TABULATIONS)

WARD: 11 PRECINCT: 14 DATES: March 1 – Present

AREA (Example: 3800 block, Maple Street): 2400 Block, Willow
2700 Block, third.

	NUMBER
Persons contacted by door-to door canvassing who wish to participate	10 the others were either already registered or not at home.
Persons contacted by door-to-door canvassing who are eligible but refused to participate	1
Persons instructed at clinic	none (one man and wife being instructed at I.L.A. Clinic.)
Persons instructed at home	10
Persons applying for registration	out of the 10, only 2 went to register.
Persons successfully registered	1 (the only one I have been able to contact to inquire.)
Persons officially denied registration	1

CANVASSER\S' NAME Nancy Hermann + Doratha Smith

Steve:

if I filled this out incorrectly, please call — Nancy.

NEW ORLEANS CORE

VOTER REGISTRATION REPORT

(WEEKLY TABULATIONS)

WARD: 11 PRECINCT: 14 DATES: 3 april 1964

AREA (Example: 8800 block, Maple Street): 2919 2nd St, apt. 6-A

	NUMBER
Persons contacted by door-to door canvassing who wish to participate	8
Persons contacted by door-to-door canvassing who are eligible but refused to participate	
Persons instructed at clinic	
Persons instructed at home	3
Persons applying for registration	
Persons successfully registered	
Persons officially denied registration	

CANVASSER'S NAME Andrew Bush

NEW ORLEANS CORE

VOTER REGISTRATION REPORT

Name Mr. Tom Thomas Phone number ____

Address 2411 Mandeville St. Ward 8 Precinct 11

Age 23 Occupation Longshoreman

When did you go down to register? ____

How many times have you tried to register before? ____

Did you succeed in registering? Yes

If not, were you told what was wrong with your application? ____

If they told you what was wrong, or if you remember clearly how you filled out the application, what mistakes do you think you made? ____

If you have any complaints about the way your application was treated, or if anything unusual happened, please write your complaint in the remaining space:

Signature: Mr. Tom Thomas

Please return this form directly to your Voter Registration worker, or, if he is unavailable, mail it to the CORE office.

NEW ORLEANS CORE
2211 Dryades
523-7204

NEW ORLEANS CORE

VOTER REGISTRATION REPORT

(WEEKLY TABULATIONS)

WARD: 8 PRECINCT: 11 DATES: 4 April 1964

AREA (Example: 8800 block, Maple Street): 24/11 Mandeville St.

	NUMBER
Persons contacted by door-to door canvassing who wish to participate	1
Persons contacted by door-to-door canvassing who are eligible but refused to participate	
Persons instructed at clinic	
Persons instructed at home	1
Persons applying for registration	1
Persons successfully registered	1
Persons officially denied registration	

CANVASSER'S NAME Andrew Bush

NEW ORLEANS CORE

VOTER REGISTRATION REPORT

(WEEKLY TABULATIONS)

WARD: 11 PRECINCT: 13 DATES: April 7, 1964

AREA (Example: 8800 block, Maple Street): 2500 Second St.

	NUMBER
Persons contacted by door-to door canvassing who wish to participate	1
Persons contacted by door-to-door canvassing who are eligible but refused to participate	1
Persons instructed at clinic	0
Persons instructed at home	0
Persons applying for registration	0
Persons successfully registered	0
Persons officially denied registration	0

CANVASSER'S NAME Ellis William

NEW ORLEANS CORE

VOTER REGISTRATION REPORT

(WEEKLY TABULATIONS)

WARD: 11 PRECINCT: 14 DATES: April 18-19

AREA (Example: 8800 block, Maple Street): 28-2900 First Street

	NUMBER
Persons contacted by door-to door canvassing who wish to participate	5
Persons contacted by door-to-door canvassing who are eligible but refused to participate	1
Persons instructed at clinic	None
Persons instructed at home	5
Persons applying for registration	1 (Said he learned in army + has been meaning to go down) will go down this week.
Persons successfully registered	1
Persons officially denied registration	None

CANVASSER'S NAME Mary Herman
Dortha Smith

NEW ORLEANS CORE

VOTER REGISTRATION REPORT

Name Mrs. Goldie Snearl Phone number JA 2-0001

Address 1614 Simon Bolivar Ward 4 Precinct 7

Age 53 Occupation domestic workers

When did you go down to register? 4-16-64

How many times have you tried to register before? 13

Did you succeed in registering? NO

If not, were you told what was wrong with your application? NO

If they told you what was wrong, or if you remember clearly how you filled out the application, what mistakes do you think you made? ——

If you have any complaints about the way your application was treated, or if anything unusual happened, please write your complaint in the remaining space:

applicant wasn't asked to read or copy any part of the Preamble (on the affidavit form)

Signature: Mrs Goldie Snearl

Please return this form directly to your Voter Registration worker, or, if he is unavailable, mail it to the CORE office.

NEW ORLEANS CORE
2211 Dryades
523-7204

NEW ORLEANS CORE

VOTER REGISTRATION REPORT

(WEEKLY TABULATIONS)

WARD: 13 PRECINCT: 11 DATES: Aprie 28, 1964

AREA (Example: 8800 block, Maple Street): ____________

	NUMBER
Persons contacted by door-to door canvassing who wish to participate	
Persons contacted by door-to-door canvassing who are eligible but refused to participate	
Persons instructed at clinic	1
Persons instructed at home	
Persons applying for registration	
Persons successfully registered	
Persons officially denied registration	

CANVASSER'S NAME Ellis Williams

[1964]

WARDS OF NEW ORLEANS -- REGISTERED VOTERS BY RACE AND POPULATION

	# PCTS.	REG. VOTERS * White	Negroes	Total	Population	
	7	1,954	561	2,515	11,869	-1393
#2?	7	1,610	1,317	2,927	16,985	-1293
	20	9,237	683	9,920	9,920	-8,854
	23	15,029	682	15,711	35,287	-14,347
	18	7,947	1,596	9,543	29,990	-6,351
6	9	3,899	725	4,614	12,998	-3,174
7	41	18,754	7,209	25,963	90,346	-11,745
8	29	18,409	494	18,903	46,175	-17,915
9	45	26,175	7,392	33,567	123,989	-18,783
10	14	4,753	1,505	6,258	23,965	-3,248
11	15	5,079	3,401	8,480	32,874	-1,678
12	20	8,432	2,082	10,514	30,634	-6,350
13	16	8,100	1,884	9,984	24,476	-6,216
14	26	15,538	750	16,288	36,699	-14,788
15	19	10,622	1,742	12,364	34,415	-8,880
16	9	4,764	1,020	5,785	15,535	-3,744
17	20	10,618	2,206	12,824	33,196	-8,412
		170,911	35,249	206,160	627,525	

* Registration as of 31 May 1963

[1944]

your vote

is the one
that counts

REGISTER!

17 17

V.R. [1964]

SAMPLE

State of South Carolina

APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION

Dated at.............,S. C., ...day of.....................,19...

I ....

hereby apply for registration as an elector and certify under oath that:

1. I am a female, a member of the ....race, born at
male

..................................., on ....

I reside at .... Street in the town or city of

.... or

on ....Road in ....

Township or Parish in ....County. My nearest voting place is .... My weight is ....lbs., my height is .... ft. .... in., the color of my eyes ....

the color of my hair ....

( ) 2. I (a) will have resided in South Carolina for at least two years, in this County for at least one year and in my voting precinct for at least four months prior to any election at which I will be entitled to vote if a registration certificate is issued to me upon this application, or

( ) (b) am a minister or spouce of a minister in charge of an organized church in this State, or

( ) (c) am a teacher of public school or spouse of a teacher and will have resided in South Carolina for a period of six months prior to any such election.

( ) 3. I am not an idiot, or insane, a pauper supported at public expense or confined in any public prison.

4. I will demonstrate to the Registration Board that

( ) (a) I can both read and write a section of the Constitution of South Carolina; or

( ) (b) I own and have paid all taxes due last year on property in this State assessed at $300.00 or more.

( ) 5. I (a) have never been convicted of any of the following crimes: Burglary, arson, obtaining goods or money under false pretenses, perjury, forgery, robbery, bribery, adultery, bigamy, wifebeating, housebreaking, receiving stolen goods, breach of trust with fraudulent intent, fornication, sodomy, incest, assault with intent ravish, miscegenation, larceny, or crimes aginst the election laws; or

( ) (b) Have been legally pardoned for such conviction.

Sworn to and subscribed before me
this .... day of
...................................,19...

....
Applicant

Examined and found (not) qualified

....
Member of Registration Board

....
Member of Registration Board

VOTEless People Are Hopeless People

VOTER REGISTRATION

MH

[1964]

In the so-called black belt, ...those areas of the deep South where the Negro population exceeds the white, voting registration by Negroes implies the most thorough and direct challenge of white supremacy. The segregationist white community must see the implied loss of political control and the accompanying social revolution. Recognition of the tremendous implicit social problems requires that deep consideration and careful planning by all of CORE accompany a concerted CORE attack in this area. Moreover, the gravity of the problem requires that we do begin to take national and local action to secure equal franchise.

Haywood and Fayette counties in Tennessee have a predominately Negro population. Because of the fear that this might lead to elected Negro officials, the white community responded to a spontaneous voter registration drive two years ago with exceptional measures. Under the active direction of the White Citizens Council an extremely effective boycott of the Negro community went into effect. Those who attempted to register to vote were foreclosed on any loans, refused service at white-owned grocery stores, prevented from securing fuel to heat their homes or to run their farm equipment, evicted from their sharecropper's homes, and generally denied medical attention.

The purpose of the boycott was and is twofold: 1. to starve Negroes out of the area in order to revise the population ratio and 2. to intimidate those who remain into relinquishing their civil rights.

A number of organizations have given assistance to the area. To date, this help has been aimed at combatting the first-listed goal of the segregationists.

In terms of human suffering, struggle, and sacrifice, Southwestern Tennessee is the foremost voting problem. At this moment, this is a battle we are losing.

This committee has several general conclusions that we would like affirmed by this body. We feel that these recommendations for CORE's general procedure in securing voting rights would derive strength from the experience and urgency by the example of a National Action Project in Haywood and Fayette counties in Tennessee.

We urge the National Council to adopt this action project.

We also submit for adoption the following general recommendations:

1. CORE's policy be one of a continuing voter registration campaign.

2. The program should be on a national level with specific emphasis on the deep South. Thus we would recommend the organization of a national committee on voter registration which would formulate policy on the implementation of our goal locally. Local groups would be requested to comply with the national policy in their peculiar local situations. The national group would send a directive to each local

group requesting that they establish and sustain a voter registration campaign. We further urge the National Staff to investigate the feasibility of developing a field staff specialist in one area of voter registration.

2. The encouragement of all college students and college personnel who meet state voter registration qualifications to register, vote, and encourage others to also register and vote.

3. We emphatically urge that this Council recommend to the National Convention a constitutional amendment requiring all CORE members of age and potential to become registered voters.

4. We suggest that local CORE groups recognize the fact that action projects in any problem area create heightened community awareness and interest in all aspects of the segregation problem. This is a particularily exploitable time for voter registeration campaigns.

5. We urge that the standard operating procedure where discrimination in voting is apparent be:

    a) Filing complaints with the Justice Department.

    b) When feasible to file in local and state courts suits alleging discrimination thereby filling the dockets in the said courts with mandamus actions.

6. We request that National CORE in its publications attempt to include in every publication reports on voter registration activities.

7. We urge that National CORE prepare booklets, pamphlets, and other educational material which would serve as guides in organizing and sustaining voter registration campaigns.

[1964]

REGISTRATION

After qualifications for voting have been determined, some procedure must be set up so that a record may be compiled of those eligible to vote. This is known as registration, a procedure the purpose of which is to assure the public that only those qualified will be permitted to cast their ballots. This is but one of many safeguards against such corrupt practices as stuffing the ballot boxes, padding the rolls, voting the names of deceased or fictitous persons, repeating, or voting by non residents or floaters. For example, a 1958 Act of the Louisiana Legislature on this subject makes it unlawful to buy the registration of any voter, to offer money or anything of value or the promise of anything of value to induce him to register, and also makes it unlawful for any person to recieve money or anything of value, or the promise thereof, for his registration.

Registration in Louisiana is required of all voters throughout the state, both urban and rural, for both primary and general elections. The registrar of voters, who is elected by the governing body of the parish, (except in Orleans parish, where the Governor makes the appointment.), conducts registration. The State Board of Registration, composed of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Speaker of the House of Representatives, can remove any registrar at will. The board appoints a State Director of Registration.

Louisiana uses both peroidic and permanent registration. The former plan lies in effect in all parishes in which permanent registration has not been adopted. The peroid of peroidic registration is four years, with the current registration running from January 1, 1965 through December 31, 1968. Under permanent registration a voter must register only once, providing he does not move or his name is not in some other authorized manner stricken from the records as unqualified. If the voter resides in a parish having a population exceeding 300,000 and he fails to vote during a two-year peroid, in cases in which he has registered a party affiliation (four years if he is not affialiated with "a party holding a primary in parishes containing cities having a population exceeding 100,000") his name is taken off the rolls and he must re-register to become eligible to vote. In all other parishes the names of all voters who fail to vote at least once in every four years are removed from the rolls, and a new registration is then necessary prior to again exercising the right to vote.

Permanent registration is mandatory in all parishes with municipalities of over 100,000 populations (Orleans, Caddo, East Baton Rouge). Other parishes have an option to come under the plan through the action of the governing body of the parish. By January 31, 1959, a total of 38 of Louisiana's 64 parishes had adopted permanent registration. Well over one-half of the state's total population live in these parishes.

PARISH OFFICIALS

THE SHERIFF is elected in the state general election for a four year term. He serves as the cheif law enforcement officer and appoints his own deputies. It is the duty of the sheriff to enforce the laws, maintain peace and order, keep the jail, and act as an officer of the district court in preserving order and executing the courts writs. He collects state, parish, and if a city desires it, municipal property taxes.

THE CLERK OF THE DISTRICT COURT is the recorder of the court proceedings and custodian of the records of the court and other important parish records. He is elected for a four year term at the state general election.

THE ASSESSOR is also elected at the state general election for four years. He assesses the value of property for the purpose of taxation.

THE CORONER should be a qualified physician. He is responsible for investigating cases of death where the cause is unknown. He acts as sheriff when there is a vacancy in that office, or when the sheriff is an interested party in a case. He may also be appointed parish health officer by the police jury. The coroner is elected for a four year term at the state general election.

THE PARISH SCHOOL BOARD is in charge of administration of the schools on the parish level, and is independent of the other local governmental operations. In all parishes members of the parish school boards serve for overlapping six-year terms, Bogalusa (Washington Parish), Monroe (Ouachita Parish), and Lake Charles (Calcasieu Parish) have independant city school systems with separate school boards. Each of these boards consists of five members who are elected at large.

(For more detailed information on school boards see "Education)

REGISTRATION

1. NAME THREE METHODS OF CHEATING AT THE POLLS:

    1. ______________________________

    2. ______________________________

    3. ______________________________

2. EXPLAIN IN YOUR OWN WORDS THE 1958 ACT OF THE LOUISIANA LEGISLATURE. _____

    ____

    ____

    ____

3. WHO CONDUCTS REGISTRATION? ______________________________

4. WHAT OFFICIALS COMPOSE THE STATE BOARD OF REGISTRATION? ______________

    ____

    GIVE THEIR NAMES AND TITLES: ______________________________

    ____

    ____

5. HOW MANY TYPES OF REGISTRATION ARE THERE IN LOUISIANA? ______________

    NAME THEM: ______________________________

6. WHAT TYPE OF REGISTRATION IS IN EFFECT IN YOUR PARISH? ______________

7. WHAT HAPPENS IF YOU FAIL TO VOTE WITHIN A FOUR YEAR PEROID? __________

    ____

8. WHO HAS THE AUTHORITY TO STATE WHAT TYPE OF REGISTRATION THAT A PARISH WILL HAVE? ______________________________

9. IF A PERSON IS REMOVED FROM THE ROLLS FOR NOT VOTING DURING A CERTAIN PEROID OF TIME, CAN HE EVER BE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE AGAIN? ______________

    EXPLAIN: ______________________________

    ____

10. HOW DOES THE STATE DIRECTOR GET INTO OFFICE? ______________________

    ____

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING IN LOUISIANA

AGE....................Twenty-one years

RESIDENCE.............1. State; One year
2. Parish; One year
3. Precinct: Three Months
4. Municipalities: Four months

CITIZENSHIP...........United States Citizenship

LITERACY..............No literacy requirements

DISQUALIFICATIONS.....1. Conviction for crime without pardon and express restoration of suffrage.* (*The right to vote)
2. Confinement in public prison at the time of elections.
3. Inmates of charitable homes except the Soldiers Home and the United States Hospital at Carville.
4. Interdicted persons, as well as those not interdicted who are obviously insane or idiotic.
5. Deserters from the military service who have not served out their time of enlistment.
6. Dishonorable discharge from the Louisiana National Guard or from the military service of the United States, where not reinstated.

ABSENTEE VOTING....... Permitted, by mail, for members of the armed services, United States Merchant Marine, civilian employees of the United States serving outside the United States, members of religious groups and welfare agencies officially attached to and serving with the armed forces, and spouses and dependants of any of these; also for persons required to be outside the United States for more than 15 days. All other qualified voters not in the parish on election day must vote in person at the clerk of courts office, (civil sheriff in Orleans Parish) from two to ten days prior to the election

PREFACE

It has been my experience to find that CORE staff is just as ignorant about the political structure of louisiana as the people in the community in which they are working. This is not a reflection on anyone, it's just that the people in the commmnity have been denied the right to vote and the majority of staff were either too young to vote or were concertrating on other programs and had no interest or time for politics. Now, with the passage of the voting bill, it is imperative that there be a political awareness among the people and staff alike.

A serious shortage of paper (and money) in this office prevents us from supplying you with more than one booklet, but if you have need of a booklet of this type in your political education program, I would strongly urge that you cut the stencils and run them off on your project.

These booklets may be used as you see fit, but it is my suggestion that only one page be issued to ypur class or group at a time. This has a twofold purpose, first, it allows the teacher to stay ahead of the class, thus, any local person can teach, which would be a tremendous step towards community organization in some areas. Secondly, if you have a shortage of stencils and paper, as most projects do, you wont have to use your complete supply all at once and it will give you more time to hustle up more supplies.

After page "one" has been issued to the "class" or "discussion group" (or whatever you prefer to call it), it is then read and throughly discussed before the quiz sheets are distributed. After the questions have been answered, there should be another discussion and a question and answer peroid.

(continued)

They are then given the next lesson, (not the questions) to take home and study. The answers to some of the questions cannot be found in the text of this booklet. This was done deliberately to stimulate the interest of the group and start them to asking questions and doing their own research into the political structure of their parish. Classes should be held at least once a week but preferably twice a week, possibly on Tuesdays, since these are relatively uncluttered days as far as the community is concerned.

This is the first of four booklets designed as a teaching aid for political education classes. I sincerely welcome all criticisms and comments and if there are any suggestions for improvement, please dont hesitate to write or otherwise contact me.

FREEDOM,

RICHARD TINSLEY

QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING

1. HOW LONG MUST ONE RESIDE IN THE CITY TO BE ELIBIBLE TO VOTE?____________

IN THE PARISH?____________ IN THE STATE?____________

2. IF A PERSON IS INSANE BUT NOT COMMITTED TO AN ASYLUM, CAN HE QUALIFY TO VOTE?____________

3. IF A PERSON IS IN THE ARMED FORCES OVERSEAS, CAN HE VOTE IN HIS HOME PARISH?________ IF SO HOW MAY THIS BE DONE?____________

____

4. WHAT ARE THE LITERACY REQUIREMENTS FOR A POTENTIAL VOTER?____________

____

5. IF YOU ARE A QUILIFIED VOTER AND PLAN TO BE OUT OF THE PARISH ON ELECTION DAY, CAN YOU STILL CAST YOUR VOTE?______

HOW?____________________________________

6. HOW LONG MUST YOU RESIDE INA PRECINCT BEFORE YOU CAN VOTE IN THAT PRECINCT?____________

PARISH OFFICIALS

1. WHO ACTS AS SHERIFF WHEN THERE IS A VACANCY IN THAT OFFICE? ________.
2. WHO DETERMINES THE VALUE OF YOUR PROPERTY FOR TAXATION PURPOSES?

   ____

3. WHAT ARE THE DUTIES OF THE CLERK OF THE DISTRICT COURT? __________

   ____

4. WHO COLLECTS STATE AND PARISH TAXES? ______________________________
5. HOW MANY CITIES IN LOUISIANA HAVE INDEPENDANT CITY SCHOOL SYSTEMS? ______

   NAME THEM.____

   ARE THEIR SCHOOL BOARDS SEPARATE? __________.
6. HOW LONG IS THE TERM IN OFFICE FOR A SHERIFF?________________________
7. HOW LONG DOES A SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER SERVE IN OFFICE? ______________
8. THE ____________________MAY BE APPOINTED PARISH HEALTH OFFICER BY________

   ______________________________.

TRUE OR FALSE

9. DEPUTY SHERIFFS ARE ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE. TRUE_____ FALSE_____
10. THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY INVESTIGATES CASES OF DEATH WHERE THE CAUSE IS UNKNOWN. TRUE_____ FALSE_____

POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

Government by the people cannot exist in reality unless there is some adequate method by which the people can express their will concerning how and by whom they shall be governed. One way in which the people may effect changes in Government personnel is by revolution but for more than 150 years now the American people for the most part have spurned the resort to arms as a method of political action. They have been content to use the free popular election as a device for indicating officially their wishes for ar against current public policies and practices and whether the want A, B, or C for President and X, Y, or Z for Governor.

REGISTRATION:

The first step in any electoral process is the establishing of those qualifications which must be met by the potential voters. Those requirements vary to some extent from state to state but usually include provisions relating to age, residence, citizenship, disqualifications and registration. After the qualifications to vote have been determined, then some procedure must be devised so that a record may be compiled of those eligible to vote. THIS IS KNOWN AS REGISTRATION. A adequate and effective registration procedure will go far toward assuring honesty and fairness in the conduct of elections. Upon the honest and faithful maintenance of the registration books depends the purity of the ballot box, and upon the purity of the ballot box depends in large measure the success or failure of our democratic form of government. A delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1845 stated this point well when he said: "The abuse of suffrage(right to vote) was certainly one of the greatest evils that threatened the durability of a representative system of government."

ELECTIONS:

There are two types of elections--the primary election, at which party candidates for the various offices to be filled are nominated, and the general election or inter-party election. If either of these types of elections is to be honestly and fairly conducted, three conditions must exist: first, it must be assured that only those persons who are qualified by law to exercise the suffrage shall be permitted to cast their ballots; second, that only the ballots cast by qualified voters shall be counted; third, that votes cast by qualified voters shall be counted correctly and the totals certified without fraud or deceit.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

1. THERE ARE TWO TYPES OF ELECTIONS, THEY ARE__________AND__________

2. WHAT IS SUFFRAGE?____

3. WHAT IS THE FIRST STEP IN ANY ELECTORAL PROCESS?__________________

4. THE COMPILING OF RECORDS OF THOSE WHO ARE ELIGIBLE TO VOTE IS KNOWN AS____

____________________.

5. THERE ARE TWO WAYS FOR A DISSATISFIED PEOPLE TO CHANGE GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL,

THEY ARE____________________ AND____________________

6. TO CONDUCT AN HONEST AND FAIR ELECTION, THREE CONDITIONS MUST EXIST;

NAME THEM: 1.______________________________

2. ______________________________

3. ______________________________

[1964]

C.O.R.E.

when you go to the Registration Office

I

Take as much identification as possible. You must have at least three pieces of identification, one with your signature and two with your name and address. For example: a driver's license, rent receipts, Public Service bills, Blue Cross card, credit cards, personal or business letters.

II

Figure out how old you are in years, months, and days, by the formula we have shown you. If you have forgotten the formula, call your registration worker or the CORE office and they will help you.

III

The application form must be filled out exactly the same way as the sample forms you have already done. You may be given a form which looks a little different from the sample, but the questions will be the same. (Do not take the sample with you!)

IV

After you have gone to the registrar, please fill out the attached "Voter Registration Report," and return it to us.

* * * * *

Remember: If your application is not accepted, you may try again after a 10-day waiting period, and you may try as many times as you wish.

The Registration Office at City Hall is open Monday through Friday, from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. Their phone number is 529-4311.

* * * * *

Your CORE Voter Registration worker is: ____________________

Phone: ____________________

YOUR CORE VOTER REGISTRATION CLINIC MEETS EVERY TUESDAY, 7-9 p.m.
AT THE NEW ZION BAPTIST CHURCH, 2319 THIRD STREET.

For further information call:

CORE
2211 Dryades
523-7204

NEW ORLEANS CORE

VOTER REGISTRATION REPORT

Name Rose Mary Thomas Phone number TW-9-8138

Address 2515 Freret St. Ward 10 Precinct 13

Age 35 Occupation Housewife

When did you go down to register? __________

How many times have you tried to register before? __________

Did you succeed in registering? __________

If not, were you told what was wrong with your application? ____

If they told you what was wrong, or if you remember clearly how you filled out the application, what mistakes do you think you made? __________

If you have any complaints about the way your application was treated, or if anything unusual happened, please write your complaint in the remaining space:

Signature: __________

Please return this form directly to your Voter Registration worker, or, if he is unavailable, mail it to the CORE office.

NEW ORLEANS CORE
2211 Dryades
523-7204

NEW ORLEANS CORE

VOTER REGISTRATION REPORT

Name Louise Miller Phone number TW 9-8138

Address 2901 Second Street Ward 10 Precinct 14

Age 23 Occupation Housewife

When did you go down to register? ____________________

How many times have you tried to register before? ____________

Did you succeed in registering? ________

If not, were you told what was wrong with your application? ____

If they told you what was wrong, or if you remember clearly how you filled out the application, what mistakes do you think you made? ____________________

____

If you have any complaints about the way your application was treated, or if anything unusual happened, please write your complaint in the remaining space:

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For further information call:

CORE
2211 Dryades
523-7204

ask travis
Bob or Nils
in the Office

[1964]

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

- I. Governmental Structure
  - A. State, County, Municipal
    - 1. Offices
      - a. elective
      - b. important appointive
      - c. definition and function
    - 2. Current incumbents
      - a. tenure
      - b. brief biographies

- II. Party Structure
  - A. State Legal Requirements
    - 1. to organize
    - 2. in functioning
  - B. Current Officials
    - 1. brief biographies
  - C. Policies
    - 1. past
    - 2. present
    - 3. projection for immediate future

- III. Registration Statistics
  - A. Negro Population Percentage
    - 1. state
    - 2. county
    - 3. ward
  - B. Negro Actual and Potential Registration (21 years and over)
    - 1. state
    - 2. county
    - 3. ward

- IV. Electoral History since 1948
  - A. Percentage of Vote
    - 1. state, county, municipal
      - a. Democratic
      - b. Republican
      - c. other
  - B. Voting Trends
    - 1. delineation
    - 2. probable causes

- V. Structure of Racist and Interest Groups (NAM, COFC, etc.)
  - A. Officials
    - 1. brief biographies
  - B. Policies
  - C. Relation to State and Parties
    - 1. interlocking personnel
    - 2. source of money
    - 3. point of contact with state (Sovereignty Boards, Boards of Development)
    - 4. decision-making influence

VI. Power Elite
- A. Principal Leaders
  - 1. politics
  - 2. business
  - 3. labor
  - 4. other (religious, etc.)
    - a. brief biographies
- B. Attitudes toward Integration
  - 1. past
  - 2. present
  - 3. projected

VII. General Election Laws and Information

VIII. State Registration Laws
- A. Variations within the State
- B. History of Federal Legal Action

SOUTHERN
REGIONAL

office

Regional Council

1964, August

SRC

Report L-39
December 19, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

NEGROES' PAY RISES
BUT HALF AS FAST

(The following articles by Business Editor Jim Montgomery appeared in the Friday, December 14, 1962 Atlanta Constitution.)

White citizens who profess to be mystified by this year's vastly stepped-up campaign on the part of Atlanta Negroes to secure a better economic break, principally by attacking what the Negroes regard as discriminatory employment practices, may be enlightened by a look at some depressing long-term income trends.

Depressing, that is, from the Negroes' point of view.

These new facts of Negro economic life in Atlanta are offered here as a follow-up to last week's news reports on a comparison of local white and Negro family incomes in 1960.

A new U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) study published then showed that the average annual income of Negro families in Atlanta was $3,307, or only 48 per cent of the Atlanta white family average of $6,894.

It also showed that, on a per capita basis, Negro income here averaged only 45 per cent as high as white income here in 1960 - $1,002 versus $2,224.

The BLS has now made available comparable income figures by race for 1950.

And they show that in Atlanta during the past decade:

1. The average income of Negro families increased by only 31.86 per cent, or $799, from $2,508 in 1950 to $3,307 in 1960.

2. The average income of white families increased by 49.22 per cent, or $2,274, from $4,620 in 1950 to $6,894 in 1960.

3. Average per capita Negro income increased by only 23.86 per cent, or $193, from $809 in 1950 to $1,002 in 1960.

4. Average per capita white income increased by 44.4 per cent, or $684, from $1,540 in 1950 to $2,224 in 1960.

Thus, in terms of average annual family income, Atlanta Negroes lost ground to Atlanta whites during the decade of the city's most rapid growth.

At the same time, while consumer prices in Atlanta were staging a 22.8 per cent advance, Negro per capita income here barely kept up with the cost of living inasmuch as this income increased by only 23.86 per cent.

Little wonder, then, the intensified Negro efforts through "Operation Breadbasket" as well as federal coercive powers to break down discrimination barriers in the hiring and promoting of workers in all types of employment.

But the BLS figures also illustrate a related problem, that of educational credentials, a generally-acknowledged indicator of qualifications for the skilled jobs that bring higher pay.

From 1950 to 1960, according to BLS, the heads of white families in Atlanta maintained the same average in number of years of education - 11.

Among local Negro families, however, the average number of years of education of heads of families declined from only eight in 1950 to only six in 1960.

This is explained at least in part, according to some observers, by the continued influx into the Atlanta area of Negroes from rural areas who lacked either the encouragement or opportunity to get much education.

Another reason for Negroes' difficulties in getting or advancing to better jobs and higher pay, according to some major Atlanta employers who say they have eliminated racially-discriminatory hiring practices, is that Negro job applicants who have received vocational training in segregated schools often either fail to pass or fail to score as well on aptitude tests as white applicants.

And some employers here say Negroes are justified in complaining that Negro vocational schools here provide poorer quality training than white vocational schools.

And so efforts to speed school desegregation go hand in hand with moves to eliminate employment discrimination barriers as Negroes here and elsewhere strive to climb from the bottom of the economic totem pole.

THE ONLY SUCH PUBLICATION OF ITS KIND

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
NEWSLETTER

Volume 1 August, 1963 Number 1

INTRODUCING OUR NEWSLETTER

This is the first issue of the Voter Education Project's monthly report on voter registration work in eleven southern states, and VEP viewpoints on Negro voting. The purpose of this publication is to gather and disseminate news of the various vote drives under our auspices, for your information, and for practical political education.

We will report methods and styles developed by different local projects in persuading and helping citizens to register. We will present difficulties, successes, and failures of these drives as pioneer experience from which other community projects may learn. The newsletter will attempt also to tabulate results of these voter efforts and pass them on in this report, to be issued the 15th of each month. The newsletter also will offer comment and interpretation on experience of groups in the field over the South.

Wiley Branton

This newsletter, as the official organ of VEP is, of course, non-political and non-partisan. It will, adhering to VEP's purpose, confine its interest to methods and results of voter registration drives, and in no way concerns itself with any political candidates, issues, or legislation. The aims of VEP are voter registration, and acquiring information about how voters are registered, and its program is limited to these aims. So the newsletter will report and occasionally comment on the project's findings, with no political interest or policy whatever, except registering voters.

VEP was begun in the spring of 1962 and is planned to continue at least through 1964. The agency operates on funds granted to the Southern Regional Council by foundations interested in a large, free southern electorate. Project work in the main is done by the five major civil rights organizations, NAACP, CORE, SNCC, SCLC, NUL. Frequently, however, VEP makes special grants to local groups with a record of success in registering voters, where local conditions show the need for voting assistance and promotion. The project also functions to provide advice, materials, information and other experienced help to local groups even when it cannot give funds.

J. Minnis

The Project has assembled a large, and perhaps unique, store of information about ways and means of registering voters, and the obstacles and frustrations to be met. This information is available to any persons or groups who wish to benefit from this past and present experience in registration campaigns in their own communities.

Wiley A. Branton, civil rights lawyer from Pine Bluff, Arkansas, who was chief counsel for the plaintiffs in the school desegregation cases of Little Rock in 1957 and has practiced law for a decade in the South, is VEP director. Randolph Blackwell, law school graduate of Howard University, former political science and business law teacher in North Carolina and Alabama colleges, is director of field activities for VEP, and travels over the region to supervise, report on, and assist the local projects. Jack Minnis, a doctoral candidate in political science at Tulane University and author of magazine articles on civil rights and political topics, is director of research and consultant to workers in the field.

R. Blackwell

Mrs. Jean Levine is office manager and administrative secretary, assisted by Mrs. Janet Shortt.

NEW TECHNIQUES IN VOTER EDUCATION

A survey of voter registration projects scattered across the eleven southern states shows a tendency of successful workers to by-pass or greatly augment the traditional house-to-house canvass means of registration. VEP found after a year's study of local projects, a great variance in results, attributable to many factors. Some success and some failure, or slight and slow progress, can be explained by the political maturity, experience and know-how of the Negro community. Memphis, where colored voters have long wielded political influence, of course is more responsive to registration projects and shows greater increases in registered voters than, say, a registration campaign in Jackson, Mississippi, where registration is attended by intimidations, and where Negroes have had very little political hope or activity in recent years. Similarly, a vote drive in Macon, Georgia, with a free and experienced Negro political organization, brought several thousand new registered voters, while a campaign in Gadsden, Alabama, had what can be considered a notable success in registering a handful of Negroes against great obstacles and threats from the white community.

It also become apparent from VEP information from the field that registration groups which invent new, untried techniques and create appealing, rousing presentation of their programs to the people, come through with excellent results in interest and the number of new registrants. In Huntsville, Alabama, for instance, the registration committee hung two signs on a mule which they paraded through the streets with the message: "This friend is not registered because he is a mule — what is your excuse?" This conspicuous appeal within a few days excited talk, laughter, and interest which started a highly successful drive. New approaches like this appear up and down the line.

Some organizations do well with

(Continued on Page 4)

VOTER EDUCATION
PROJECT NEWSLETTER
5 Forsyth St., Rm. 206
Atlanta, Ga.
Ph. 525-0595

Staff
Wiley Branton
R. T. Blackwell J. Minnis
J. Levine J. Shortt

You Should Read

"If We Must Die"

By Junius Edwards

All too frequently, fiction which attempts to serve the purpose of social protest can be comfortably dismissed with the argument that it is, after all, fiction, and does not necessarily conform to the situation which actually exists. I think the American people need to know that such an argument is wholly invalid with respect to Mr. Edwards' work. Those who read it — and I think it extremely important that it receives the widest public attention — will doubtless be uncomfortable at the conflict between the conditions which the book presents on one hand, and the kind of society which we should all like to think America is on the other. If such discomfort cannot be alleviated by rationalizing that the book is merely fiction, then perhaps the American people will be more inclined to take the action which is necessary to remedy the conditions.

For more than a year, the Voter Education Project has been granting funds for the support of registration drives among Negroes in the South. Since our primary purpose is that of research, we have taken the trouble to assemble a large body of data concerning the conditions with respect to Negro registration throughout the South. The story which Mr. Edwards presents in "If We Must Die" could have been taken, almost in its entirety, from any one of dozens of files in our office. I say this to point out that while technically Mr. Edwards' book is a work of fiction, as a matter of fact, it is an accurate description of conditions which exist with respect to registration and voting for Negroes in many parts of the southern United States as of today.

Wiley A. Branton, Director
Voter Education Project

Blowin' In The Wind . . . .

Selma, Alabama

Bernard Lafayette, Bossie Reese, and their fellow workers continue to instruct and encourage Selma Negroes to register and vote in Dallas and Wilcox counties. In spite of the arrests, intimidations and beatings of their leaders, Dallas and Wilcox county Negroes courageously demand their rights as U. S. citizens at their county courthouses daily. Twenty or more appear at each courthouse on registration days, the first and third Mondays of each month.

Birmingham, Alabama

The young people of Birmingham and Jefferson County are conducting a registration drive that grew out of the demonstrations which terminated on May 12. It was organized by Andy Young, James Bevel, and Dorothy Cotton, of SCLC. The Negro community has supported the students fully. More than 1,800 now have been registered. The cooperation of Orzell Billingsley, Jr., and Mrs. Bernice Johnson made possible the filing of the Justice Department suit in Birmingham, asking that more than 2,000 named Negroes be ordered registered because of discrimination at the registrar's office.

Negro citizens of Leflore County, Mississippi, registering at the county courthouse in Greenwood.

Mobile, Alabama

C. M. Montgomery and Atty. Vernon Crawford, assisted by the strategy planning of Freeman Pollard, have begun a registration program in Mobile, called the Mobile County Voter Education Project. Enough enthusiasm was generated at a March meeting between Mobile leaders and VEP staff that 400 persons were registered even before the details of the VEP sponsorship had been worked out. A Mr. Bishop, who is blind, registered 28 persons, we are informed.

Montgomery, Alabama

Sim E. Williams, project coordinator for the Montgomery County Voter Education Project, is completing an up-to-date list of the registered voters of the county. The registration drive will start shortly after August 15. The Barristers Club of Montgomery (all the Negro lawyers in town) initiated the project and helped form an executive committee of leadership from all the clubs in the county. The executive committee sets policy and makes available the resources of all the organizations. The project enjoys the support of Rufus Lewis of long registration distinction in the community.

Atlanta, Georgia

Jesse Hill, director of the Atlanta All Citizens Registration Committee reports more than 3,700 new registered voters in Fulton County since April. The Atlanta effort will continue for several months.

Mississippi

Bob Moses, Council of Federated Organizations director, reports that between 500 and 700 persons voted by affidavit in the state-wide primary on August 7 in Greenwood. In Holmes, Sunflower, and Hinds counties, more than 600 persons tried to vote under the Mississippi affidavit law, but were turned away from the polls.

SNCC men Charles McLaurin, Charles Cobb, and Curtis Hayes were arrested by Ruleville city police when they led a group of 40 citizens to the Ruleville Community Center to vote (some by affidavit and others by registration). The three were taken to the Sunflower County jail and tried that same evening in Mayor's Court in Indianola. According to Sunflower

SNCC registration workers in Leflore County Mississippi jail.

County Chief Deputy Sheriff Bradley, the three were convicted of "tryin' to commit a crime".

U. S. Senator James O. Eastland lives in Sunflower County when he is not in Washington trying to prevent the passage of legislation guaranteeing the right to vote. Senator Eastland insists there is no need for such legislation, particularly in his native Sunflower County.

Several hundred new registered voters voted for the first time in the Democratic primary. Those voting by affidavit had attempted to register, but had been turned down by the county registrars. They were convinced, despite the registrar's refusal to enter their names in the books, that they were as qualified as any person under the Mississippi "laws". Local policemen guarding the polls disagreed with them. "The answer is blowin' in the wind".

John O'Neal and Carl Johnson, SNCC field men, have reactivated the Council of Federated Organizations Hattiesburg project. The Fifth Circuit Court ordered registrar Theron Lynd to purge himself of contempt by registering 43 named Negroes and by applying the Mississippi literacy test without discrimination. John and Carl will keep an eye on Theron, lest he slip back into his old bad habits. Meanwhile, they'll organize a concentrated registration drive in the Hattiesburg community. Mississippi is on the move.

Greensboro, N. Carolina

American Friends Service Committee began a registration drive early in August. Mr. Carlton Mabee is directing the project with workers recruited from the ranks of Guilford College students. The emphasis of the program will be voter education, with registration a secondary benefit. The experience of this project should be of immense benefit to future registration efforts in Guilford County.

Kingstree, S. Carolina

Williamsburg County leaders, Jonnie Dimery and Rev. S. A. Gadston, with the help of Congress of Racial Equality men Frank Robinson and E. Brown, seem to have moved the county registrars into a more reasonable posture. Registration is confined to one day a month, the first Monday. Last March, more than one hundred persons lined up at the registrar's office; only eleven were admitted and only nine accepted. In April, more than 200 persons lined up; again, only eleven were admitted, and again only nine were accepted. In May, more than 100 again lined up, and again only nine were registered. But in June, 96 were admitted, and, of these, 65 were accepted. It's difficult to say exactly what produced the change, but reports are that U. S. Justice Department representatives and the Attorney General of South Carolina found it advisable to consult with Williamsburg county officials.

Plaquemine, Louisiana

Congress of Racial Equality man Ronnie Moore reports that the CORE task force summer project is conducting registration programs in Tangipahoa, St. Helena, East Baton Rouge, West Feliciana, East Feliciana and Pointe Coupe parishes. Though numerical results are expected to be small at first, the important fact is that Negroes are beginning to register in these hard-core segregation areas. This in itself is a radical departure from the past.

Mr. Moore and his co-workers were able to save more than 500 Negroes from a purge of the registration rolls in Iberville parish by informing the voters of what they must do to remain on the rolls.

Charleston, S. Carolina

Esau Jenkins, President of the Citizens Committee of Charleston County, announced the beginning of a registration drive July 15 which will run through November 15. It was reported by Mrs. Jean C. Townsend, Chairman of the Charleston County Registration board that 501 Negroes registered during the three registration days of August. She said, "I haven't seen anything like this". Mr. Jenkins and his co-workers have the kind of reputation in voter registration which inspires confidence that the program in Charleston will produce a decided change for the better in the registration picture there.

Macon, Georgia

The Bibb County Coordinating Committee, under the leadership of William Randall, recently completed a registration drive during which more than 3,000 new voters were added to the registrar's books. Mr. Randall's organization plans another drive early in the fall.

Alabama

Mrs. Bernice Johnson, of the Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting, reports that 675 new voters were registered in nine Alabama counties during the registration days, July 1-5, 1963. This is only a partial total of the drive in more than twenty counties. Future issues will report the total results of this drive.

The NAACP reports the following increases in registration since April of this year: Tampa, Fla., 331; Jackson, Miss., 488; Memphis, Tenn., 4,226; Gainesville, Fla., 308; St. Petersburg, Fla., 902; Augusta, Ga., 195; Polk County, Fla., 626.

Students of Ballard-Hudson and Appling High Schools registering at City Hall, Macon, Georgia.

CITY HALL & OLD CAPITOL

PLEASE CLIP AND MAIL TO:
THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

☐ **I would like to be on your mailing list to receive future copies of the VEP newsletter.**

☐ **I would like to talk with a VEP representative about registration work in my community.**

Name________________________

Address______________________

City______________**State**________

Poll Tax Amendment Nears Ratification

The proposed amendment below was approved by the 87th Congress of the United States August 27, 1962. It was submitted to the fifty states, and will become a part of the Constitution when it is ratified by the legislators of three-fourths of the states, if these ratifications take place within seven years.

Already thirty-six states have ratified this amendment. The two additional states needed for adoption of the amendment will probably ratify it in the near future.

Proposed Amendment

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Milestone In Georgia

Less than a year has passed since Leroy Johnson, Atlanta lawyer, was elected to the Senate of the Georgia General Assembly, the first Negro to serve in the Legislature since 1907.

Mr. Johnson's election and quiet service to his constituency is more than a Georgia political milestone. It is proof to Negro voters all over the South of the power of their vote in free elections.

Last November, free from county unit shackles and the racist opinion of rural communities, urban Georgians, including influential numbers of Negro voters, went to the polls, and — each voter's ballot being equal — elected a moderate governor and the state's first Negro in the Legislature.

Senator Johnson's performance has been quiet, able, and effective. One of the bills he introduced has already been signed into law.

An interesting aspect of Negro exercise of the ballot last year in Georgia is the elevation of statesmanship not only in the Legislature, but political circles over the state. It is well known that one of Georgia's most extreme segregationists, a young politician, not only received Senator Johnson with unprecedented civility, but invited him to his home for dinner. The senator also has visited U. S. Senator Talmadge, long-time political and segregationist "king" of the Georgia political machine, at his home in Lovejoy, suggesting that the Negro politicians advent to the capitol has vastly improved the manners of white leadership.

Voter Education

(Continued from Page 1)

competition, with registration encouraged by contests. Sometimes its a race between clubs and churches competing for a prize for the registration of the most voters. Sometimes its a contest to get each Negro organization in a community to register their members 100%, with prizes for the 100 per centers. One registration group listed all its community church and club names — more than 100 — on a large scoreboard on a downtown street, and periodically listed the percentages of memberships registering to vote, which excited great interest from the organizations and others in the town.

Several communities have increased voter registration by talking to prospective voters when they come to the courthouse on other business. Another city plans to begin its registration drive with a big parade of bands, floats, and marching citizens. Another group plans to promote registration with a radio marathon. A large, deep South community is considering a series of beer parties to interest citizens in voting, and still another town is looking around for a celebrated entertainer to give a benefit performance for new registrants.

A surprise night life gimmick gets good results in Mobile, Alabama, where night club owners poll their customers to find who is registered and who is not. And, voter registration activity frequently displaces more frivolous and less civil backroom activity on many evenings of the Mobile week.

Voter registration workers are often asked, "Are you doing anything for the people politically other than just getting their names on the books?" And they reply, "Well, we're persuading the people to take the first step.

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Oct., '63

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
James M. Dabbs, President

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 1224 City Federal Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama
ALpine 2-2722 (205)
Exec. Dir.: Norman Jimerson
Chmn.: Rev. Powers McLeod

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas
FRanklin 4-4521 (501)
Exec. Dir.: Nathaniel Griswold
Assoc.Dir.: Ozell Sutton
Chmn.: Mrs. Joe R. Brewer

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

356 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida
255-5881 (305)
Exec. Dir.: Louis Mitchell
Chmn.: Dr. Ralph Dreger

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

41 Exchange Place, S.E., Room 502
Atlanta 3, Georgia
525-6468 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Frances Pauley
Assoc. Dir.: Oliver Holmes
Chmn.: Rev. Charles Demere

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Sec.: Mrs. Thomas P. Green
407 North Hite Ave.
Louisville, Kentucky

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Chmn.: Dr. A. D. Beittel
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

121 E. Third Street, Room 301
Charlotte, North Carolina
FRanklin 6-6833 (704)
Chmn.: T. Franklin Williams

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina
ALpine 6-8808 (803)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Alice Spearman
Chmn.: Rev. Fred Reese

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee
CYpress 1-7544 (615)
Exec. Dir.: Katherine Jones
Chmn.: George Barrett

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

17 East Cary Street
Richmond 19, Virginia
MIlton 9-0872 (703)
Exec. Dir.: Heslip Lee
Chmn.: Dr. Aubrey N. Brown

TEXAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Chmn.: Mrs. James S. Crate
8510 Ferris Street
Houston 35, Texas

Local Councils with Professional Staff:

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 207
Atlanta 3, Georgia
525-6469 (404)
Exec. Dir.: Mrs. Eliza Paschall
Assoc. Dir.: Tom McPherson
Chmn.: Mrs. Clifton Hoffman

HOUSTON COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

3605 Fannin Street
Houston, Texas
JA. 4-5084 (713)
Exec. Dir.: Rev. Charles Kelly
Exec. Sec.: Mrs. Geo. Dumbauld

HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF GREATER JACKSONVILLE

129 E. Forsyth St.
Jacksonville, Florida
353-8081 (305)
Exec. Dir.: Ernest Lent

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
December 31, 1963

CIVIL RIGHTS: YEAR-END SUMMARY

During 1963 an estimated 930 individual public protest demonstrations took place in at least 115 cities in the 11 southern states.

More than 20,083 of the persons, Negro and white, who have so demonstrated have been arrested.

Ten persons have died under circumstances directly related to racial protests.

And 35 known bombings have occurred.

On the positive side some progress toward integration has taken in an estimated 186 localities in the 11 southern states. In an estimated 102 of these cities, towns, and counties biracial committees with varying degrees of official sanction are currently working toward the achievement of further integration.

ALABAMA(Cont'd).

Huntsville: August 31 - City Council approved 9-man bi-racial committee.

September 29 - Seven motels and a leading hotel integrated.

Mobile: Mid-November - City's picketing ordinance ruled unconstitutional by circuit judge.

Montgomery: September 5 - One of 3 Negro members of 50-man integrated Kansas high school drum and bugle corps en route to Florida beaten by two unidentified white men in lunch counter of Trailways Bus terminal.

September 15 - Clash of whites & Negroes outside segregated movie controlled by police, with no arrests.

Selma: September 16 - October 16 -- Demonstrations began September 16 when high school students cut classes, attempted sit-ins marched downtown, 67 were arrested. Protests originated over Birmingham bombing, then focused early on voter registration and segregated facilities.

September 17 - Twelve arrested.

September 23 - Fifteen arrested, parade attempt halted.

September 24-- 132 arrested during two marches and kneeling at housing project. Justice Department lawyers arrived.

September 25-- 28 arrested picketing court house.

September 29 - Four Negro women integrated First Presbyterian Church.

October 1-2 - Six pickets at court house and post office arrested.

October 7 - Over 200 Negroes stood in line all day to register (under 40 applications processed). Two Negroes attempting to take sandwiches to registrants arrested and two newsmen received rough treatment from state troopers and police.

October 15-16 - Smaller groups of Negroes attempted to register.

White leadership has refused negotiation. Charges were parading without permit (permits applied for have been denied), truancy, contributing to delinquency of minor, unlawful assembly, interfering with officer, picketing without license, disorderly conduct.

Tuscaloosa: September 10-- 3 Ghanaian students, a white student, and a white minister from out of state driving through the city were taken into custody by police, released, later stopped on highway and beaten.

November 17,18,19 - 3 Separate bombings, 2 of them near University of Alabama.

ARKANSAS.

Benton and Conway: September - Drive-in movies integrated.

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ARKANSAS (Cont'd).

Fayetteville: Summer - Theatres, some motels, most restaurants, and municipal swimming pool integrated.

Fort Smith: August 12 - Negroes picketed supermarket without incident, seeking employment.

Helena: November 16 - 32 arrested during drugstore and restaurant sit-ins, reportedly town's first demonstration.

FLORIDA. (Statewide)

A 1957 statute (Section of the Hotel and Restaurant Commission Act) declaring public lodgings and food service establishments "private enterprises" found to block passage of municipal "open" public accommodation ordinances.

Late October - Florida National Guard integrated by first Negro member.

Bradenton: Since Summer - has formed bi-racial committee.

Clearwater: September 9 - Movies integrated, with one exception.

Jacksonville: October 5 - Over 1,000 staged peaceful march asking jobs, bi-racial committee, desegregation of accommodations. (On September 5 all but two restaurants pledged open policy, but no integration to date.)

Miami: September 15 - Over 1,000 marched in Birmingham memorial procession.

Ocala: September 21 - The Florida Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, holding hearings, was refused motel accommodations, heard testimony on harassment of Negroes advocating integration.

St.Augustine: July 23-October 25 - Demonstrations which began in June have gradually come to a standstill. Police dispersed a Labor Day protest march in the tourist section, have permitted some subsequent picketing. A few lunch counters and one restaurant have integrated. Mayor refuses to name bi-racial committee. Four juveniles arrested July 23 during drugstore sit-in are still held in state reform school. An atmosphere of unrest has been accentuated by some violent incidents, including 2 Negro homes and 2 Negro juke joints shot into, car tires slashed and cars turned over.

August 31 - Eight arrested during drugstore sit-in. September 2 - Thirty-two arrested in city park for holding a public meeting without a permit.

September 12 - City manager issued indeffnite ban on parades and open air mass meetings.

September 19 - Four integration leaders severely beaten at Ku Klux Klan rally (which was held in the open air). (Charges against one of the Negroes dismissed in November after complaining Klan witnesses twice failed to appear.)

Week of October 21 - Four bombs thrown at integration leader's home.

October 25 - One of 4 white men driving with a rifle through a Negro neighborhood slain.

November 7 - Two Negroes arrested in connection with shotgun deaths of 2 whites, including October 25 incident.

Sarasota: Since Summer - has formed bi-racial committee.

Tallahassee: September 13-16 -- 248 college students arrested in renewed picketing (after 2 month lay-off) of movie theatre. Approximately 475 marched to jail protesting arrests and 104 of those arrested in their effort to pack jail.

November 7 - Negro student at Florida A & M University shot in arm while walking near campus.

Mid-November - Students have been picketing restaurants adjoining Florida State University campus. One has subsequently served Negroes.

Tampa: September 9 - All movies integrated.

GEORGIA:

Albany: Library recently integrated on stand-up basis.

Americus: August 8 - November 2 -- Four workers in the efforts of voter registration and integration of library, movies and municipal facilities arrested August 8 and 17, charged with insurrection, held 70 days until November 2, until suit brought in Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals secured their release and prohibited further prosecution under the capital charge.

October 22 - Two arrested for picketing movie in only overt protest activity since August.

The 20-man Urban Renewal Committee has 5 Negro members.

Atlanta: September 7 - State Senator Leroy Johnson's office picketed.

As of October 1 - Most drive-in movies integrated after previous 30-day test period.

October 7 - An estimated 500 Negroes picketed Governor Wallace's speech.

October 21 - 25 picketed First Baptist Church.

October 29 - Mayor named bi-racial panel to study Negro municipal employment.

November 3 - Atlanta Summer Leadership Conference (9 organizations which united in October) asked negotiation of Negro goals with no threat of demonstration.

Week of November 11 -- Lovett School picketed.

November 13 - Negro leadership met with Chamber of Commerce and Board of Aldermen. Chamber issued public statement urging end to discrimination in business and employment.

A Sierra Leone visitor, State Department official, and two Atlantans refused service at one restaurant, police called when they refused to leave.

Atlanta (Cont'd)

November 14 - Board of Aldermen refused to permit Mayor to speak, refused to endorse resolution for voluntary desegregation.

November 19 - Retail Merchants Association joined Chamber of Commerce in endorsing voluntary end to discrimination in public accommodations.

November 21 - Approximately 400 Negroes picketed Rich's seeking employment of Negroes among extra holiday sales personnel. Negro leaders and hotel owners conferred.

Augusta: During late summer - Mayor appointed bi-racial advisory commission. Parks and library integrated. A Negro bus driver hired.

Late September - Merchants began hiring Negroes in non-traditional jobs.

October 9 - Polling places integrated for Mayor's election.

Columbus: September 2 - Library integrated

September 4 - 25-Member (15 whites, 10 Negroes), bi-racial committee named by City Commission.

During October - Movies integrated.

Decatur: During October Municipal Recreation Center used for first time by integrated group (had previously been integrated in principle).

DeKalb Co.: During September an unofficial bi-racial study committee organized to stimulate voter registration.

Fort Valley: November 12 - Negro community formally requested open public accommodation ordinance and integration of municipal facilities.

Griffin: November 9 - Integrated group of 21 Peace Marchers arrested. Main library has integrated recently.

Jekyll Island: September 24 - Suit filed for integration of state park facilities here.

Macon: September 22 - Vineville Baptist Church admitted Negro to church membership; is reportedly first Southern Baptist congregation to do so.

As of October - More than a token number of Negroes have been employed in mercantile jobs. Library integrated recently.

Rome: September 24 - Sorority cancelled scheduled October Air Force Band concert. (Earlier in month Air Force barred its personnel's participation in events before segregated audiences.) Defense Department announced other service arms were doing likewise.

Library recently integrated.

GEORGIA(Cont'd)

Savannah:	October 2 - Two motels, two hotels, and three downtown movies integrated. A Negro delegation to the City Council officially protested five fatal shootings of Negroes by police during the year. (In addition, one Negro woman's home has been shot into seven times within year with no convictions made.) October 29 - One integrated movie tear-gas-bombed simultaneous with picketing by 15 Klansmen.
Tifton:	Library recently integrated.
Valdosta:	September 5 - Mayor appointed bi-racial (14 white, 10 Negro members) committee held first meeting. Library subsequently integrated.
Warner-Robbins:	September 5 - Integration requests formally presented to mayor by Negro committee. During October - Although city recently passed a picket-proscribing ordinance, a supermarket has been regularly picketed without incident. October 19 - Seventeen arrested during drugstore sit-in.

KENTUCKY.

Hopkinsville:	Late August - Many restaurants, movies, and bowling alleys voluntarily integrated.
Lexington:	August 31 - Over 250 demonstrators marched downtown carrying signs saying newspapers discriminate. During August - 4 private businesses and secretarial schools integrated.
Louisville:	September 12 - Ordinance prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodations went into operation; carries fines up to $100 for violation, injunction for public nuisance after 3 convictions. Bowling alleys have all publicly announced compliance. Tavern owners have brought suit challenging ordinance's constitutionality. By September 15 - Negro leaders reported tests showed 80 restaurants integrated.

LOUISIANA.

Baton Rouge:	October 1 - 4th Negro policemen (3 hired in August), joined force. Large number picketed food store where clerk allegedly threatened 2 Negroes with gun.
Clinton:	October 12-13 -- Twenty-six arrested for picketing. At the city's request, a state court issued injunction banning racial demonstrations. October 22 - Federal Court extended indefinitely a stay of injunction.
Gonzalez:	Late August - A Negro arrested for disturbing the peace when refused restaurant service in bus station.

LOUISIANA (Cont'd).

Hammond: September 5 - Approximately 275 marched to City Hall, attempted 2 sit-ins, in city's first racial demonstration. School suspended for a week participating students (who had cut classes).

September 7 - Mayor met with Negro leaders.

September 8 - Some students returned to school and accepted work penalties in lieu of suspension.

September 9 - Students picketed their school protesting suspension. Mayor agreed to name bi-racial committee and Negro leaders to no further demonstrations.

September 17 - Commission Council passed resolution creating bi-racial committee on community relations (8 whites, 8 Negroes), reportedly second such committee in state (other in Baton Rouge).

September 18 - Committee held first meeting.

Newly formed Association for Preservation of Constitutional Government began efforts (meeting with 115 attendance) to have Mayor recalled.

Jena: September 29 - A KKK rally of 5,000 in a pasture.

New Orleans: August 13 - 10 Negroes hired by Sanitation Department as garbage collectors (job previously unavailable to Negroes).

September 4 - A Methodist church made public announcement that worship services were open to "any and all."

September 10 - 3 leading hotels and 1 motel agreed to accept Negroes as convention delegates.

September 18 - City announced it will appeal July 1 Federal Court order to integrate Municipal Auditorium.

September 19-20 - Students marched before City Hall protesting discriminatory voter registration practices. 83 arrested on the 20th.

September 30 - Parade permit and police protection granted City Hall march of approximately 5,000.

November 4 - Three arrested at City Hall cafeteria (sit-ins have been held here regularly).

November 5 - Five arrested outside Mayor's office and 4 arrested in restaurant protesting segregation.

November 7 - Six arrested in City Hall cafeteria included a Negro Catholic nun.

Opelousas: September 3 - Approximately 300 attended meeting decrying Negro "second class treatment," asking negotiation with city government.

Plaquemine: September - Demonstrations began here August 19 when annexation to the city of 2 Negro neighborhoods (one of which is nearly surrounded by the City) and bi-racial committee denied. A second temporary restraining order

LOUISIANA (Cont'd).

Plaquemine(Cont'd):

(first was stayed by 5th Circuit) issued by U. S. District Court judge on September 1 failed to halt demonstration that night in which 68 were arrested protesting alleged police brutality in smaller protest the night before. Tear gas, electric cattle prods, fire hoses, and mounted police were used to drive retreating demonstrators, including 6 ministers, from a church.

Negro students refused to eat in school cafeteria in protest over firing of lunchroom worker who participated in demonstrations.

September 26 - In response to Negro suit, Federal District judge did not lift, but extended, demonstration ban through October 10.

October 4 - Approximately 500 students held "freedom song" demonstration in high school; 35 students suspended indefinitely.

October 7 - Protesting suspensions, 400 students attempted to protest at school board office, met road barricades and tear gas.

October 8 - Sixty students dispersed from attempted sitdown at white school.

October 9 - A tear gas grenade thrown into a Negro church during protest meeting.

October 10 - Approximately 40 students dispersed from a demonstration at their own school with tear gas; 2 arrests. Nine students dispersed from restaurant sit-in with cattle prods.

October 11 - Individual students served with copies of the anti-demonstration injunction.

October 26 - A scheduled civil rights meeting broken up when arriving participants met at church by armed police.

In long-range efforts, Negroes are attempting to do most of their buying in 20-mile distant Baton Rouge; have offered a full slate of city and parish candidates for December 7 primary.

Pointe a la Hache:

October 10 - Plaquemine's Parish Council authorized Leander Perez to lease an old fort as a stockade for racial demonstrators, and to take Martin Luther King, Jr., into custody should he "visit the Parish."

Shreveport: September 22 - Parade permit denied for a Birmingham (church bombing) memorial march. (By contrast, large marches took place in North Little Rock, Ark., Miami, Fla., Columbia, S. C., and Raleigh, N. C., to name a few places.) When some Negroes attempted to march, police dispersed them with tear gas, arrested one teacher and one student after group took refuge in a school.

October 9 - Four Negroes arrested attempting to register at motel.

MISSISSIPPI.

Indianola: October 22 - Fourteen youths, including 2 Yale students, arrested for distributing literature without a city permit during write-in election drive for Mississippi Negro leader Aaron Henry for governor.

Jackson: October & November - City has been the scene of repeated attempts by integrated groups to worship at white churches, only 2 of which (Catholic and Episcopal) have admitted them.

October 6 - Two Negro and 1 white Tougaloo female students arrested on charges of disturbing public worship at Capitol Street Methodist Church.

October 12 - National Council of Churches, on coeds' behalf, filed suit contesting law which permits arrest of persons trying to integrate church services.

October 13 - Same 3, with a white minister, turned away at same church; no arrests.

October 20 - Twelve arrested at 2 churches.

October 27 - Two ministers arrested when, after police had turned them away from church, they knelt on sidewalk.

November 17 - Ten, including 5 clergymen, 3 of them white, arrested at 4 churches.

Other events have included:

September 4 - U. S. District Court judge released the city as defendant in suit seeking to enjoin it from enforcing segregation under state and city laws.

September 7 - U. S. District Court judge ordered city to remove segregation signs outside 3 terminals. (The 2 bus and 1 railroad company had already removed their own signs inside building. Also, the same judge had earlier refused so to order the city, but his decision was overturned by 5th Circuit.)

September 17 - Two Negroes served on trial juries, reportedly for first time in state in recent years.

October 15 - A Negro shot to death a white service station attendant in argument over use of "white only" drinking fountain.

November 19 - Two white youths arrested for setting fire to drive-in restaurant because owner recently employed Negro car hops and waitresses.

During November - Three Negro girls drew irate crowd of students when they integrated Millsaps College's Christian Center for a play performance.

MISSISSIPPI (Cont'd)

Meridian: August 30 - Three busloads of Negroes, returning from Washington March, refused service at "white only" bus station facilities; some beaten by white bystanders.

October 5 - Four additional Negro policemen hired (previously one on force).

Natchez: August 30 - One Negro arrested for using "white only" service station restroom; complained to Justice Department he was beaten by sheriff's deputies.

Winona: September 9 - Justice Department brought suit charging police with brutality in custody of 5 who sought bus terminal restaurant service last July.

Yazoo City: November 5 - Police met and dispersed election workers, warning them of ordinance against circulating handbills without a permit.

NORTH CAROLINA. (Statewide)

Governor Sanford keeps personally informed of racial demonstrations via statewide telephone reports from State Highway Patrol ever 24 hours.

Ahoskie: September 10 - Town Council passed ordinance regulating picketing.

Charlotte: November 22 - All 14 (a 15th is all-Negro St. Andrew's) white Lutheran churches announced January publication of a self-study asserting the churches are open to all.

November 25 - Home in white neighborhood which owner-incumbent had sold to a Negro, shot into 4 times.

Concord: September 10 - Negro youths demonstrated before 2 movies, staged a subsequent protest, and on third day, Nov. 16, drew a crowd of 500 hostile whites whom police dispersed.

September 19 - Mayor dissolved 2-month old bi-racial committee saying the demonstrations violated the terms of its formation. Negro members of the committee denied any agreement not to demonstrate.

Dunn: September 20 - Bi-racial Human Relations Committee issued progress report of desegregation, cited integrated drugstore lunch counters and agreement of 11 firms to commence merit hiring. An official truce had been in effect, August 13 through November 13.

November 26 - Negro leadership denied "anything concrete" accomplished in 90-day period.

Elizabeth City: September 14 - Approximately 250 students staged orderly anti-segregation march in reportedly city's first protest of the year.

September 15 - Approximately 450 participated in peaceful prayer march to courthouse.

September 16 - Another march of 150-200, without incident.

September 20 - Negroes made formal announcement of objectives; integration in churches, schools, employment, public

NORTH CAROLINA (CONT'D)

Elizabeth City (Cont'd): accommodations and municipal facilities.

September 25 - Mayor's bi-racial Committee on Human Relations agreed to negotiation with suspension of demonstrations through November 9.

Enfield: August 31 - 1,200 demonstrations clashed with police as violence erupted over failure of bi-racial committee's negotiations and passage of picket-regulating ordinance.

September 4 - Governor's race relations aide visited city but failed to break deadlock.

September 7 - Department store pickets protesting discriminatory hiring arrested as fast as they appeared until jail was filled.

Gatlinburg: October 15 - AFL-CIO's Southern Advisory Committee on Civil Rights meeting here noted all leading motels, hotels, and restaurants are integrated.

Gastonia: During November - Protests initiated asking integration of movie theatres.

Goldsboro: November 18 - Bi-racial Council announces formation of also bi-racial Woman's Good Will Committee to improve communication across race lines.

High Point: Demonstrations which began in mid-August, and reached a crescendo in early September have centered on public accommodations and employment and resulted in the arrest of over 1,000 by September 10.

September 1 - Seventy-five Negroes marched through downtown and converged on segregated drive-in restaurant.

September 2 - Three leaders of singing march of approximately 120 arrested.

September 3 - Nearly 50 of 200 demonstrators arrested in 3rd consecutive night at drive-in.

September 4 - 225 marching on drive-in met by about 300 angry whites, 2 of whom were arrested for inciting to riot.

September 6 & 7 - Cafeteria, 2 movie theatres, & drive-in picketed.

September 8 - Mass meeting of 900 at City-County Building and downtown march of 380.

September 9 - 363 arrested in 3 waves of theatre-restaurant protest.

September 10 - Mayor requested, Negro leaders rejected moratorium on demonstrations, pending negotiations, 10 of 700 marchers arrested as police restrained 2,000 onlookers from near clashes. To date police had kept order, drawn praise from Negro leaders.

N. C., High Point (Cont'd)

September 11 - A hail of rocks, eggs, and tomatoes thrown from crowd of 3,000 at approximately 500 marchers caught some innocents in crossfire; police used tear gas to keep order, arrested 9 for trespass.

September 12 - Negro leaders agreed to 90-day (through December 6) suspension of protest actions and City Council deferred passage of severe anti-demonstration ordinance. A permament 11-member human relations commission planned to replace bi-racial committee.

September 30 - Women's Good Will Committee held integrated luncheon.

November - Two Negro firemen hired in recent weeks and negotiations with bowling alley owners in progress.

Kenansville: November 8 - Two Negroes served on Superior Court jury in criminal trial (burglary and rape) of a Negro.

Kinston: October - Two Negro firemen hired.

Laurinberg: October 15 - First Negro policeman hired.

Monroe: September 4 - Approximately 125 marched around county courthouse protesting school segregation.

Murfreesboro: During September - Board of Commissioners approved naming of Advisory Committee on Bi-racial Affairs.

Raleigh: During September - A permanent Community Relations Committee succeeded temporary group named in May.

Southern Pines: September 1 - Town's first Negro policeman hired.

Statesville: September 19 - Voters in recall election elected 6 new city councilmen pledged to holdrreferendum on status of swimming pool integrated during summer.

November 19 - Mayor named additional members to expanded bi-racial human relations committee.

Wadesboro: September - Negro community formed its own Economic Development Corporation, established shirt factory providing new skilled jobs.

Washington: September - Bi-racial committee established and second Negro policeman hired.

Williamston: August 29 - After a week-long truce and city's enacting an anti-picketing ordinance, 11 were jailed in violation of it.

August 30 - Approximately 400 Negroes, protesting previous arrests, met phalanx of police. All in all, demonstrations had been held almost daily for 32 days through....

October 15 - When Negro leaders telegraphed the governor to intervene, staged a peaceful march of about 100 persons.

November 17 - Fifteen white ministers from Boston area arrested while protesting with local citizens and jailed in Greenville and Washington (N.C.) where Williamstonians regrouped and protested November 18.

N.C. Williamston (Cont'd):

November 21 - Seventy Negroes, 11 white ministers, and several white seminarians marched in protest despite Superior Court restraining order issued in the morning.

November 22 - Further demonstrations planned for weekend cancelled because of President's death.

Wilmington: October 2 - Approximately 100 arrested demonstrating at movie theatre.

November 16 - An estimated 1,000 persons attended Ku Klux Klan rally 6 miles from city.

Wilson: September 1 - Negroes assembled to sing on courthouse steps; whites formed a counter demonstration with some minor incidents, 5 arrests.

September 2 - Two downtown marches of approximately 125 persons each before movie theatres conducted peacefully.

Winston-Salem: September 3 - Picketing resumed (first since August 28 Washington March) at downtown cafeteria without incident. Bi-racial committee appointed sub-committee to evaluate integration; Negroes claim restaurants are foot-dragging.

September 7 & 8 - Drive-in restaurants with heavy Negro patronage picketed with demands for Negro employment.

September 10 & 11 -- Cafeteria and drive-in picketed, 2 arrests.

September 12 - Largest demonstration - 55 persons - since August as pickets sang in front of cafeteria.

SOUTH CAROLINA. (Statewide).

September-October -- A legislative committee chaired by Representative James C. Arrants held 11 hearings throughout state to take testimony on whether state should maintain open or closed its 26 state parks after federal court ordered integration (parks closed indefinitely by Forestry Commission on September 8). The consensus was for open parks. The Arrants committee will make its recommendations to the General Assembly in January.

Anderson: November 28 - The Ministerial Association, sponsor in past years of the Annual Thanksgiving Day ceremony at the city's recreation center, asked the City Council for permission to hold an integrated program. When the request was denied, the Association, which this year admitted 6 Negro clergymen, withdrew its sponsorship.

Charleston: August 30 - A supermarket and automobile company picketed by approximately 25 Negroes.

September 1 - Picketing. It was announced by Negro leaders on September 7 that this and other demonstrations would be discontinued indefinitely. Unpublicized negotiations reportedly taking place with the bi-racial committee.

S. C. (Cont'd)

Columbia: September 9 - City's first anti-segregation demonstration of the year was a 4-block, few minutes march of 17 youths. Later, on two occasions, at noon and in late afternoon, 23 were arrested trying to integrate movie theatres.

September 10 - Fifty-two participated in theatre demonstration; no arrests.

September 14 - One youth arrested at theatre aroused 20 marchers to sing before jail.

Florence: September 16 - Twenty-member Bi-racial Community Relations Committee under fire from Citizen's Council, drew declaration of unequal support from City Council.

Greenville and Newberry: Bi-racial committees have been formed.

Orangeburg: Communications lapsed here following an August 20 formal presentation of 10-point integration program by Negro leaders to city officials.

September 28 & 29 - Three downtown marches comprising about 200 persons each - 1 on Saturday and 2 on Sunday - resulted in arrest of nearly 500. State law officers and highway patrolmen reinforced local police in city's first large protest action since 1960. (To date this year there had been intermittent sit-ins, fewer than 50 arrests on trespass charges.)

September 30 - During the morning 12 arrested at restaurant sit-ins as 190 paraded downtown and were also taken into custody. During afternoon, 130 marched by jail without incident.

October 1 - 262 demonstrators arrested attempting a second parade. Police had permitted a march of over 100 earlier in day but warned against repetition.

October 2 - With approximately 1,000 arrested in less than a week, Negro leaders met with city officials. Mass demonstrations halted, but single pickets were out.

October 10 - Approximately 80 arrested picketing schools, where partial boycott of classes continued for several days and one teacher was dismissed for protest activities.

October 23 - After a two-week lull, 50 youths arrested during march to police station to register for picketing as required by new ordinance.

By November - Arrests in 2 months of protest have surpassed 1,500 and there has been no resolution of problems.

Seneca: During September - A movie theatre and some lunch counters integrated. A bi-racial committee was formed earlier in summer.

Sumter: August 19 - Two Negro women attempted to integrate a courtroom during trial of 6 ministers charged with trespass for sit-ins. The two served 12 hours in jail on contempt

S. C. (Sumter Cont'd)

charges rather than pay fine.

October 6 - Forty-four arrested during attempted prayer gathering at courthouse in memorial of Birmingham bombing.

October 12 - 102 who were singing and hand-clapping arrested in protest march. Similar but silent marches have occurred in recent weeks without incident.

TENNESSEE.

Chattanooga: Mid-September -- Mayor and City Commission formally declared Chattanooga an "open"city.

October 8 - A vacant house in a predominantly white neighborhood which had been shown to prospective Negro buyers wrecked by dynamite.

Franklin: During August - Bi-racial committee established.

Jackson: November 4 - Seven Negroes arrested in attempted restaurant sit-in.

November 23 - Twenty-five, including 4 white students, arrested in attempt to be served at 4 different restaurants.

Johnson City: September 5 - Members of the City Commission and Chamber of Commerce, as individuals, signed and circulated for public approval a resolution calling for complete integration of public facilities.

Memphis: August 31 - Approximately 400 Negroes marched downtown protesting double shift school day.

September 12 - Sit-in at segregated, privately leased restaurant in railroad terminal.

Smithville: September 3 - Shotgun and pistol fired into home and car of Negro family whose two children integrated the elementary school. Sheriff and a former sheriff arrested on warrant sworn out by the parent. Charges dismissed September 9.

TEXAS.

Austin: August 28 - Eleven persons reportedly paraded in White Citizens' Council counter-protest to civil rights march which took place later in day with several 100 participants.

During October - City Council took under advisement a public accommodations ordinance.

Dallas: October 1 - A Marine color guard scheduled to participate in woman's club meeting did not attend because of armed services directive against participation in segregated gatherings.

Galveston County: September 4 - Fourteen members appointed to bi-racial committee to deal with racial problems in county government employment, service at county hospital, and in public accommodations in unincorporated areas.

Marlin: August - Established a bi-racial committee.

Prairie View: November 9 - Boycott of football game and home-coming requested by students of the Prairie View A & M student body and alumni to support efforts to integrate nearby Hempstead effective as about 100 persons attended (attendance in previous years: 9,000).

November 15-16--White ministers joined students picketing restaurants in Hempstead.

VIRGINIA

Statewide: Oct. 15 - Two Negro applicants passed examinations for National Guard but have not been inducted to date.

Charlottesville: Sept. 22 - Peaceful Birmingham memorial march.

Covington: Sept. 3 - First Negro policeman hired.

Danville: August 30 - Twenty-five arrested for parading without permit.

September 1 - An Episcopal church Holy Communion service integrated.

September 17 - More than 80 participated in peaceful public prayer meeting (for those who died in Birmingham) on Post Office Building steps.

October 16 - First Negro policeman hired.

November 21 - A League of over 200 white citizens petitioned mayor to approve a biracial committee.

Eastville: September 5 - Negro ministers from state's two eastern shore counties, Accomack and Northampton, formally requested biracial committee in first such action in area.

Farmville: September 5 - Picketing and selective buying had been fairly continuous to date when three merchants pledged to employ Negro sales personnel.

September 7 - Fifty staged singing protest before movie theatre without incident.

September 12 - A fourth merchant agreed to open jobs. Picketing continued before those who have not agreed.

Fort Lee: During September - A biracial committee and an equal employment opportunity committee formed.

Fredericksburg: October 11 - Biracial Commission reported several large motels and hotels in the area have integrated eating and sleeping accommodations.

Virginia cont'd

Hopewell: September 18 - City's first Negro policewoman hired as school guard.

Martinsville: During August - A bi-racial committee established. First Negro policeman joined force thereafter.

Norfolk: September 19 - More than 2,000 Negro students paraded before Norfolk School Administration Building and a student delegation presented list of grievances about the city's only Negro high school to the school superintendent.

Petersburg: September 19 - Over 1,000 Virginia State College students marched 8 miles carrying coffin labeled "Birmingham Justice."

Portsmouth: November 20 - Full integration of hospital medical staff to be recommended at hospital board meeting in December as a result of meeting with Negro leaders. No action taken on request for integration of facilities.

Radford: A bi-racial committee has been established.

October 1 - Public roller skating facilities integrated and Recreation Department announced its basketball program would in integrated at season's opening in December.

Richmond: September 4 - Twelve-member Bi-racial committee held its first meeting.

Staunton: September 28 - Hired first regular Negro policeman.

Tappahannock: A 12-member bi-racial committee has been established.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

CITIES WHERE DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED SEPTEMBER - NOVEMBER, 1963

ALABAMA

- Anniston
- Birmingham
- Selma

FLORIDA

- Jacksonville
- Miami
- St. Augustine
- Tallahassee

GEORGIA

- Americus
- Atlanta
- Warner Robins

LOUISIANA

- Baton Rouge
- Clinton
- Hammond
- New Orleans
- Plaquemine
- Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI

- Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA

- Concord
- Elizabeth City
- Enfield
- Gastonia
- High Point
- Monroe
- Washington
- Williamston
- Wilmington
- Wilson
- Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston
Columbia
Orangeburg
Sumter

TENNESSEE

Jackson
Memphis

TEXAS

Austin
Hempstead

VIRGINIA

Charlottesville
Danville
Farmville
Norfolk
Petersburg

* *

CITIES WHERE SOME PROGRESS TOWARD INTEGRATION HAS OCCURRED

ALABAMA

Anniston
Florence
Huntsville

ARKANSAS

Benton
Conway

FLORIDA

Bradenton
Clearwater
St. Augustine
Sarasota
Tampa

GEORGIA

Atlanta
Augusta
Columbus
Decatur
Macon
Savannah
Valdosta

KENTUCKY

Louisville

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
Hammond
New Orleans

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson
Meridian

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte
Dunn
Gastonia
High Point
Laurinberg
Murfreesboro
Southern Pines
Washington

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson
Greenville
Newberry
Seneca

TENNESSEE

Franklin
Johnson City

TEXAS

Galveston County
Marlin

VIRGINIA

Covington
Danville
Farmville
Ft. Lee
Fredericksburg
Hopewell
Martinsville
Radford
Richmond
Staunton
Tappahannock

Estimated number of arrests in 11 Southern states since August 28, 5,125.

The Civil Rights Crisis: A Synopsis of Recent Developments, V

This synopsis covers the period December 1-23, 1963.

ALABAMA - In Birmingham on December 9 a meeting of the National States Rights Party called off when only 12 persons attended. On December 10 a window in the home of a Negro civil rights attorney was smashed by a steel ball. On December 12 a U.S. District Court judge ordered integration of the Birmingham Airport Motel.

In Tuscaloosa on December 19 and 20 five National Guardsmen were arrested on charge of setting off three November explosions near the University of Alabama.

ARKANSAS - In Helena on December 6 three integration workers were arrested.

FLORIDA - In Ocala on December 7 12 white students and teachers who were picketing with Negroes (who were permitted to continue) were arrested.

In Tallahassee on December 12 a petition signed by 116 Florida State University faculty members asking integration of off-campus restaurants ran as a full-page ad in FSU student newspaper.

GEORGIA - In Americus on December 5 one of the four rights workers who had been held and later released on insurrection charge was convicted of assault with intent to murder.

In Atlanta there was considerable activity highlighted by the following:
- -Dec. 3 - Board of Aldermen voted 10-4 in favor of open public accommodations resolution;
- -Dec. 9 - Federal suit filed by Negroes against segregated motel built in Urban Renewal area;
- -Dec. 15 - Outdoor civil rights rally of approximately 2,500;
- -Dec. 16 - City's remaining segregation statutes invalidated by Board of Aldermen;
- Dec. 21 & 22 - A total of 21 arrested in two restaurant sit-ins;
- -Dec. 22 - First Baptist Church congregation voted to admit Negroes to worship.

In Dawson at about midnight on December 8 a Negro home which had been used by registration workers was shot into and bombed.

LOUISIANA - In Baton Rouge on December 12 a Negro integration leader from nearby Plaquemine was convicted on a bad check charge. A suit seeking the integration of the city's Parks and Recreation Commission's facilities is pending; to be heard January 17.

In Clinton on December 4, 5, & 6 a total of seven pickets at segregated businesses were arrested.

In Monroe on December 13 a resolution calling on state's Congressional delegation to oppose civil rights legislation introduced at meeting of the state bar association's house of delegates.

MISSISSIPPI - In Jackson the following events occurred:

-Dec. 11 - Six Negro housewives were fined $500 each and sentenced to six months in jail on charges stemming from their picketing a downtown store December 6;

-Dec. 13 - Citizens Council advocated a $6,000 a year raise for mayor for "a job well done" on racial problems;

-Dec. 15 - Two Negro and two white ministers arrested attempting to enter Methodist churches.

Also, during the month, Britain's Manchester Guardian criticized conductor Sir Malcolm Sargent and revealed a white British student was arrested for attempting to attend a segregated Royal Philharmonic concert here with a Negro.

NORTH CAROLINA - North Carolina Good Neighbor Council on December 10 reported increase of Negroes in non-traditional jobs, both commercial and municipal, in Asheville and Buncombe County, High Point, Gastonia, Winston-Salem, Ahoskie, Alamance County, Goldsboro, Laurinberg, Fayetteville, Greensboro, and Rocky Mount.

Alamance County Board of Commissioners on December 13 refused to give county's human relations council power to negotiate with local businessmen and other groups, but agreed to increase council's membership from 24 to 28.

Goldsboro in early December reported more than 100 Negroes had been employed by local stores, 92 (including three policemen) by city itself, and 121 by a local manufacturing firm employing a total of 383 workers.

Wayne County appointed its first Negro deputy sheriff December 12.

In Winston-Salem on December 9 three sat-in at a coffee shop; left when owner called police.

OKLAHOMA - In Tulsa public hearings on a proposed public accommodations ordinance ended December 12. Fifty person spoke in favor of it; 33 against.

SOUTH CAROLINA - In Columbia Main Street movie theatres and a luxury motel quietly integrated in late November. A biracial drive to integrate all local motels, hotels, and restaurants launched in early December. Dec. 16 - Over 100 marchers arrested.

TENNESSEE - Nashville's Metropolitan government adopted a nondiscriminatory hiring policy for all local government workers in December.

TEXAS - In Austin on December 20 20 students picketed Lynda Bird Johnson's dormitory at the University of Texas protesting segregation of coed dorms.

The Dallas News reported on December 12 that the hiring of Negroes has "become normal employment practice in a broad spectrum of Dallas stores."

VIRGINIA - In Danville on December 10 9 of 20 demonstrators were arrested at a theatre and restaurant in city's first racial incident since last summer. Fifteen more demonstrators were arrested December 11 and 12. A fair employment ordinance prohibiting discrimination in hiring of city employees was passed by city council on December 10.

VIRGINIA cont'd.

In Norfolk the Virginian-Pilot reported December 13 that two Negro leaders are expected to run for the city council next June.

In Roanoke two Negro firemen were hired during December.

Voter Education Project
, N.W.
30303

RESULTS OF VEP PROGRAMS
1, 1962 to December 31, 1963

Fiscal Year /62-3/31/63	1st 9 months 2nd Fiscal Year 4/1/63-12/31/63	Total As of 12/31/63	Total Voting Age Population	White Voting Age Population	Nonwhite Voting Age Population	Total Registration	W. Reg.	NW Reg.	% NW of Total Reg.	% NW Reg. of NWVA
5,598	7,889	13,487	1,814,378	1,353,058	461,320	1,015,000	925,000	90,000	8.8	18.
4,952	3,804	8,756	1,043,269	850,643	192,626	633,665	553,655	80,000	12.6	41.
22,790	14,321	37,111	3,087,699	2,617,438	470,261	1,899,433	1,686,215	213,128	11.2	45.
27,156	19,191	46,347	2,409,972	1,797,062	612,910	1,405,000	1,183,181	221,919	15.7	36.
2,765	3,134	5,899	1,803,805	1,289,216	514,589	1,193,775	1,031,691	162,084	13.5	31.
1,592	1,636	3,228	1,170,522	748,266	422,256	553,000	525,000	28,000	5.0	6.
9,838	13,485	23,323	2,556,884	2,003,955	550,929	2,090,270	1,856,497	233,773	11.1	42.
7,357	13,370	20,727	1,266,251	895,147	371,104	814,628	703,000	111,628	13.7	30.
16,269	17,974	34,243	2,092,891	1,779,018	313,873	1,500,000	1,297,026	202,974	13.5	64.
20,590	100,000**	120,590	5,534,277	4,884,765	649,512	2,020,183	1,720,183	300,000	14.8	46.
6,100	7,777	13,877	2,312,887	1,876,167	436,720	1,032,104	923,792	108,312	10.4	24.
125,007	202,581	327,588	25,112,835	20,096,735	5,016,100	14,157,058	12,405,240	1,751,818	11.8	35.

8

stimate of the new voters paying poll tax for the first time under a VEP-sponsored statewide program through
Enlist (V.O.T.E.). Includes Latin Americans, white and colored. 60,000 are estimated to be Negroes.

0 NW Reg. for Texas is a 1963 estimate. 1964 results will not be known until about 3/15/64. Poll tax is only
on.
three columns to the right of the double vertical bar reflect 1960 census figures.

COPY

22 Feb. 64
Plaquemine, La.

Mary Hamilton
2210 Bienville Ave. Apt. F
New Orleans, La.

Dear Mary,

Barbara Whitaker, research assistant for VEP, Rm 206, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta 3, Ga. requests narrative and statistical reports for St. Bernard and Plaquemine parishes. For VEP's research files she requests the following info:

1. Location and size of community in which the drive is being conducted; proportion of Negro voting age population; total number of registered voters; number of Negroes registered to vote.
2. General description of Negro residential areas; conditions of Negro employment (with special reference to public employment, e.g., police officers, firemen, etc.) whether Negroes occupy any public office, elective or appointive, at the time of the registration program.
3. Description of the activities which preceded the organization of the registration program.
4. Attitudes of public officials toward registration activities among Negroes; organized oppposition, either official or unofficial, to registration.

This was requested by 19 Feb 64.

Freedom, Baby,

THE ONLY SUCH PUBLICATION OF ITS KIND

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

NEWSLETTER

Volume 1 **March, 1964** **Number 2**

A TALE OF TWO CITIES

Two counties, each boasting a metropolis as its county seat, conducted voter registration drives during 1963. One, in Miami (Dade County), Florida, was a coordinated effort of a number of community organizations. The other in Charlotte (Mecklenburg County), North Carolina, was conducted by an arm of the Mecklenburg Organization on Political Affairs. These stories are presented as illustrations of successful activity in voter registration.

Miami (Dade County), Florida

The month of September was a productive one for voter registration in Miami (Dade County), Florida. Through a community effort, CORE Field Secretary Weldon Rougeau aided in the addition of 5,593 persons to the registration polls.

The period of most intensive registration activity ran from September 16 to September 28. During that time, 5,567 persons were registered. Of that total, about 100 were whites.

Registration was conducted in eleven predominantly Negro areas. Registration sub-stations were placed in these areas by the county authorities. The locations of the sub-stations were: Homestead, Goulds, Perrine, Richmond Heights, Coconut Grove, downtown Miami, Opa-Locka, Brown's Sub, Liberty Square, James E. Scott and Liberty City (Hutcheson Realty).

The locations were open Monday through Saturday from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., with the exception of Tuesdays and Thursdays when they remained open until 9 p.m. The turnout on Tuesdays and Thursdays was very heavy despite rain in some areas.

The personnel for these sub-stations came from the eleven areas and were hired by the county. They were all Negroes who were registered voters. In most instances, there was representation of the two major political parties.

The task of getting the sub-stations set up was not an easy one. Initially, the county politicians were opposed to the idea because the proposed registration drive was primarily oriented toward the Negro community. The Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of South Florida helped the county authorities to see that providing this service was a part of their responsibility.

Several members of the Community Relations Board (Bi-Racial Committee) took the matter before the County Manager. He was very receptive to the idea and asked that preferential locations for registration sub-stations be submitted to him by the board. The board, in turn, asked Mr. Rougeau to suggest the sub-station locations. After consulting with residents and leaders, a list of locations was submitted.

The office of the Supervisor of Registration gave its full cooperation throughout the drive.

There was the omnipresent problem of getting the organizations in the Negro community to take an active part in the drive. A few organizations did get members to work in the drive, but the number from these organizations was not representative of the active membership in them. The organizations

(Continued on Page 4)

Charlotte, North Carolina

The Mecklenburg Organization on Political Affairs, a non-partisan organization, was formed in 1958 in order to increase Negro registration and participation in elections. Since its inception, MOPA has been the stimulant for political activity among Negroes in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County. Realizing the need for a massive registration drive in the county, the members of MOPA supported the organization of the Non-Partisan Voters Registration Coordinating Committee. This committee has broad community representation. Dr. R. A. Hawkins is chairman, Mr. Calvene Ross, secretary, T. H. Wyche, attorney, and Mr. James Polk are members-at-large of the Executive Committee. Dr. R. P. Perry, President of Johnson C. Smith University is a member of the Steering Committee, along with all precinct chairmen, representatives from labor, civic and social organizations, and the communications media.

The committee has completed the first phase of a drive which they hope will yield 20,000 new registrants in Mecklenburg County by November, 1964. The organization engaged in an intensive two-month program beginning September 16 and ending November 18. In one day's activity alone, on November 9, 1,051 new voters were added to the rolls. When the books closed on November 18, 5,236 new voters had been successfully registered.

Personnel for this effective campaign included twenty adult workers and the student body of Johnson C. Smith University. For the first week, a "fan out" technique was utilized. Workers were concentrated in the downtown area near the Board of Elections office Monday through Friday during the hours when the books were available. Through personal contact in the streets, the workers urged persons to register. On three Saturdays in November, when the books were available in the precincts, greater attention was given to community activity. Contact was established with the total community through churches, civic and social organizations, radio and televising advertising, and door-to-door canvassing in an effort to reach all individuals of voting age.

The drive is now in its second phase which will run through the primary registration period through April. The final phase will resume in September and run through the general election registration period in October. With the practical experiences gained in the initial phase, the committee is moving ahead with renewed enthusiasm.

VOTER EDUCATION
PROJECT NEWSLETTER
5 Forsyth St., Rm. 502
Atlanta, Ga.
Ph. 525-0595

Staff
Wiley Branton
R. T. Blackwell **B. Whitaker**
J. Levine **J. Shortt**

Poll Tax Is Outlawed By Constitutional Amendment

The 24th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, outlawing the use of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections, was ratified by the required three-quarters (38) of the states, and became a part of the Constitution on January 23.

The Amendment goes into effect immediately and will have the effect of barring requirement of the poll tax as a qualification for voting in the 1964 Presidential and Congressional elections, as well as all subsequent federal elections. Five states had a poll tax as prerequisite for voting: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

The final state to ratify the amendment was South Dakota. The South Dakota Senate suspended normal rules to pass the ratification resolution when it heard that the Georgia Senate had ratified the amendment and sent it to the Georgia House where early approval seemed likely. In addition to Georgia, the other states whose legislatures were in session but had not taken final action were Arizona, South Carolina, and Virginia.

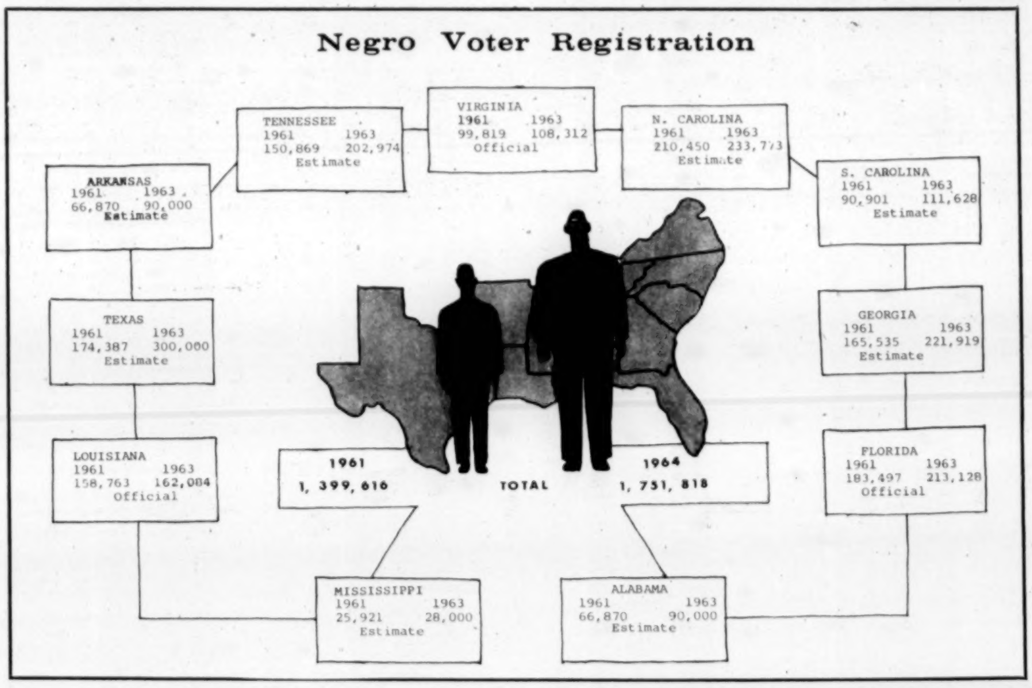
The Amendment will have no effect on the 45 states which do not impose a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. The five states which still have poll tax must make a choice before the 1964 elections. They can either, as Texas and Virginia have already done, provide for "dual elections" in which anyone may vote for federal officers but only persons who have paid their poll taxes may vote for state and local officials, or any otherwise qualified person can vote in all elections. Up to January 30, the legislatures of Alabama and Mississippi have made no move to establish "dual elections." The Arkansas legislature is scheduled to meet in special session to enact a new registration law which probably will not require a poll tax in any election.

Blowin' In The Wind . . . .

Louisiana

Ronnie Moore, CORE Field Secretary, reports that a hole has finally been made in the wall of resistance to Negro registration in West Feliciana and Tensas Parishes (counties). In West Feliciana, Rev. Joseph Carter was registered on October 17, despite massive opposition from whites. Under the eyes of Justice Department and FBI personnel, he had to enter the courthouse by a side door because the front door had been blocked. But he *did* register, thus becoming the first Negro to register in that parish within the living memory of oldsters in the community. Since that time, at least twelve other Negroes have registered.

On January 10, a letter was received from Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director, CORE, indicating that fifteen Negroes had registered to vote in Tensas Parish, assuring Negro registration in every parish in Louisiana. Mr. Rich indicated that registration efforts would begin soon in Bienville, Red River, Webster, East and West Carroll, Rapides, and Washington Parishes.



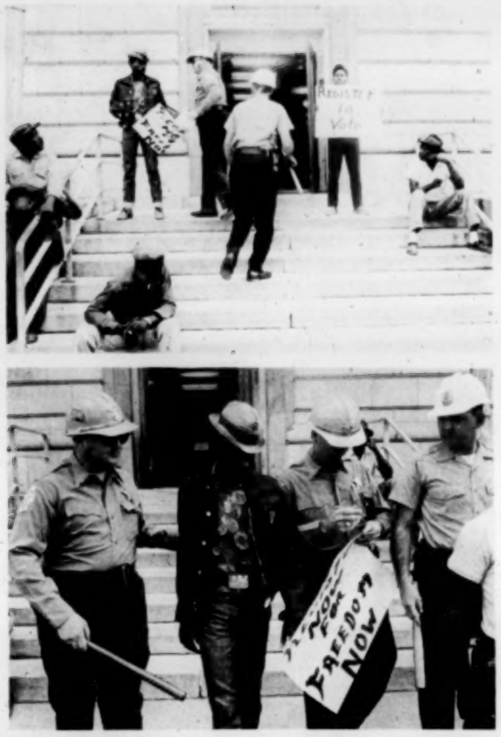
Danville, Virginia

During the latter part of November, a task force headed by Herbert Coulton, Field Secretary, SCLC, moved into Danville to resume voter registration activity following the November elections.

In the first nine days of the month, 310 new registrants were added to the lists. This first nine days was the deadline for payment of poll tax to be eligible for voting in the June primaries. Since many Negroes were out of work, $1,300 was raised by various groups by foregoing the purchase of Christmas gifts and sent to the Danville Christian Progressive Association for the purpose of making loans to individuals who could not afford to pay the poll tax. Those persons borrowing money had to be literate since emphasis was not merely upon payment of the tax, but actual registration. From a list prepared in an earlier phase of the drive, students in the community reached all persons who had registered but were not eligible to vote because their poll taxes were in arrears. These individuals were encouraged to make payment. Many of those able to pay did so, thus making them eligible to vote in the upcoming elections. In December, 369 new voters were registered.

Greensboro, North Carolina

In fifteen working days, August 9-30, 1963, with a budget of $955, the American Friends Service Committee, cooperating with local NAACP and CORE chapters, conducted a voter registration project in Greensboro, North Carolina, which added 803 new voters to the rolls. The project centered its activity in the Negro community, but did not discourage whites from registering. Several Negro neighborhoods in the five predominantly Negro precincts were canvassed by interracial teams of two weekday evenings from 7 to 9, and Saturday afternoons from 2 to 6. During these hours, registrars were available at a neighborhood church or community center to register people brought there by the project workers. House-to-house coverage was supplemented by canvassing on downtown streets and in neighborhood shopping centers. Working in new neighborhoods was found to be very worthwhile because many registered voters had not changed



Local police arresting two SNCC workers on steps of federal building, Selma, Dallas County, Alabama, October 7, 1963.

their addresses with the Board of Elections. Work was also done on the streets where houses were condemned and soon to be vacated in order to obtain new addresses to be given to the board.

The canvassers had to determine which of the interviewees were not registered but qualified, which needed to notify the Board of an address change, and which needed to re-register because their names had been stricken from the rolls because they had not voted in six years as well as to dissuade fears, provide information about registration procedures and convince Negroes that there can be a hard, practical utility in registering and voting. The use of a mimeographed flyer with the slogan, "Your Vote Can Be Your Voice" was found to be very valuable in laying the foundation for talking about registration.

Although the primary emphasis was voter registration, as much time as possible was given to voter education. The workers found that their efforts were more successful if they used specific explanations. The importance of voting in all elections and of reading and thinking and of making up one's own mind how to vote was stressed.

Greenville County, S. C.

A recent report from Greenville County showing some 3,000 persons registered during December, 1963, and January, 1964, reveals that Charleston County has lost the shifting spotlight in the Palmetto state. Rev. Nathaniel Brockman is campaign director for the NAACP sponsored voter registration drive. He indicates that contacts have been initiated all over the county, and interest and enthusiasm are at a high pitch. He has a group of 85 volunteers who are committed to using every available technique in order to stimulate registration activity in Greenville County.

Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mr. William T. Underwood, NAACP campaign director in Hamilton County has reported 3,797 new registrants since campaign began in late October. Using a variety of techniques, including block organization in most wards, the 110 workers have achieved significant results in reaching potential registrants. During the last two weeks in December, the Registrar's books were carried into three wards on three days resulting in 827 new registrants. This was a reversal of an earlier decision of the Election Commission not to allow the books to be taken to the wards. There was a feeling that increased registration among whites had also been influenced by the publicity from the campaign.

Dallas County, Alabama

There are 30,000 Negroes and less than 25,000 whites in Dallas County, Alabama, according to the 1960 Census reports. However, less than 300 names of eligible Negroes could be found on the registration rolls.

In September, 1963, SNCC initiated an intensive voter registration project in Selma, Alabama. Weekly mass meetings in conjunction with the Dallas County Voters League featured such speakers as John Lewis, James Forman, James Baldwin, Dick Gregory, Rev. Red Shuttlesworth, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. But nothing drew more dramatic response than "Freedom Day," October 7, when more than 350 Negroes waited in line all day to register to vote. From October 7 through November 8, 252 Negroes filed applications on the 23 days on which registration was possible.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals issued a mandate on 9/30/63 requiring the District Court of the Southern District of Alabama to enjoin the Dallas County Board of Registrars from discriminating against Negroes. Law enforcement officers of Selma and Dallas counties actively intimidated prospective registrants during the drive. A motion by the Department of Justice to further enjoin Dallas County officials and the White Citizens Council from intimidating voter registration workers, voter applicants, and Justice Department attorneys has been filed. While the motion is before the court, it seems likely that there will be less overt action by these two groups.

Canton, Mississippi

The city of Canton is located 25 miles north of Jackson in Madison County. According to the 1960 Census, its total population is 9707, the Negro population being 6,220. Only 5.9 per cent of the voting age Negro population in Madison County is registered to vote, according to the 1961 U. S. Civil Rights Commission Report on Voting.

From January 21 through January 27, seventeen voter registration workers were arrested in efforts to mount a voter registration drive in this central Mississippi community. These arrests were on a series of charges ranging from burning leaves on a sidewalk to distributing leaflets without a permit. The Canton City Council has passed a new local ordinance making it illegal to pass out literature in the city unless approved by the Mayor and Chief of Police.

Officials of SNCC and CORE protested the arrests to the U. S. Department of Justice and called for federal protection of civil rights workers. In related developments, the homes of local civil rights leaders were searched; operation of all Negro taxicabs was halted; gas pumps were removed from a station owned by a Negro; owner of a cafe frequented by voter registration workers was arrested.

On February 3, all of the rights workers were found guilty and convicted in Canton city court. The sentences were $500 fines and six months in jail on each charge. The sentences are being appealed.

Negroes waiting to register at Orangeburg County, South Carolina, Courthouse November 4, 1963. J. W. McPherson, Chairman, local voter registration project, with cane.

PLEASE CLIP AND MAIL TO:
THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

☐ **I would like to be on your mailing list to receive future copies of the VEP newsletter.**

☐ **I would like to talk with a VEP representative about registration work in my community.**

Name____________________

Address____________________

City____________**State**________

Voter Education Project Makes Staff Changes

We regret to announce that Jack Minnis, former Director of Research for VEP, is no longer with the Project.

Results of VEP Programs

April 1, 1962 to December 31, 1963

State	*Total as of 12/31/63*
ALABAMA	13,487
ARKANSAS	8,756
FLORIDA	37,111
GEORGIA	46,347
LOUISIANA	5,899
MISSISSIPPI	3,228
N. CAROLINA	23,323
S. CAROLINA	20,727
TENNESSEE	34,243
TEXAS	120,590
VIRGINIA	13,877
TOTAL - - -	327,588

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., has been appointed Acting Assistant Director of VEP. Mr. Jordan, a native Atlantan, is a graduate of DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana, and the Howard University Law School, Washington, D. C. Mr. Jordan is also Assistant to the Executive Director, Southern Regional Council.

Mrs. Barbara Ingram Whitaker has joined the staff as Research Assistant. Mrs. Whitaker is a graduate of Spelman College and holds the master's degree from the Atlanta University School of Social Work. Prior to joining VEP, Mrs. Whitaker was a member of the faculty at the Atlanta University School of Social Work.

Miami (continued from page 1)

that helped were: The National Conference of Christians and Jews, the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, the Boy Scouts (Goulds), CORE, The League of Women Voters, the Florida Labor Council, several local organizations, both youth and adult, and countless individuals who were not direct representatives of organizations.

The registration drive was given publicity by the two Negro newspapers, a Negro radio station, and several night clubs in the county which constantly announced the locations of the sub-stations, the times they were open, and the qualifications for registration.

Further to publicize the drive, persons went into the churches on Sundays, and made announcements about it and the need for a good showing to insure being able to use the sub-station program in the future. Persons also went into theaters making announcements and appealing for help in the drive.

The principals of all the schools in the sub-station areas sent memoranda to parents, made daily announcements about the location of the sub-stations, and instructed leaders of student organizations in the distribution of leaflets, canvassing, and office work. About one-half of the student body in each school participated in some way in the drive.

Several weeks before the opening of the sub-stations, workers canvassed each sub-station area. The purpose of the canvass was two-fold: 1) To get an idea of the number of voting age persons who were not registered along with their names, addresses and telephone numbers, and 2) To alert the areas to the possibility that sub-stations would soon be set up.

Upon official notification that the sub-stations would be opened in the areas selected, leaflets, posters, and placards were printed with the eleven locations, times for registering, qualifications, and reasons for registering. More than 125,000 leaflets, 1,000 posters, and 1,550 placards were distributed. This proved a satisfactory means of communicating with the persons with whom contact had been made during the canvass.

The only parts of the drive which were noticeably weak were in communications and transportation. There was not a sufficient number of people to man telephones and handle appointments and calls for transportation. These two, in addition to the inclement weather, were actually the reasons why more people were not registered. One communication innovation used which may be of help to others in similar situations involved project personnel boarding buses in the downtown section headed for areas in which sub-stations were located. While they were on the buses, these persons would make announcements to the passengers about the registration drive and inform them that a car pool would take them to the sub-station and then continue them on their journey if they would alight from the bus at a certain stop. This proved very effective.

Voter registration activity is continuing in Miami at the present time.

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, Room 502
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

PLEASE NOTE:

Correction: Negro Voter Registration - Figures for Arkansas are incorrect and should read 72,604 (1961) and 77,714 (1963). These are official figures.

VEP is seeking information on Negro candidates currently seeking public offices in the southern states. We would appreciate any information, news clips, press releases, photographs, etc., which you might supply.

NEWS RELEASE FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Phone: JA. 2-8764

Monday, August 3, 1964

Negro voter registration in the eleven southern states totaled 1,937,982 as of April 1, according to the latest state-by-state tabulation by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Wiley A. Branton, director of the project, today released the figures on registration and results of the VEP program.

The April 1 total exceeded VEP expectations. Since then the total Negro registration in the eleven states has clearly passed the 2,000,000 mark, Mr. Branton said.

And he said further "good-sized increases" can be expected between now and the November 3 presidential election. He added:

"If the presidential election is a close one within the southern states, the increased Negro vote could have great significance."

He pointed out that increases since 1960 in Negro registration in some of the southern states are greater than the margin by which one or the other of the presidential candidates carried those states in 1960.

For example, the Republican candidate won in Florida by 46,766 votes in 1960. Negro registration increases attributable to VEP alone in that state are 53,441. The

Democratic candidate carried South Carolina in 1960 by 9,571 votes. The VEP increase in that state has been 32,140.

The VEP is a non-partisan program engaged in research on causes of low voter registration in the eleven southern states, methods and techniques for increasing it, and development of educational programs along these lines.

Under its sponsorship, voter registration activities have been carried on in the eleven states by independent local organizations and five major Negro organizations -- the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Congress of Racial Equality, National Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The state-by-state tabulation shows a range of Negro registration as of April 1 from 28,500 in Mississippi, where harassment has been heavy, to 375,000 in Texas.

The April 1 total of 1,937,982 Negro voters is 38.6 per cent of eligible Negro voters in the eleven states. This means that a majority of them -- an estimated 3,078,118 -- were still not registered.

White registration in the eleven states, meanwhile, was estimated at 13,600,000 as of April 1, making the Negro-white ratio of voters almost one to six. About one-fourth of the South's voting age population is Negro.

The 1,937,982 total Negro registration compares with an estimated 1,350,000 Negro voters when VEP began in the spring of 1962, an increase of more than half a million.

The report shows that VEP-sponsored programs since then resulted in the registration of 551,328 people as of April 1, of whom all but 50,000 (in Texas) were Negro.

Thus, these programs are chiefly responsible for the two year increase in total Negro registration. They would have carried the total figure even higher had it not been for voters moving from the region, and for purges in some states and localities.

As it is, the total figure is a conservative estimate. Wherever official figures were not available, the most cautious estimates were used. Mr. Branton said the estimates for Georgia and Texas, particularly, are probably below actual registration.

Much of the VEP increase was achieved during the second year of the program's existence -- 426,321 of the total 551,328.

Historical perspective of the two-year gain of more than half a million is seen in a comparison with the decade between 1952 and 1962. During that entire period, there was a net increase of Negro voters in the South of not more than 350,000.

While VEP has been associated with most of the registration activity in the past two years it has not been responsible for all of it. There have been some organized drives without VEP sponsorship, and there has been, of course, normal day-to-day registration.

VEP is in its final year, and will terminate its sponsorship of voter registration programs in October. It is hoped, however, that they will continue on their own resources.

(State-by-state tabulation attached.)

TABLE III.

RESULTS OF VEP PROGRAMS

APRIL 1, 1962 to MARCH 31, 1964

(Publication or Quotation of this Table Permitted)

STATE	VEP RESULTS 1ST FISCAL YR	VEP RESULTS 2ND FISCAL YR	VEP 2 YEAR TOTAL	EST. TOTAL NEGRO REGISTRATION 4/1/64	EST. NO.* UNREG. N. 4/1/64	% OF E NEGROE
ALA.	5,598	9,777	15,375	104,000	377,320	21.6
ARK.	4,952	3,804	8,756	80,000	112,626	41.5
FLA.	22,790	30,651	53,441	240,616	229,645	51.1
GA.	27,156	31,963	59,119	240,000	372,910**	39.1
LA.	2,765	3,545	6,310	162,866	351,723	31.6
MISS.	1,592	2,181	3,773	28,500	393,756	6.7
N. C.	9,838	18,713	28,551	248,000	302,929	45.0
S. C.	7,357	24,783	32,140	127,000	244,104	34.2
TENN.	16,269	22,500	38,769	211,000	102,873	67.2
TEX.	20,590	267,984	288,574	375,000	274,512	57.7
VA.	6,100	10,420	16,520	121,000	315,720	27.7
TOTAL	125,007	426,321	551,328	1,937,982	3,078,118	38.6

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

*BASED ON 1960 CENSUS FIGURES
**VOTING AGE 18 IN GEORGIA

N.d.

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Rm. 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. The Commission was founded in that year by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Through the ensuing years it built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset. It worked to encourage an interchange of ideas and mutual trust between the South's two peoples. The notion of cooperative action by persons of good will, both white and Negro, took firmer root and has continued to grow.

In time the Commission sought ways of expanding its activities to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. This led to the formation of the Southern Regional Council, which was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council.

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners, drawn from the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

In 1951, the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society. It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with moral values, with democratic principles, and with the best interests of the country and this region. The Council has, therefore, an announced point of view. It has, furthermore, a single-minded devotion to the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion. It believes that Southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. The Council's program is planned and its publications are prepared to serve that end.

Financial support for the Council has come from many different individuals and organizations. The latter include national foundations, many church denominations, and various trade unions and business firms.

The Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: 1) it provides consultative services to private and official agencies; 2) it carries on research and publishes frequent reports of findings; 3) it publishes a monthly magazine, New South, and works with the press, radio, and television; 4) it is a clearinghouse and coordinator for other agencies concerned with Southern problems.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to be a practical organization, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. It is an educational organization. It believes that each community in the South must find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience. It offers no blueprint, no panacea for the South's human problems. It does offer a method -- that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

* * *

Present officers of the Southern Regional Council:

President

James M. Dabbs
Planter and Author
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Vice-Presidents

Josephine Wilkins
Athens, Georgia

Dr. Albert W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
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Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Marion A. Wright
Attorney and Past President,
S. R. C.
Linville Falls, North Carolin

Chairman, Executive Committee

John H. Wheeler, President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Executive Director

Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MSS CORE 2
SOUTHERN
[illegible]

Regional Office National Reports - National CORE 1962, February
1963, May

February 10 - 11 1962

STAFF REPORT BY THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Rarely has any organization in the nation's history experienced, in one brief year, such mushrooming growth and impact as has CORE in the year 1961. Just keeping on top of that growth and expansion is a major task. Assimilating the new growth has become a staggering job. Controlling and directing it into constructive and creative channels requires the patience of Job and the wisdom of Solomon, which none of us possesses.

And that is why we are here. This is not for any of us a vacation. It is a working council meeting. Your national office and staff need the benefit of your thinking, and your collective wisdom and insight on the vexing problems that confront us all in order to perform with effectiveness the duties with which you have entrusted them.

There are more than problems facing us. There are also challenges. Your efforts in the past year -- in the Freedom Rides and in your own local activities, have helped to create a climate wherein segregation can be battered down with greater speed than ever before, and bias brought to heel. To fail to plan with foresight and vigor at this stage in our struggle would be criminal. The necessary planning cannot be done by your staff in a vacuum. We must have your thoughtful deliberations.

The CORE staff, both in the national office and in the field, has worked with diligence and dedication, and, without exception has done a highly creditable job. Since the last convention, that team has remained in tact with two exceptions. James R. Robinson, Membership Director, resigned in October to assume the post of Assistant Director of the American Committee on Africa, and Edward Blankenheim, field secretary resigned in January for family reasons. Five persons have been added to the field staff: Norman Hill of Chicago, Dave Dennis and Jerome Smith of Louisiana, Mary Hamilton of California and Frank Robinson of South Carolina. None of these persons are new to CORE activities, and their addition to the staff should greatly strengthen our nonviolent striking power. They join a team of field secretaries who have been tried by fire, and whose effective and often heroic services to CORE have helped to give nonviolent direct action its present dominant role in the civil rights struggle. "1961", observes Gordon Carey "will be recorded as the year in which CORE moved into the deepest South." The report of the Field Department which has been headed by Gordon Carey with Fredericka Teer as the assistant follows:

Field Report

Prior to last year, New Orleans and Tallahassee were the only CORE groups in the most resistant South. It was CORE's Freedom Ride which brought the nonviolent struggle into the States of Alabama and Mississippi. It was this ride that paved the way for the first court ordered desegregation in the State of Mississippi and it was this ride that brought about the major ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission which implemented the Supreme Court decision outlawing bus terminal segregation. Since the Freedom Ride, we have seen nonviolent direct action campaigns carried out in many deep southern cities -- not only by CORE, but by other organizations as well. Shortly over a year ago most observers felt that Mississippi and Alabama were not yet ripe for direct action. But at the 1961 council meeting CORE authorized the staff to undertake the Freedom Ride. Now, the state that brought violence to the Freedom Riders and the state that has outlawed the NAACP for many years has two active CORE chapters and others in formation. The technique of nonviolent direct action has become firmly imbedded in the framework of the civil rights movement.

The North has also seen change. Where only a year ago CORE was talking about housing campaigns, we have today many chapters actively engaged in effective housing projects. Boston CORE, New York CORE, Brooklyn CORE, Chicago CORE, and others have experimented with the housing sit-in. It has proven effective. In Denver our new CORE chapter is engaging in direct action against residential segregation. Much of the energy that was expended in the North to bring Woolworth to its knees has been channeled into action projects within the local community.

And in the Upper South, Freedom Rides on Route 40, sit-ins and picketing have brought integration nearer in Maryland; and Lexington, Covington and Richmond CORE continue battering down the barriers in Kentucky in public places and employment.

In the past year, the number of CORE chapters has expanded phenomenally. Following the council meeting a year ago, there were 39 affiliated chapters. Today there are 64. This represents increase in one year of over 60%. Many of these 25 new chapters have been in the South. We now have our first chapter in the State of North Carolina and have organized chapters in Alabama as well. Other chapters have been organized in states that are new to us or states where CORE has not been active for many years. New Jersey, Colorado and the State of Washington all represent areas of important growth for CORE. During the past two years, chapters have been organized at the rate of almost 2 a month. It appears that this growth will continue.

The field staff has also gained in number and stability during 1961. A year ago CORE had 5 field secretaries. During 1961 it reached a peak of 10 field staff members. In addition to organizing new chapters, the field staff has been able during the past year to provide more servicing for CORE chapters than ever before. Five branch offices are established. One of them (New York) is already in operation and others are under way in New Orleans; Sumter; South Carolina St. Louis; and California.

Last summer, CORE's training program expanded dramatically. For the first time, a training institute was held on nonviolent techniques in fighting housing discrimination. This Institute was held in Boston under the direction of Marvin Rich. The Action Institute trained 30 people from across the nation in the techniques of nonviolent direct action. Out of this Institute grew Alexandria CORE. In the coming year CORE hopes to expand the Housing Institute into a three week program that would deal with housing and employment as well.

One of the current challenges that the organization faces is the utilization of college students within our branches. The staff makes the following recommendations in regard to college chapters:

> CORE will encourage college students to work first toward the development of community-wide CORE chapters. When this seems impractical or when a community chapter already exists, we will consider affiliation of autonomous campus chapters. It is generally agreed that staff should work toward increased activities on college campuses both North and South. We should investigate the possibility of employing a student secretary who would concentrate on college program. It is also suggested that we develop a student advisory committee made up of student leaders. The student advisory committee's function would be to advise CORE staff on utilization and involvement of college students. It is also deemed desireable to hold

student conferences on either a nation-wide or regional basis. Consideration should be given to devoting one day of the National Convention to students.

Involvement of high school students in CORE activities presents another and more serious problem. The staff generally recommends that high school students may be used in local projects depending on local circumstances. It is suggested that persons under 18 years of age not be used on regional projects or activities that involve interstate travel. It is further suggested that CORE, as a matter of policy, not affiliate high school groups to the national body. However, there are three circumstances in which high school groups might be associated with CORE:

1. Organizations that are primarily, but not exclusively made up of high school students may apply for affiliation on the same basis as any other chapter.

2. High school branches may be organized by already existing chapters. In this case, the high school group would become a part of the older CORE chapter and would not affiliate with the national organization. Certain specifications or suggestions would have to be worked out for the relationship between the high school chapter and the community CORE group.

3. Other high school groups which want to work with CORE can call themselves student committees in support of CORE or by some similar name and cooperate with national and local CORE without affiliation.

####

All of us have helped to build CORE, and have propelled ourselves and many others into nonviolent action. But how have we related to the larger community?

"During the past year we have been eminently successful in the attempt to establish in the public mind the image of CORE as a major race relations organization", reports Marvin Rich. The community relations department which Marvin heads with William Larkins as the assistant, reports as follows:

Community Relations Report

We have achieved the stature of a major contributor in the struggle for equal rights in America today. We have also been able to identify CORE as an action organization operating on a national level.

These identifications have benefited the national organization and the local groups as well. Because of the tremendous interest in the Freedom Rides and the general CORE program local groups have been able to increase their membership and the effectiveness of their program.

Yet a good deal still remains to be done. As our groups increase in number and as existing groups grow in size it is important that we continue to educate our own members. As we reach into new communities it is also important that we reach the minds of the largely indifferent public and of the segregationists themselves. We must continue to emphasize that CORE is an interracial organization from top to bottom; among its officers, its staff, its groups and its associate members. We must continue to emphasize that CORE is a national organization; that discrimination exists in every portion of the nation and that CORE groups in every portion of the nation are using direct nonviolent action methods to root it out. We must continue to emphasize and develop our nonviolent philosophy.

The basis for the CORE community relations program is of course the action program of national and local CORE. No mass media is interested in our philosophy apart from the way in which we put the philosophy into practice. We have been increasingly successful in persuading magazines to publish articles of interpretive reporting of CORE and of the nonviolent direct action struggle today.

We have been less successful in achieving this with the major television and panel shows. However, the special events programs have been concerned and we hope to be more successful in the months to come.

During the past year we have investigated pretty thoroughly the possibility of establishing a magazine on nonviolence. It appears that the publication cost per copy on the basis of the circulation of 2,000 copies would be 45 cents. If we could be assured of a circulation of 5,000 then the cost per copy would be reduced to approximately 30 cents. The first price seems high and the second estimate of circulation seems greater than we can hope for at once. We are discussing with several foundations the possibility of their support during an initial one or two year trial period.

Fund-raising - Both special fund-raising and direct mail fund-raising are very intimately related to the entire program of educating and informing the general public. As we secure wider acceptance from the community, it is easier to secure financial support for our program. Speaking tours of student leaders from the South have helped to increase support for the action program and the financial base which is so necessary. During the past fiscal year (since June 1, 1961) special fund-raising has totaled $200,000. During the same period last year, special fund-raising totaled $27,000. Special fund-raising now represents more than 50% of our income. Two years ago special fund-raising represented far less than 5% of our income. During the coming year we will have to spend a great deal of effort to build up the direct mail so that our members will contribute more than half of our income once again.

Literature production - The CORElator, under Jim Peck's editing, has expanded both in number of issues and in distribution. We now publish 50,000 copies of the CORElator nine times a year. It is one of our most important tools in telling the story of CORE action throughout the country. We want to include a story of the activities of each group in the CORElator. Please send us reports and pictures of your activities.

We will be glad to place one member of each group on the mailing list to receive our press releases. In this way you will be apprised of activities throughout the country very rapidly.

During the past year we have published 35,000 copies of Jailed-In, the report of the nine CORE members who spent thrity days on the road gang in Rock Hill, South Carolina. In addition we have published 10,000 copies of Sit-In Songs and have revised and enlarged Cracking The Color Line. 25,000 copies of the new edition have been ordered. We have also reprinted two articles from the Amherst Alumni bulletin in the form of a pamphlet The Freedom Riders. The CORE Way, originally published in 1946, has been reprinted. This will provide some historical perspective for the thousands of people who write and ask about CORE's early years. We also reprinted an article by Joseph Barry on the meaning of jail and Jim Farmer's article in the Progressive on the experiences in Parchman Penitentiary. A three-page reprint summarizing the reports of the United States Commission on Civil Rights is now available. Jim Peck's new book Freedom Ride has been just published by Simon and Schuster. It should be very widely distributed since it tells the story of both the 1961 and the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation as well as many of the CORE action projects in the years between.

Pending projects in this field include a manual on the use of the socio-drama, a lesson outline on nonviolence for the use of CORE groups, and a mimeograph history of CORE.

Film - The Social Action Commission of the African Methodist Episcopal Church has had a film on the Freedom Rides produced. This film was done under our supervision; it is narrated by Jim Farmer and uses much of the television footage taken at the time. The distribution of the film is being handled by the Lockhart Agency. It is our hope that the film will be very widely shown before civic and fraternal associations, college groups and others. This is an opportunity to tell the story of CORE action before a vastly expanded audience. It is also hoped that the film will bring a significant financial return, thus helping to pay the cost of the Freedom Rides themselves.

###

In any fast growing young organization, the danger always exists that the national headquarters, which should be a fountainhead, may, because of the huge burdens and increasing demands put upon it, become a bottleneck. This we intend to avoid. The problems, succinctly, are: 1. functional machinery and 2. program.

To begin the process of evaluating our functional machinery, we started with the national office. In the fall of 1961 we engaged efficiency experts, the voluntary organization management department of our auditing firm Apfel and Englander, to make a study of our operation with a view to operational efficiency and sound procedures. In January we received their other comprehensive report, making numerous valuable suggestions regarding membership maintainance, mail and cash control, office management, additional clerical staff, new equipment and office layout. Most of their recommendations will be put into effect as soon as practicable, and re-evaluated after a reasonable period of time.

In addition, the efficiency experts recommended that the membership procurement function of the membership department be assumed by the community relations department, inasmuch as direct mail fund-raising and special fund-raising logically go together, and that the membership maintainance function of the membership department be assumed by the office management department. This change has already been instituted on a de facto basis as an interim measure. To make this structural change permanent, no doubt, a constitutional change will be required. I suggest that this national council recommend such a constitutional change to the forthcoming convention.

There are, of course, problems of functional machinery which no outside specialists could grasp in a few weeks time. One such problem in the enormous increase in the responsibilities placed upon our Field Department. It's tasks are: organizing, servicing, program (and national projects) and training -- the planning, supervising and execution of any one of which is more than a man-sized job. Combined, they are simply beyond the power of any one man to control.

Therefore, on the recommendation of the Field Director, I have, effective February 1, 1962 and on the approval of the National Action Committee on January 26, divided the field department into two departments -- a Department of Organization (and Servicing) and a Department of Program (and training). The former Field Director, Gordon Carey, is now Program Director; and James McCain, the former Senior Field Secretary, has accepted the post of Director of Organization. Their respective assistants are Norman Hill and Fredericka Teer.

Former Field Secretary Richard Haley has accepted the position of Assistant to the National Director, also effective February 1, 1962. It is expected that this will free the National Director for closer participation in the deliberations and actions of the Community Relations, Program and Organization Departments -- in other words, better co-ordination of the work of CORE. It will also give the National Office the benefit of the proven abilities and unique talents of James McCain and Richard Haley. This does not mean that they are lost to the Field: both intend to do a good deal of travelling, as do other members of the national office staff, to maintain close communication with our battle fronts.

On behalf of the new Director of Organization, I wish to announce that Genevieve Hughes will be assigned to the West Coast regional office, and a new field secretary, Frank Robinson of South Carolina, former regional representative, has been assigned to the South Carolina office to replace McCain. Announcements of staffing of other regional offices and assignments of other field staff members will be made shortly.

Another peril in our rapid growth which requires an adjustment in our functional machinery is the danger that in our increasing size we may lose a measure of membership participation in the affairs of the national organization. No one desires more passionately than your national staff that this not occur. The necessary steps to prevent it must be pondered by this council and its recommendations made to the next convention. It is expected tha the national officers will have a suggestion for your consideration at this council meeting in that regard.

Program

The new Program Department would like suggestions and approval for a limited number of CORE projects which are to be carried out by the national office. It is understood that these national projects do not supplant or replace local projects carried out at local initiative. The Program Department would like to submit four major and four minor projects to be undertaken by the national organization with cooperation from the chapters. The four major projects would be: Follow-up on Freedom Ride, Freedom Highways, Retail Chainstore employment and employment of non-white actors in the theatre and movie industries.

Less important, but still vital projects, are continued efforts at employment of Negro flight crew by U.S. Airlines, library desegregation, desegregation of YMCA's and YWCA's, and continued efforts to desegregate lunch counters throughout the South. A number of special projects will be undertaken as well. Among these special projects would be helping to develop a cooperative industry in Haywood County, Tennessee. Another may be direct action against segregation in State Legislatures, Courts, etc.

The Program Department will also work to help local chapters and develop projects in the areas of housing, schools and voter registration. These three fields cannot be attacked by a national project or project as such in that the solutions would vary from community to community and there is no central organization or corporation as the target for nationwide demonstration. Segregated schools, segregated housing and denial of equal access to the ballot box are considered to be areas of prime importance for CORE activity. During 1962 we will attempt to develop programmatic ideas and literature (including

"How to Do It" tracts) which can be sent to the chapters as an aid in working in these fields.

Training - It is suggested that CORE's training program should be geared to attain 3 primary objectives. First, the training program would be aimed at developing new techniques for tackling problems North and South. Second, it would be geared toward imbuing in the organization a deeper concept of what CORE means by interracialism and the development of an interracial society. Thirdly, we would seek to give deeper understanding in the philosophy of nonviolence. Some of CORE's activities in our recent history have emphasized direct action to the exclusion of a conception of basic goals. A major dilemma facing CORE is that in practice we have not resolved the conflict of jail vs bail. Training of our own membership and staff is considered basic to the growth in depth, as well as in size, of the nonviolent struggle.

###

I have tried in this brief staff report to give as objective a look as possible at our beloved organization -- its progress and a few of its problems. We have taken great strides in the past year. We have also made mistakes. Who hasn't? But the difference between animal habit and human intelligence is the difference between repeating mistakes automatically on the one hand, and trying to correct them in the present and prevent them in the future on the other.

CORE must never succumb to the tyranny of habit, but must ever maintain the freshness of thinking and creativity of action which has made it significant. We must be conscious of the responsibility which our prominence in the struggle places upon us. As we accelerate our demolition work, the toppling of barriers, -- and accelerate we must, we must not lose sight of our architectural duties, the building of bridges. For our objective is not a fractured and barren land of hostile men and fallen walls. It is, rather, an open society where free men dwell -- race having lost its power to poison, to cripple and to divide.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.

YEAR ENDED MAY 31, 1963

APFEL & ENGLANDER
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.

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Statement of income and expenses and general fund balance (deficit) - year ended May 31, 1963 and May 31, 1962	3
Program expenses	4
Expenses allocated into categories	5, 6

APFEL & ENGLANDER
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS
347 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

212 MU 9-4825

September 26, 1963

Board of Directors
Congress of Racial Equality, Inc.
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

We have examined the balance sheet of the Congress of Racial Equality, Inc. as of May 31, 1963, and the related statement of income and expenses and general fund balance (deficit) for the year then ended.

It was not practicable to extend our examination of the cash receipts beyond accounting for the receipts as recorded.

The amount due on bail bonds was $153,617.00. Your staff has estimated that there will be a reduction of approximately $26,189.75 for fines and court costs and an allowance of this amount has been set up. We have been informed that the cases for which some of these bail bonds have been deposited are under appeal, and the estimate of court costs and fines is based on winning the cases. Should they be lost, a considerably higher cost would be involved. While we have tested the accuracy of the gross figure, it was not possible to obtain confirmation of individual balances due.

We did not confirm the accounts receivable for art work but satisfied ourselves as to their accuracy by other auditing procedures. In all other respects our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

Because of the qualifications noted above we are unable to express an opinion on the accompanying statements.

Very truly yours,

Apfel & Englander

Certified Public Accountants

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALI

BALANCE SHEET

ASSETS

		MAY 31, 19
CASH:		
On hand		$ 125.00
Western Union -- on deposit		475.00
Checking accounts:		
Regular		1,398.23
Other (see contra)		1,905.81
Savings accounts:		
Regular		10,709.60
Pledged (contra)		-
RECEIVABLES:		
Accounts receivable -- art work		7,881.00
Travel advances to employees		3,364.72
Bail bond fund receivables	$ 153,617.00	
Less allowance for possible losses	26,189.75	127,427.25
Due from CORE chapters		816.14
Due from Virginia Action Institute		-
Loans receivable		1,444.70
Accrued interest receivable		-
Miscellaneous advances		403.56
OTHER ASSETS:		
Security deposits		1,498.28
Prepaid program expense		-

LIABILITIES AND GENERAL FUND BALANCE (DEFICIT)

LIABILITIES:		
Federal taxes withheld from employees		$ 2,699.97
New York State taxes withheld from employees		403.66
Union dues payable		-
Hospitalization		-
Bank loans payable -- New York Savings Bank (secured contra)		
Loans payable		
Accrued expenses and sundry payables		
Funds for transmittal		
Fund for Voter Registration (see contra)		
GENERAL FUND BALANCE (DEFICIT) (Page 3)		

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
BALANCE SHEET

MAY 31, 1963			MAY 31, 1962		
	$ 125.00			$ 150.00	
	475.00			1,750.00	
	1,398.23			361.04	
	1,905.81			7,305.85	
	10,709.60			10,486.01	
	-			5,198.42	
		$ 14,613.64			$ 25,251.
	7,881.00			-	
	3,364.72			3,380.15	
$ 153,617.00			$ 158,317.00		
26,189.75	127,427.25		25,000.00	133,317.00	
	816.14			761.91	
	-			184.43	
	1,444.70			8,683,53	
	-			75.88	
	403.56			150.00	
		141,337.37			146,552.
	1,498.28			1,506.42	
	-			187.16	
		1,498.28			1,693.
		$157,449.29			$173,497

E (DEFICIT)

MAY 31, 1963			MAY 31, 1962		
	$ 2,699.97			$ 2,465.45	
	403.66			342.98	
	-			84.25	
	-			193.14	
		$ 3,103.63			$ 3,085.
					5,000.
		119,323.17			121,388.
		37,763.42			29,599.
		99.00			99.
		160,289.22			159,172.
		1,905.81			7,305.
		162,195.03			166,478.
		(4,745.74)			7,019.
		$157,449.29			$173,497.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQ

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES AND C

	MAY 31, 1963	
INCOME:		
Contributions:		
General:		
Securities (valued at proceeds of sale)	$ 2,497.33	
Cash	375,505.62	
	378,002.95	
Freedom Rides	1,957.91	
Bequests	1,270.61	
Chapters	8,847.73	
Art work in kind (valued at proceeds of sale)	28,506.22	$ 418,585.4
Special events:		
Meetings, dinners, etc.		37,832.5
Other income:		
Sales:		
Holiday cards	42.560.52	
Literature and miscellaneous	10,415.66	
	52,976.18	
Freedom Ride film	1,124.47	
Special fees	6,256.47	
Interest income	194.06	60,551.1
EXPENSES (Pages 5 and 6):		
Fund raising and membership maintenance:		
Membership maintenance	67,153.45	
Membership recruitment	49,420.74	
	116,574.19	
Other fund-raising costs	24,045.78	140,619.9
Administration		74,625.4
Holiday cards (see Note)		46,444.6
Program (Page 4)		267,044.5
EXCESS OF (EXPENSES) FOR YEAR		
GENERAL FUND BALANCE - BEGINNING OF YEAR		
GENERAL FUND BALANCE (DEFICIT) - END OF YEAR (Page 2)		

Note: All costs pertaining to holiday cards we
inventory of unsold cards was record

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.

OF INCOME AND EXPENSES AND GENERAL FUND BALANCE (DEFICIT)

YEAR ENDED					
MAY 31, 1963			MAY 31, 1962		
$ 2,497.33			$ 8,333.49		
375,505.62			343,797.09		
378,002.95			352,130.58		
1,957.91			101,176.36		
1,270.61			5,000.00		
8,847.73			11,529.23		
28,506.22	$ 418,585.42		3,879.94	$ 473,716.11	
	37,832.54			63,431.54	
42.560.52			57,081.69		
10,415.66			3,425.41		
52,976.18			60,507.10		
1,124.47			4,106.03		
6,256.47			10,562.94		
194.06	60,551.18		247.08	75,423.15	
		$ 516,969.14			$ 612,570.8
67,153.45			39,876.25		
49,420.74			46,210.93		
116,574.19			86,087.18		
24,045.78	140,619.97		43,369.23	129,456.41	
	74,625.48			69,899.77	
	46,444.61			37,669.58	
	267,044.50			397,256.65	
		528,734.56			634,282.4
		(11,765.42)			(21,711.6
		7,019.68			28,731.2
		$ (4,745.74)			$ 7,019.6

ll costs pertaining to holiday cards were charged to current period. No inventory of unsold cards was recorded.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.

PROGRAM EXPENSES

(see details on Pages 5 and 6)

	YEAR ENDED	
	MAY 31, 1963	May 31, 1962
Chapter expansion	$ 61,355.93	$ 39,400.03
Public information and education	67,348.81	67,898.99
Social service program	71,711.92	70,562.68
Houston Action Institute	4,507.29	99.28
Columbus Action Institute	3,270.75	-
New York Area Conference	456.60	-
Freedom Rides	4,351.99	201,540.25
Voter Education	9,601.54	5,600.19
Freedom Highway	17,534.71	107.88
Task Forces	11,730.13	-
Publications	11,540.56	-
Regional offices	3,634.27	-
Virginia Action Institute	-	7,738.50
Boston Housing Institute	-	1,996.36
Route 40 Project	-	2,312.49
(Page 3)	$267,044.50	$397,256.65

Salaries
Payroll taxes
employee b
Fees and servi
Mimeograph a
Promotion and
Publications
Stationery and
Telephone and
Travel
Rent
Audit
Insurance
Corelator
Council and co
Bonding fees
Fines and costs
Legal fees
Equipment
Meetings
Flyers, leaflets,
Medical expense
Good and welfar
General expense
Subsidy
Miscellaneous

(Page 3)

DED
May 31, 1962

$ 39,400.03
67,898.99
70,562.68
99.28
-
-
201,540.25
5,600.19
107.88
-
-
-
7,738.50
1,996.36
2,312.49
397,256.65

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.

EXPENSES ALLOCATED INTO CATEGORIES (N

YEAR ENDED MAY 31, 1963

	FUND RAISING AND MEMBERSHIP MAINTENANCE					
	MEMBERSHIP MAINTENANCE	MEMBERSHIP RECRUITMENT	OTHER FUND RAISING COSTS	ADMINISTRATION	HOLIDAY CARDS	CHAPTER EXPANSION
Salaries	$26,657.86	$ 1,404.30	$ 5,523.88	$43,406.14	$ 2,624.66	$41,123.64
Payroll taxes and employee benefits	1,344.02	70.80	278.50	2,188.42	132.33	2,073.34
Fees and services	19,151.61	7,218.84	13,118.99	3,569.41	3,364.41	37.00
Mimeograph and mailing	12,657.44	23,312.60	182.55	207.87	10,459.13	2,303.94
Promotion and publicity	-	6,631.44	150.38	.80	8,992.71	40.00
Publications	-	-	-	-	13,111.00	-
Stationery and supplies	4,710.53	10,564.71	619.21	347.36	7,758.32	1,787.16
Telephone and telegraph	225.16	218.05	913.19	3,168.87	1.45	3,667.77
Travel	22.70	-	2,603.28	10,442.72	.60	7,450.80
Rent	2,384.13	-	603.83	2,987.95	-	1,927.08
Audit	-	-	-	1,400.00	-	-
Insurance	-	-	-	1,385.79	-	-
Corelator	-	-	-	-	-	-
Council and convention	-	-	-	1,476.60	-	-
Bonding fees	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fines and costs	-	-	-	-	-	-
Legal fees	-	-	-	100.00	-	-
Equipment	-	-	-	3,090.35	-	-
Meetings	-	-	-	-	-	7.50
Flyers, leaflets, etc.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Medical expense	-	-	-	20.00	-	-
Good and welfare	-	-	-	101.07	-	550.50
General expense	-	-	51.97	732.13	-	38.20
Subsidy	-	-	-	-	-	349.00
Miscellaneous	-	-	-	-	-	-
(Page 3)	$67,153.45	$49,420.74	$24,045.78	$74,625.48	*$46,444.61	$61,355.93

* - All costs pertaining to holiday cards were charged to the curr
inventory of unsold cards was recorded.

Note: Allocations of expenses were furnished by the management.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.

EXPENSES ALLOCATED INTO CATEGORIES (NOTE)

YEAR ENDED MAY 31, 1963

FUND RAISING AND BERSHIP MAINTENANCE									
MEMBERSHIP RECRUITMENT	OTHER FUND RAISING COSTS	ADMINISTRATION	HOLIDAY CARDS	CHAPTER EXPANSION	PUBLIC INFORMATION AND EDUCATION	SOCIAL SERVICE PROGRAM	HOUSTON ACTION INSTITUTE	COLUMBUS ACTION INSTITUTE	NEW YORK AREA CONFERENCE
$ 1,404.30	$ 5,523.88	$43,406.14	$ 2,624.66	$41,123.64	$21,271.86	$22,681.00	$ 1,004.47	$ 647.31	$ -
70.80	278.50	2,188.42	132.33	2,073.34	1,072.47	1,143.51	50.64	32.64	-
7,218.84	13,118.99	3,569.41	3,364.41	37.00	4,158.30	513.45	-	-	-
23,312.60	182.55	207.87	10,459.13	2,303.94	7,639.75	817.90	37.56	155.36	-
6,631.44	150.38	.80	8,992.71	40.00	2,832.81	14.93	-	-	10.80
-	-	-	13,111.00	-	10,810.10	-	-	-	-
10,564.71	619.21	347.36	7,758.32	1,787.16	2,197.89	1,687.47	52.05	13.91	28.46
218.05	913.19	3,168.87	1.45	3,667.77	3,819.67	4,993.87	231.78	67.84	-
-	2,603.28	10,442.72	.60	7,450.80	4,883.66	9,358.02	2,995.56	1,031.06	188.17
-	603.83	2,987.95	-	1,927.08	2,664.96	1,842.09	-	1,316.00	-
-	-	1,400.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	1,385.79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	3,787.38	-	-	-	-
-	-	1,476.60	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	3,100.00	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	2,482.00	-	-	-
-	-	100.00	-	-	-	19,876.99	-	-	-
-	-	3,090.35	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	7.50	115.37	-	-	-	130.00
-	-	-	-	-	2,006.56	1,583.10	-	-	-
-	-	20.00	-	-	-	107.96	-	-	-
-	-	101.07	-	550.50	-	1,145.50	1.00	-	-
-	51.97	732.13	-	38.20	88.03	364.13	60.85	6.63	99.17
-	-	-	-	349.00	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	73.38	-	-
$49,420.74	$24,045.78	$74,625.48	*$46,444.61	$61,355.93	$67,348.81	$71,711.92	$ 4,507.29	$ 3,270.75	$ 456.60

* - All costs pertaining to holiday cards were charged to the current period. No inventory of unsold cards was recorded.

Note: Allocations of expenses were furnished by the management.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.

EXPENSES ALLOCATED INTO CATEGORIES (NOTE)

(continued)

	FREEDOM RIDES	VOTER EDUCATION	FREEDOM HIGHWAY	TASK FORCES
Salaries	$ -	$ 18,774.20	$ 4,125.88	$ 7,419.77
Payroll taxes and employee benefits	-	946.54	208.02	374.08
Fees and services	31.00	87.66	399.50	80.55
Mimeograph and mailing	-	109.13	19.86	120.00
Promotion and publicity	-	711.70	94.30	32.45
Stationery and printing	-	444.65	158.25	38.47
Telephone and telegraph	-	2,063.17	1,344.20	785.06
Travel	644.99	9,491.06	8,562.62	2,842.52
Rent	-	745.00	-	10.00
Utilities	-	87.48	-	-
Bonding fees	450.00	-	-	-
Fines and costs	-	37.50	32.00	-
Legal fees	3,226.00	4.00	2,332.00	-
Equipment	-	43.70	-	-
Meetings	-	-	-	1.25
Flyers, leaflets, etc.	-	180.77	138.66	-
Medical expense	-	5.00	93.36	4.00
Good and welfare	-	10.00	-	11.72
General expense	-	60.02	2.17	10.26
Miscellaneous	-	-	23.89	-
	4,351.99	33,801.58	17,534.71	11,730.13
Less reimbursement from Voter Registration Project Grant	-	24,200.04	-	-
(Page 3)	$ 4,351.99	$ 9,601.54	$ 17,534.71	$ 11,730.13

Note: Allocations of expenses were furnished by the management.

National CORE
[1963]

Organization Department Convention Report

The Organization Department is cognizant of the amount of energy that went into the national activity during the year of 1961-62 which skyrocketed our activities into the national limelight and made CORE become one of the most prominent civil rights organizations in the Movement in America today. Because a great deal of field staff time was taken up with national programs the Organization Department could not service existing local chapters as it should, or spare the time to organize new ones. In order for CORE to grow in size and keep knocking down the doors of segregation and discrimination and at the same time not lose its effectiveness, we must give more attention to organizing new groups and supervising the existing chapters.

Therefore, in the remainder of 1963, the Organization Department with the Field Staff will attempt to make this one of the banner years in servicing and in chapter development. From inquiries coming into National Office from individuals interested in CORE-type action, we have every reason to believe that 1963 will be a successful year in the formation of additional groups. There is much fertile soil to be plowed in the Civil Rights movement and we feel that CORE should lead in the plowing. The Organization Department has worked and will continue to work very closely with the Program Department in implementing its program without slackening the work to be done by the Organization Department.

There have been 12 groups affiliated since the last convention.

Fort Smith, Arkansas
Pasadena, California
Sacramento, California
Hartford, Connecticut
Annapolis, Maryland
Ann Arbor Area Fair Housing Assoc --
 CORE, Michigan
Greensboro, North Carolina
Columbia, University, New York
Cleveland, Ohio
Toledo, Ohio
Lebanon, Tennessee
Charleston, South Carolina

10 groups were lost through inactivity:

Tucson, Arizona
Richmond, California
Alton, Illinois
Jackson, Mississippi
Suffolk County, New York
Clarendon County, South Carolina
Florence, South Carolina
Greenville, South Carolina
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Ann Arbor CORE technically disaffiliated and then rejoined as the AAAFHA-- CORE. This brings the total of affiliated CORE groups to 68.

Presently, there are many definite potential groups that will develop into active chapters with a little more servicing from the field staff:

Richmond, California
Marin City, California
Oakland, California
Kansas City, Kansas
Minneapolis - St. Paul, Minnesota
Memphis, Tennessee
Harvey, Illinois

There is a chance of developing many more groups in areas that have expressed interest and have not yet had the services of a staff member. Many of the existing groups require on-going servicing to keep them functioning as a meaningful unit in their communities. The job is large.

2. Organization Department report.

Presently, we are trying to situate staff members where they can do the most good, and get to the places that request help so that all possible areas of development can be investigated and worked with. Field Secretary Cox is now stationed in Chicago and will work in the new "Special Area" of Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Ohio and Wisconsin. Zev Aelony, task force worker, was first located in this area, and did a fine job making contacts, working with the Chicago groups and laying the ground work for Cox.

Chet Duncan took over the West Coast area, replacing Fredricka Teer, who resigned after her marriage. Norman Hill, Assistant to the Program Director became acting East Coast Field Secretary, after the departure of Don Wendell. The other field secretaries remain in their previously assigned area: Tournour in Area Two, where he has recently opened a St. Louis office. (Area Two consists of Kansas, Iowa, Michigan and Nebraska). Mary Hamilton works in Area Three, from her home and office in Lebanon, Tennessee. (Area Three consists of Arkansas, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and Tennessee). Marvin Robinson is in Area Seven (Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas). Dave Dennis is situated in Jackson. Mississippi where he is carrying on the voter registration work, and helping out with the commodity and rural industry programs. Two field areas still do not have field secretaries permanently assigned; these areas cover the Eastern states from N.Y. South to Florida. However, there are plans to get staff to these areas in the future. Field Secretary Jerome Smith, has been "borrowed" by the Program Department, and Frank Robinson is working on Voter Registration, although he has been able to do some work with the South Carolina chapters, and these chapters in turn have been involved in Voter Registration.

This year the first Regional Conferences were held. There were five conferences: New York City, Chicago, San Francisco, St. Louis and Lexington, Kentucky. The conferences have helped in establishing area-wide coordination and have exposed all groups to the ranges of problems that CORE groups have tackled. The conferences have given the older groups a chance to discuss "where do we go from here" and provided the newer groups with added impetus for new projects and increased activity. These conferences took much time and effort on the part of the staff that worked on them and the groups that helped, but the general consensus of opinion is that the conferences are well worth repeating and that the experiment was successful.

It is evident that our present staff must continue their hard work in the field. It is also evident that this is an ever-expanding field of endeavor -- as interest arises and the interested people become a CORE group and embark on a project, new interest is sparked. The Organization Department realizes that it is a nearly impossible task to keep abreast with the growing interest in the entire U.S. in Civil Rights, but the Department and its staff will make all efforts to bring assistance to CORE chapters old and new, and to those in new areas interested in nonviolent direct action.

CORE's Voter Education Project is currently in its second year, having been given a grant of $14,000 for the six months from May 1963 to October 1963, to work in Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina. At the end of the first year's grant, totals for these areas were: South Carolina, 3,715; Florida, 3,359; and Louisiana, 618. In Mississippi, where we had a grant for a short period, we registered 61 people.

Weldon Rougeau is working in Florida, Ronnie Moore in Louisiana and Frank Robinson and Emerson Brown in South Carolina. They have all given unstinted effort, with appreciable gains in Negro registration. Miami has been the best area in terms of concrete results. South Carolina has not, until recently in Kingstree, met with any harassment, delaying tactics or refusal to register the Negro applicants. In Louisiana there is much fear in the small rural communities, the registration tests are difficult and even those qualified to pass often fail because of the whim of the Registrar. (In Iberville Parish the original registrar resigned, and was replaced by a woman reputed to be a member of the White Citizens Council.)

3. Organization Department report.

Many complaints from Louisiana have been filed with the Justice Department, and on May 20th, the Government began to process these complaints, after some previous preliminary investigation. In addition, the Summer Project in Louisiana is expected to help considerably in overcoming the obstacles to registration there.

Although Voter Registration is not direct action in the traditional sense, valuable grassroots support is being gained from the people who are being contacted, and in the not too distant future, these same people will be able to move toward nonviolent direct action to bring about further changes in their communities.

President Kennedy signed into law May 1, 1962, a measure passed by Congress known as the ARA (Area Redevelopment Act), to bring the resources of the Federal Government to assist areas suffering from problems that have been caused by substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment. Little is known of this act and the methods of operation, especially in the Deep South. In November 1962, McCain, Frank Robinson, Emerson Brown and Dave Dennis attended a National Sharecroppers Fund conference in Brick, North Carolina. Government officials from the ARA were present to tell of the program to those attending. The audience included members of many Southern communities which would come under this act and could benefit from this knowledge. For many of these people, it was the first time they had heard of the Act, and for most, the first time that it was explained to them in terms of what it could do for them.

Subsequently, it was discovered that a New York textile firm was planning to locate in Berkeley, South Carolina as part of the ARA program. Organization Director James McCain went to South Carolina to get the local Negro community involved in the project, to insure their inclusion in the employment that would come to the area. As expected, the Negroes had been completely left out of all plans for the development. McCain found out later at a COPE conference in Norfolk, Virginia that labor too had been left out of the OEDP Committee (Overall Economic Development Plan) and complained of this fact to the Federal Government. As a result, work was suspended on the factory. CORE has held friendly talks with the New York owner of the factory (a CORE supporter and contributor), and the loan has gone through. The hiring policies are still to be determined. In Lynchburg, South Carolina, through McCain's intervention, a Negro has been placed on the OEDP Committee.

As the Organization Department sees it, the ARA program can be used as an instrument to make great gains for Negro employment and job retraining. Many of the areas are eligible for assistance because of the low level of income for Negro families. Unless something is done, the Negro will be excluded from the projects, and will not receive the benefits of a program directed partly to help him. The Federal Government is necessarily sensitive to pressure to include all elements of the community in the ARA plans. However, they themselves will not take the initiative. Inclusion of the Negroes can only come at the request of community groups. CORE, possibly allied with labor unions, can do much in the way of informing the community about the presence of ARA projects in their area, and taking action to insure the protection of the Negro, especially in the South, where sharecroppers are leaving the land and being forced into city slums to look for work. The ARA program gives CORE the rare chance to break up discriminatory employment before it starts, before it again becomes the "unusal practice" of employment.

* * * * * * * * *

PROGRAM DEPARTMENT

Gordon R. Carey

The single most significant project of the Program Department during the past year has been the formation of the CORE Task Force. Indeed, the Task Force may well prove to be one of the most important innovations in CORE's recent history. It was started officially latein 1962. However, it was in fact launched last summer with the beginning of the Freedom Highway campaign in North Carolina. That campaign encompassed many cities in North Carolina and the mass action which was carried on in those cities in an important way laid the groundwork for mass demonstrations in Birmingham and other places to follow. In fact, the use of high school children was really pioneered in North Carolina both in Statesville during 1962 and earlier in High Point and other cities.

The success of the Freedom Highway's project -- over half of the Howard Johnson Restaurants in North Carolina were opened at that time -- many other public accommodations were desegregated and some employment opportunities opened up -- led to the formation of the CORE Task Force. Many of the first seven members of the Task Force were actually participants in the North Carolina summer project who remained on without official status and without pay of any kind until the Task Force was launched late in 1962. Now the Task Force has been expanded to fifteen persons and the Program Department hopes that within the coming year we can have a permanent full-time force of twenty-five volunteers in the field. The fifteen persons now on the Task Force are Claudia Edwards, Bruce Baines, Isaac Reynolds, Zev Aelony, Arlean Wilkes, Bill Douthard, Catherine Patterson, George Raymond, Bette Anne Poole, Fannie Lou Hamer, Winston Lockett, Gordon Harris, Spiver Gordon, Jon Schaefer and Danny Mitchell. They have been able to work in areas where it would be too expensive to keep field secretaries for long periods of time. They have acted as assistants to field secretaries and on their own have organized impressive demonstrations in many cities. They have worked extensively in North Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi. They have also done work in Virginia, Florida, Louisiana and Tennessee. Two of the Task Force members have spent a great deal of time in New York assisting the Organization Department and the Program Department. Many of them have been in jail, as are a few of them now who are not here at the Convention.

During the summer, the Task Force will be temporarily expanded to a force of over fifty persons. For six weeks beginning on July 14th the Task Force will be launching a massive campaign in the North as well as in the South. In New York and Newark, Summer Task Force members will be deployed under the direction of Norman Hill to work on the myriad problems facing Negroes who have been ghettoized in our large centers of population. Not only will this northern contingent work on breaking down discrimination in housing and employment, but it will also attack the conditions within the ghettos which destroy the will and motivation to participate in an integrated and democratic society.

In the South, under the direction of Program Director, Gordon Carey, and Vice Chairman Rudy Lombard, the CORE Task Force will undertake the most massive and intensive voter registration campaign ever to take place within the context of civil rights. Forty full-time persons will be used in six or seven parishes of Louisiana. They will be working primarily in rural areas and in at least one case they will work in a parish where to date there are no Negroes registered whatsoever. In both the North and the South, these movements will be interricial and will attempt to involve masses of local citizens. We trust that these Summer Task Force programs will not actually end at the end of the summer, but will continue and grow. To insure their growth, we have arranged for members of the Task Force to remain in these communities many months after the projects are officially ended.

Last year, in addition to the Freedmm Highways Project, CORE also ran two nonviolent action institutes -- one in Houston and the other in Columbus. In essence, the Task Force summer projects continue the tradition of the annual CORE institutes but with a somewhat different emphasis. We hope that we are moving in a direction which is better suited to the needs of CORE both North and South. Participants this summer will receive the same degree of training provided by the institutes in the past but will involve larger numbers of people for longer periods of time in more intense action projectss

The Program Department has also carried on many activities of a less dramatic nature. There have been numerous negotiation sessions with national companies dealing with the problems of public accommodations and with employment discrimination. Direct action across the nation has been carried on in our campaign to end school segregation. CORE is in the process of challenging the right of local communities and states to raise funds through bond issues for building or maintaining segregated schools. In this regard, however, the Department feels a pressing need for more time to prepare guidelins for action and to do research. It is recommended therefore that within the Program Department be established a research division. This would entail employing one full-time person to spend his time doing research, and preparing material based on that research to be distributed to the chapters and to other organizations. This research person would also spend a portion of his time looking into the structure of various companies with which we carry on action projects.

Projects for the coming year: In the year ahead the Program Department proposes that National CORE carry out projects with the cooperation of the local chapters in the field of employment, housing, public accommodations, schools and other areas.

In employment, it is suggested that a major national emphasis be given to ending discrimination within the trade union movement. Of particular concern are the skilled trades which in manycases exclude Negroes altogether or offer only token employment. It is proposed that the Program Department enter into negotiations on the national level with the various unions involved and that coordinated national demonstrations be launched if these negotaitions are not successful. It is suggested that these demonstrations should follow after the pattern pioneered by Philadelphia CORE and more recently in New York. It is requested also that the Convention consider the feasibility of a national project involving employment of flight crew personnel at those airlines which continue to discriminate. Employment campaigns will of course continue with various nationalcompanies involved in both the retail and manufacturing fields.

In the field of housing, it was suggested by the December 1962 meeting of the National Action Council that CORE plan a coordinated housing demonstration. This project should be considered by the Convention and implemented as soon as feasible. Nationally, in the area of public accommodations, there are still many problems remaining. The Woolworth Company has not yet completed the job of desegregating its lunch counters nor has it launched an effective and meaningful fair employment program. Many movie theatres in the South remain segregated. Companies which are part of the ABC-Paramount concern still operate literally hundreds of segregated movie theatres. Some restaurant chains have remained adamant and refuse to drop racial bars, although hundreds of other restaurants have desegregated in recent weeks. While discrimination in bus terminals has virtually ended, it still remains in some places of the Deep South. Also, Greyhound operates chartered tours in the South which are completely segregated. All of these problems need to be considered by the Convention and the staff for action.

In the area of public schools, it has already been mentioned that we are moving ahead with our schoolbond campaign. Nevertheless, direct action is needed both in cases of de facto and de jure segregation. It is time that CORE consider mass action campaigns in regard to segregated schools in the South. Other projects of national importance which should be brough to your attention are cooperation with the newly formed Medical Committee for Civil Rights; Project Friendship -- a program of enlarging social contacts between Negroes and whites in the South modeled after the Knoxville, Tennessee experiment; a boycott and picketing of ships bringing South African goods to The United States; a campaign to have the arrest records of civil rights demonstrators indicate that those arrests did result fromlegitimate action to end segregation; and a continuation and expansion of the cooperative industry program which CORE has sponsored and aided in Haywood County, Tennessee and Ruleville, Mississippi.

Finally, the Program Department proposes that for the Summer of 1964 CORE consider selecting one southern city which the Task Force would work on intensively for the entire summer in an attempt to abolish all forms of racial discrimination and segregation in that cigy. The intent of this last proposal is to carry on a project of the nature of the Birmingham or Greensboro projects but on a much larger and more intensive basis than this country has seen to date. CORE has already achieved, by its actions, the well deserved reputation of being the most militant and effective civil rights force in the nation. The year following this Convention offers greater challenges and opportunities than ever before. If CORE is to play the role for which it is destined, it must expand its program creatively and immediately.

Community Relations Department

The dramatic change in tempo and momentum of the civil rights movement during the past year represents a real challenge to those charged with interpreting CORE. There is undoubtedly a tremendous growth of concern and interest. However, much of this interest is relatively uninformed. This is true on every level.

We have the responsibility of moving the public. To do this we must also reach the writers, and analysts who are themselves only partially aware of our aspirations, our history and our methods. These are the ones only dimly aware of the unique function of CORE as a militant, interracial, national, nonviolent direct action organization.

We must also reach speacialized groups such as student, church and union. Many of these groups have participated in CORE action and with increasing understanding can be still more useful in our common work.

Baldwin Tour

To reach these publics we have used a number of methods during the past year. One of the most successful form every point of view was the three speaking tours made for us by James Baldwin. It was a real tribute to CORE that this major literary figure of our time was willing to give so much of his energy and talent to us. In October, he addressed enthusiastic student and faculty groups in Cornell, Harvard, Brandeis, and M.I.T. In January he gave us another week and toured New Orleans and North Carolina. Then in May he spent 10 days in 9 cities on the west coast before every type of group. These tours did a great deal to raise our prestige, to spread the message of CORE action, and to involve more of the community in our work. It also served to alert the press and the nation to the depth of the reaction against "gradulism." We plan other such tours by leading figures.

We are also developing a committee of correspondents. These are individuals in metropolitan areas who can be quickly mobilized to write letters to the editor on key issues.

We are increasing our work with radio, TV, and magazine writers and editors. Life, Look, Redbook, The Evergreen Review, and Esquire have done or are doing articles on aspects of CORE activity.

Films: The three films we have in stock continue to be widely rented. We are now expanding our film library to include the recent Eyewitness account of the demonstrations in North Carolina, the James Baldwin - Kenneth Clark interview, and up-dating of Freedom Ride. These films are especially useful in rural areas of the South.

Literature: The CORElator still is the major vehicle for interpreting CORE work around the country. The circulation is now over 65,000 and it continues to grow. Now that we have received a second class permit and no longer use envelopes (except in southern states) we can produce and mail a six or eight page issue for less than it formerly took for a four-pager.

We published 75,000 copies of Justice? This 33-page booklet describing the use of police dogs, police brutality, and judicial arbitrariness was widely read. Statesville, City of Progress detailed the work of the Freedom Highways campaign at Howard Johnson in one North Carolina community. Civil Rights, Northern Style is a reprint of the Ebony article on the work of Brooklyn CORE in fighting job discrimination at the Ebinger Bakery chain. Other newspaper articles were reprinted in more limited quantities.

Associate Membership: 28 chapters have indicated that they are participating in this major effort to secure wider support. However, most of the chapters have not yet reported and it is difficult to adequately evaluate the results. However, it does seem that we shall have to give more staff assistance to the chapters if the full potential is to be realized.

Fund-Raising: Our total income for the year was approximately $525,000. In CORE we have two major categories of fund raising: direct mail and special. Direct-mail consists of (1) Membership maintenance--appeals to the list of national associate members for support, and (2) membership recruitment -- appeals to those on outside lists to join in support of CORE. We continue to do well in both categories.

Membership Maintenance: Contribution from our own list totaled $211,000 during the year. This is the largest figure ever and exceeds 1961-62 by $16,000.

Membership Recruitment: We sent 505,387 appeal letters to outside lists during the year.* However, the CORE list grew from 45,000 to 61,000 during the year. Contributions from new contributors total $104,000. The previous year our income from new contributors was $78,000. While CORE membership continues to grow, it is growing at a smaller rate. This is one of the reasons for the associate membership campaign (results of this are not included in this year's report).

CORE Membership Growth

Year	Members	Increase Over Previous Year	% Increase
1962-63	61,000	16,000	36
1961-62	45,000	19,000	73
1960-61	26,000	11,000	73
1959-60	15,000		

Special Fund Raising: Last year's annual report indicated that special fund raising was both an opportunity and a danger. This has been borne out. In those special fund raising events planned by the national office we continued to do well. The Baldwin tours brought us almost $20,000 and the art show and sale more than $30,000, and the other special events did well. However, we did not sustain the high level of income from parties and benefits given by supporters across the nation. This kind of income is subject to the widest fluctuation because of the publicity of the moment.

This year we received approximately $42,000 from the trade union movement. This shows a continued increase over past years. We believe that it is possible to continue to increase the amount received from the trade union movement. Income from churches is disappointing to us and to concerned church people. We have under-taken a program of greater interpretation of CORE work to church related publications. It is hoped that this will produce some results in terms of program and income during the coming year.

Holiday Card income was just over $43,000 this year. This is a decline from the previous year. The decline is attributable to late mailing (because of lack of funds), the Cuban crisis, and carry over of slow moving cards. We expect a significant improvement this year.

Direct mail costs are being cut to compensate for increased postage rates. However, we cannot decrease the total amount of direct mail solicitation if we are to continue to grow in size and effectiveness. We must also increase the range of special fund raising projects.

The department could not possibly have been so effective without the assistance of many volunteers such as Jim Peck, Charlotte Devree, Will Chasan, Val Coleman and Dick Barnett.

*This is an increase of less than 80,000 over the previous year.

[illegible] Regional Reports - FINANCES [illegible]

CORE
38 PARK ROW • NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK

SEDF

BANK DEPOSITS
1964, Feb 18, June 16 + 29

& CHECK STUBS FROM NAT.
1963, Dec 11 - 1964, June 5

263

DEPOSITED WITH

CITY NATIONAL BANK

OF BATON ROUGE

THE DEPOSIT FOR WHICH THIS RECEIPT IS ISSUED IS ACCEPTED SUBJECT TO CONDITIONS APPEARING ON THE DEPOSIT TICKETS FURNISHED BY THIS BANK

THIS IS YOUR RECEIPT

CNB 64 1 6 8 FEB18 150.00 D12

THE BANK SYMBOL, TRANSACTION NUMBER, DATE AND AMOUNT OF YOUR DEPOSIT ARE SHOWN ABOVE

DEPOSITED WITH

CITY NATIONAL BANK

OF BATON ROUGE

SEDF

THE DEPOSIT FOR WHICH THIS RECEIPT IS ISSUED IS ACCEPTED SUBJECT TO CONDITIONS APPEARING ON THE DEPOSIT TICKETS FURNISHED BY THIS BANK

THIS IS YOUR RECEIPT

CNB [illegible] 6 9 7 JUN16 2,000.00 D11

THE BANK SYMBOL, TRANSACTION NUMBER, DATE AND AMOUNT OF YOUR DEPOSIT ARE SHOWN ABOVE

DEPOSITED WITH

CITY NATIONAL BANK

OF BATON ROUGE

SEDF

THE DEPOSIT FOR WHICH THIS RECEIPT IS ISSUED IS ACCEPTED SUBJECT TO CONDITIONS APPEARING ON THE DEPOSIT TICKETS FURNISHED BY THIS BANK

THIS IS YOUR RECEIPT

CNB 64 ˉ 8 4 JUN29 3,400.00 D12

THE BANK SYMBOL, TRANSACTION NUMBER, DATE AND AMOUNT OF YOUR DEPOSIT ARE SHOWN ABOVE

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
12/11/63	Louisiana voter education project	150.00-----

For Deposit

8493

La. CORE

Payable to Ronnie Moore

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
12/16/63	Louisiana Voter Education Project	150.00

8867

Payable to Ronnie Moore

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
12/23/63	Weekly Expenses	150.00

8909

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
Dec. 31. 63	Weekly expenses	150.00

8978

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
Jan 2, 1964	Amplifier Repair	$180.00

Received from Spiver Gordon the check ~~[illegible]~~ of $180.00

Willie [illegible]
RECEIVER

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
1-9-64	2 weeks expenses	300.00

8577

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
1/17/64	Weekly Expense #8630	150.00

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
Feb 4, 1964	La. Committee on Registration Education Two weeks expense. #8753	$300.00

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
2-17-64	#8811 Weekly budget La Committee on Reg. Ed	150.00

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
4-3-64	Two weeks Expenses	300.00

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
4-2264	Allowance #1382	300.00

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
April 28, 1964	La Registration Project #1419	150.00

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
5/14/64	2 weeks budget check for La. V.E.P. project	$300.00

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
5/22/64	Two weeks budget check to Louisiana #1644	300.00

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
5/29/64	Weekly Budget #1729	150.00

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
NEW YORK 38, N. Y.

DETACH AND RETAIN THIS STATEMENT
THE ATTACHED CHECK IS IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS DESCRIBED BELOW.
IF NOT CORRECT PLEASE NOTIFY US PROMPTLY. NO RECEIPT DESIRED.

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT
6/5/64	Initial payment on Louisiana Summmer project.	1,800.00

MEMORANDUM

TO: All CORE Personnel

FROM: Richard Haley

February 3, 1964

RE: Hard Times

During the week ending February 1st, the National Office was forced to withdraw $10,000 from its reserve fund. This withdrawal was necessary because of the overbalance of expenditures against income. The situation is worsened by the fact that during the week ending February 15th, we must meet both payroll and federal taxes. Certainly, all of us will agree that these last named obligations totalling $14,000 cannot be postponed. We cannot reasonably expect any alleviation of this critical situation until after the returns of the February Brotherhood Appeal begin to come in. That will be March, at the earliest. However, income of the Brotherhood Appeal is the principle source for funds to carry CORE through the summer. So we cannot depend on that to solve current problems.

We need an austerity program. We need one now. I urge the following:

1 - Use letters instead of the telephone.

2 - Limit travel to a minimum.

3 - Be careful of incurring obligations for CORE even though you may sympathize with the problem.

4 - Initiate fund-raising in your community.

5 - Utilize fully your present local staff; additions are unlikely in the near future.

[1964, June 16]

JACKSON'S LOUNGE: MEAL EXPENSES

Initial Deposit..................................$400.00

Rate: $1.75 per person per day.

DATE	PAYMENT	Persons
June 10,1964	35.00	20
11	52.50	30
12	52.50	30
13	52.50	30
14	52.50	30
15	52.50	30
16	52.50	30

Total..........347.00.........................$347.00

Balance from deposit............................53.00

NOTE: Balance to be applied on food arrangements for p permanently assigned workers for Iberville Parish and/or additional training session participants.

Mrs. Gladys Jackson

COPY

LOUISIANA TASK FORCE

30 DAY BUDGET

35 workers -- June 24 to July 24, 1964

I. Rent, Five more Cars at $200 each for 30 days.	$1,000.00
II. Gas, 10 cars at $5.00/day	1,500.00
III. Food, 35 persons at $1.50/day total cost, $52.50/day	1,575.00
IV. Rent, 35 persons at $1.50/day	1,575.00
V. Stationery & Materials	650.00
VI. Misc.	500.00
TOTAL	$6,800.00

COPY

[1964, ca. Augu

BUDGET FOR PROTEST AT U.S. ATTORNEY'S OFFICE IN NEW ORLEANS, CHALLENGE OF LA. DELEGATES, PERMANENT PROGRAM FOR LOUISIANA

I. 3 Chartered Buses (150-160 participants) (Round trip)	Estimated	$ 300.00
Breakfast and Dinner, Estimated		275.00
Miscellaneous		100.00
	TOTAL	$ 675.00

Money requested not later than 8/3/64 to charter buses and to make deposit on food and possibly housing for few participants.

II. Budget for challenge of Louisiana Delegates at National Democratic Party Convention will be sent to you under separate cover.

III. Permanent Program is to begin on 8/10/64, weekly budget has already been submitted.

By 8/14-24

On Aug 22 1964
Favor of Lawrence
Time Mitchell Jr.
Due at payment of
No. 152nd Deficit

MADE IN U. S. A. D 760 - 100 Lvs.
D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $20.00

On Spiver Godon

Favor of aug 22, 1949

Time

Due at Expense adv.

No. 153

MADE IN U. S. A. Standard B&P D760 - 100 Lvs. D760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $219.63

On Aug. 24, 1969
Favor of Ronnie M.
Time Moore
Due at Expenses
No. 154

MADE IN U. S. A. D 760 - 100 Lvs.
D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $4.00

On Aug 24, 1964
Favor of Mrs Alice
Time Armstead
Due at Housing
No. 160

MADE IN U. S. A. D 760 - 100 Lvs.
D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By 25.00

On Aug. 24, 1964
Favor of Spivel
Time Gordon
Due at [illegible]
No. 161

MADE IN U. S. A.
D 760 - 100 Lvs.
D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $8.00

On Aug 24, 1964
Favor of Judith
Time Rollins
Due at
No. 162

MADE IN U.S.A. D 760 - 100 Lvs.
D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $20.00

On Aug. 25, 1964
Favor of Willie
Time Carruth
Due at Housing
No. 163

MADE IN U. S. A.
D 760 - 100 Lvs.
D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $ 36.42

On ~~Sept.~~ Aug. 23, 1964
Favor of Ronnie Moore
Time
Due at Expense adv.
No. 164

MADE IN U. S. A. Standard B&P D 760 - 100 Lvs.
D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $10.00

On

Favor of Lawrence

Time Mitchell

Due at Expense Adv,

No. 165

MADE IN U. S. A. D 760 - 100 Lvs. D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

● NO PROTEST ● TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $15.00

On Sept. 11, 1964
Favor of Judith
Time Rollins
Due at payment on Deficit
No. 166

MADE IN U.S.A. Standard B&P D 760 - 100 Lvs.
D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $ 12.00

On Sept. 11, 1964
Favor of Sharon
Time Burger
Due at PAYMENT ON DEFICIT
No. 167

MADE IN U.S.A. D 760 - 100 Lvs.
D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $30.00

On Sept. 11, 1964
Favor of Fred Brooks
Time
Due at PAYMENT ON DEFICIT
No. 168

MADE IN U.S.A. D760-100 Lvs.
D760-5-50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $40.00

On Sept. 11, 1964
Favor of Claudia
Time Edwards
Due at PAYMENT ON DEFICIT
No. 169

MADE IN U.S.A. Standard B&P D760-100 Lvs.
D760-5-50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $12.00

On Sept. 11, 1964
Favor of Lovia
Time Davis
Due at PAYMENT ON DEFICIT
No. 170

MADE IN U.S.A. D760-100 Lvs.
D760-5-50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $ 408.44

On Sept. 11, 1964
Favor of Ronnie M.
Time Moore
Due at PAYMENT OF DEFICIT
No. 171

MADE IN U. S. A. D 760 - 100 Lvs. D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $71.13

On Sept. 11, 1964

Favor of Ronnie

Time Moore

Due at PAYMENT OF DEFICIT

No. 172

MADE IN U. S. A. D 760 - 100 Lvs.
D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $18.00

On Sept. 16, 1964
Favor of Ronnie
Time Moore
Due at EXPENSE ADV.
No. 173

MADE IN U.S.A. Standard B&P D 760-100 Lvs.
D 760-5-50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $194.66

On Sept. 16, 1964
Favor of Ronnie
Time Moore
Due at PAYMENT OF DEFICIT
No. 174

MADE IN U.S.A. Standard B&P D760-100 Lvs.
D760-5-50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $11.39

On Sept. 16, 1964
Favor of Chicken
Time Shack
Due at Food for Washing
No. 175

MADE IN U.S.A. D760-100 LVS.
D760-5-50 LVS.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $20.00

On Sept16, 1964

Favor of Lawrence

Time Mitchell

Due at EXPENSE ADVANCE

No. 176

MADE IN U.S.A. Standard B&P D 760-100 Lvs. D 760-5-50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $ 251.15

On Sept. 17, 1964
Favor of Econo Car
Time Rental System
Due at RENTAL OF CAR AND REPAIRS
No. 177

MADE IN U.S.A.
D 760-100 Lvs.
D 760-5-50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $76.00

On Sept. 17 1964
Favor of Pelican
Time Office Supply
Due at PAYMENT ON SHP SUPPLIES
No. 178

MADE IN U. S. A.
D 760 - 100 Lvs.
D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By ______________

____

On ______________
Favor of ______________
Time ______________
VOID
Due at ______________
No. 179

MADE IN U.S.A. D760-100 Lvs.
D760-5-50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $39.00

On Sept. 17, 1964

Favor of Willie

Time Garsuth

Due at BANANCE ON HOUSING

No. 180

MADE IN U. S. A.

D 760 - 100 Lvs.

D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $48.53

On Sept. 17, 1964

Favor of Mason's

Time Motel

Due at Housing

No. 181

MADE IN U. S. A. Standard B&P D 760 - 100 Lvs. D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $50.00

On Sept. 17, 1964
Favor of Ronnie
Time Moore
Due at EXPENSE ADV.
No. 182

MADE IN U.S.A. D760-100 Lvs.
D760-5-50 Lvs.

• NO PROTEST • TAKE THIS OFF BEFORE PRESENTING

By $18.00

On Sept. 17, 1964
Favor of William
Time Yates
Due at PAYMENT OF DEFICIT
No. 183

MADE IN U. S. A. Standard B&P D 760 - 100 Lvs. D 760 - 5 - 50 Lvs.

B U D G E T

COMMENCING SEPTEMBER 1, 1964

(Two cars ~~have~~ have been furnished presumably by national Core (Federal, and National Cor purchased by Core) been ~~taken~~ EC

I. Cash needed for first of each month:

A. Rental of 7 cars @ $125.00 each	$875.00
B. Office Rent — project headquarters	60.00
C. Telephone Bill — project headquarters Plaquemine	100.00
	$1,035.00

II. WEEKLY OPERATING

A. Rent for sub offices Monroe, Shreveport, Alexandria (Oct 1, 1965	25.00
B. Office supplies, voter registration forms, research work, mail communication, postage	50.00
C. Staff advances to 31 workers covering additional lodging, extra travel, minor bond costs, traffic ~~violations~~ violations, care of clinton car, ~~mail communications~~, incidental costs, ~~freedom schools~~, ~~etc~~.	100.00
D. Gas for 8 cars at $5.00 per day or $40.00 ~~Excluding cars rented at National CORE~~.	320.00
	495.00

III. Annual cost for 31 workers at $1,300 per worker per year totals $40,300.00

List further down.

Budget per week $495.00

IV The costs for educational centers & freedom schools will be presented subsequently & separately.

Two additional cars are serviced by credit cards. The cost of which is paid by National office.

Round figures $1,500.00 per month
and $500.00 per week thereafter

FORMAT OF FACILITIES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE PROJECT OFFICE

I. Programming and Assigning of Staff by Field Secretaries in charge and Director of the Southern Regional Office

II. Coordinator of Community Organizations
   - A. Political coordination and Voter Registration
      - 1. parish voter groups
         - a. precinct
         - b. block
      - 2. Tri-parish voter groups for state legislative offices and judicial races.
      - 3. District voter groups
      - 4. Serve as advisory agent and coordinator for political action on all levels of state structure
   - B. Fund raising and Associate Membership Drives
   - C. Public Relations
   - D. To Know Schedule of Elections in every parish

III. Clerical Work
   - A. Office Keep
   - B. Filing
   - C. Bookkeeping
   - D. Communications to anf from field staff
   - E. Recording and Reporting

IV. Research
   - A. Federal Programs
   - B. Federal Funds to State and individual parishes
   - C. Parish and State Structures
      - 1. political
         - a. state
         - b. political party — ~~[illegible] Commissions~~
      - 2. Economic
      - 3. Social
      - 4. Educational
      - 5. Legal
   - D. Special Programs
      - 1. Surplus foods
      - 2. Employment
         - a. private
         - b. public
      - 3. other
   - E. Election Procedures + Laws.
   - F. Voter Registration + Laws, Federal Action (past + present)

Newspapers (Subscription)

V. STOCK

VI. ESSENTIALS to include usual office equipment, space to carry out functions, and sufficient staff

Field Reports
Expense Reports
Bond
Legal Help

PLAN OF STATE EXPANSION
AND SPECIAL PROJECTS

September 1964 - December 1965

1. Educational center at St. Francisville — February 1965 (Get Blueprint)
2. Shreveport ~~[illegible]~~ MASS PROGRAM — May 1965
3. Perez challenge — June 1965
4. Expansion into 2-3-7 congressional districts of Louisiana — August 1965
5. Statewide political action conferences of college people and community leaders — December 1965

Skeleton

Essentials for carrying out the above endeavors will be discussed later.

Ronnie M. Moore
Field Secretary

Assignment of add'l workers

Building staff should include
1 local - ~~[illegible]~~ 2 outside

Get Specifics Now
Draw up to have ~~[illegible]~~ ready for presentat

~~25~~

~~3K~~

~~[illegible]~~

6

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE THE BEST AVAILABLE.

BUDGET

October 1, 1964 - May 31, 1964

17 workers and 5 cars, excluding 2 cars leased from National Car Rental and being supplied gas by use of credit cards

I. Car Rental Cost for Four Cars leased from Econo-Car Rental of Chrysler Corporation at $125.00 each totaling per month	...............$500.00
II. Weekly Budget	
A. Rent for State office and sub offices at Monroe and Shreveport	...............$ 25.00
B. Office supplies and voter registration material	...............$ 50.00
C. Gas for 5 cars including the Clinton car at $5.00 per day per car for gasoline (totaling $25.00 per day)	..............$175.00
D. Miscellaneous expenses: extra travel and lodging, traffic violations, minor bond costs, etc.	.............$100.00
E. Communications, postage, telegraph, telephone	.... $50.00
	$400.00
III. Subsistence allowance for 17 workers $25.00 per worker per week	.............$425.00 /week

TOTAL CALCULATIONS FOR OCTOBER TO MAY (8 Months)

I. Car Rental at $500.00 per month excluding rental fees and gas costs for cars rented from National Car Rental	............$4,000.00
II. Operating Budget at $400.00 per week for 39 weeks	..........$15,600.00
III. Subsistence for 17 workers at a total cost of $425.00	..........$16,575.00

Total Calculations for October to May $36,175.00

As indicated by Haley, 58.7% (almost 60%) is allocated to the subsistence of workers, and much of this will be taken care of by funds raised from the Mississippi-Louisiana Recruitment Program.

Budgets on freedom schools, educational centers, economic projects, and testing programs to follow when additional expenses are imperative. All efforts will be put forward to sponsor above endeavors out of the operating budget. However, to do such will not be easy.

We shall count on the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee to continue assisting our program by filing affirmative and/or defensive law suits.

1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
October 26, 1964

Mr. Richard Haley
Southern Regional Director
CORE
2211 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dick:

I am enclosing financial records for the project, covering the month of October. The records include a financial report showing the total income of the period covered and listing each check and service charge, etc.; vouchers for each check with expense reports and/or receipts attached where possible; deposit slips and notices of service charges. Service charges are entered on the date received, rather than on the date on which they are shown paid. All vouchers are paid by check. We usually receive bank statements and cancelled checks after the corresponding financial report has been submitted. Such checks will be sent to you upon arrival. Utility bills for 2697 Sheldon Drive are for the house rented by Task Force workers in Baton Rouge and are paid from the operating budget because they exceed the $5.00 per week the workers pay.

We plan to continue to use the following businesses on a credit basis:

1. Robinson Brothers, Inc.
2. Moran Motor Company, Inc.
3. Ideal Drug Store
4. Dr. Leo S. Butler
5. Dr. Donald Harris
6. Pelican Office Supply Co. (Baton Rouge)
7. Standard Office Supply Co. (Monroe)
8. Royal Furniture Co.
9. Chicken Shack

Other places are available to keep the project running when we must operate as we are now on a day by day basis, when purchases must be made in large quantities and in cases of emergency.

From the enclosed receipts and expense reports, you should be able to see that we fed on a grocery plan volunteers who received Task Force checks for the first time on October 22, 1964. Some of our present volunteers are being used on similar plans. However, more Task Force workers are needed.

In spite of our present situation, we plan to expand to Shreveport and Alexandria as of November 4, 1964. In order to do so, I am not going to request that you send me the state budget as planned, but I would appreciate at least the subsequent:

1.	Royal Furniture Co.	$ 53.32
2.	Office Rent	40.00
3.	Pelican Office Supply ($475.07) . . .	200.00
4.	Mrs. Gladys Jackson	97.50
5.	For expansion	200.00
6.	For operation at Monroe, Baton Rouge, Clinton and Plaquemine for November .	300.00
7.	East Feliciana Community Relief Fund ($300.00)	100.00
	TOTAL . .	$990.82

It would be extremely helpful if you could send me $500.00 no later than November 1, 1964, and $490.82 by November 15, 1964. Although car rental as planned is temporarily out, consideration must be given to extra travel, bus and taxi cab fare, and use of volunteers' cars.

May I cordially invite you to speak briefly at our November staff meeting on CORE's financial situation and what type of budget we in Louisiana can expect National CORE to provide for our operation.

Take care, my friend. I know you have problems too.

Best regards,

Ronnie M. Moore

RM/sb
Encl.

FINANCIAL REPORT

Louisiana Committee on Registration Education
September 25, 1964 - October 26, 1964

INCOME:

Balance brought forward		$ 31.57
Advance from National - 10/14/64	$500.00	
" " " - 10/15/64	514.50	
Balance from check #218-10/26/64	318.88	$1333.38
TOTAL		$1364.95

DISBURSEMENTS:	CHECK NO.	AMOUNT
Ronnie Moore	193	$ 15.00
Prince's Steak House	194	13.00
VOID	195	
VOID	196	
VOID	197	
VOID	198	
Spiver Gordon	199	20.78
Ronnie M. Moore	200	30.00
Spiver Gordon	201	107.78
Spiver Gordon	202	44.85
Ronnie M. Moore	203	11.75
Ronnie M. Moore	204	110.45
William Yates	205	10.00
Fred Brooks	206	17.08
Mrs. Gladys Jackson	207	35.00
Flint-Goodridge Hospital	208	3.00
Osborne Crandall	209	10.00
Mason's Motel International	210	57.79
Robinson Brothers, Inc.	211	27.40
Ideal Drug Store	212	15.15
Chicken Shack	213	9.39
The Baton Rouge Water Works Co.	214	2.64
Gulf States Utilities Company	215	4.99
Dave Kramer	216	20.00
Louise Street Post Office	217	8.47
Ronnie M. Moore	218	400.00
Ideal Drug Store	219	15.00
Dr. George A. Butler	220	40.00
Spiver W. Gordon	221	61.21
Kenny Johnson	222	26.50
So. Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co.	223	25.16
So. Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co.	224	5.12
Standard Office Supply Company, Inc.	225	47.02
Loria Davis	226	12.50
Joyce M. Johnson	227	10.08
Chicken Shack	228	6.00
Sharon Burger	229	10.24
		$1233.35

Service charge - 9/25/64	$ 2.64	
" " - 10/14/64	2.36	
" " - 10/14/64	3.38	
Notice of overdraft - 10/15/64	3.65	$ 12.03
TOTAL		$1245.38

INCOME	$1,364.95
DISBURSEMENTS	1,245.38
BALANCE ON HAND	$ 119.57

Submitted by: Ronnie M. Moore

Ronnie M. Moore
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
October 26, 1964

See attached supplement!

SUPPLEMENT - FINANCIAL REPORT

Louisiana Committee on Registration Education
September 25, 1964 - October 26, 1964

INCOME:

Balance brought forward	$ 119.57
Advance from Southern Regional Office	150.00
TOTAL	$ 269.57

DISBURSEMENTS:	CHECK NO.	AMOUNT
Southern Bell Tel. and Tel. Co.	230	$ 66.11
Moran Motor Co., Inc.	231	16.48
Robinson Brothers, Inc.	232	97.22
Royal Furniture Co.	233	30.00
Mrs. Gladys Jackson	234	20.00
F. E. Polen, M.D.	235	10.00
Catherine Cortez	236	20.00
TOTAL		$259.81

INCOME	$ 269.57
DISBURSEMENTS	259.81
BALANCE ON HAND	$ 9.76

Submitted by: ______________________

Ronnie M. Moore
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
October 26, 1964

Mr. Ronnie M. Moore
State Office CORE
Louise Street Post Office
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
October 14, 1964

Mrs. Gladys Jackson
Jackson Cafe
Allen Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

I sincerely believe that you know CORE's finanical situation. We are unable to pay the total sum of the food bill for $152.50 at this present time. I am enclosing a check for $35.00 leaving a balance of $117.50. We are going to pay the bill, if we have to pay it by installment.

Please indure with us, in short we are broke.

Best regards,

Ronnie M. Moore

Enclosure

FINANCIAL REPORT

Louisiana Committee on Registration Education
October 26, 1964 - November 31, 1964

INCOME:

Balance brought forward			$ 9.76
Fund raising in North Louisiana	11/2/64	$ 49.75	
Check returned to National	11/12/64	87.10	
West Feliciana contribution	11/12/64	100.00	
Loan from staff workers	11/20/64	81.89	
East Feliciana contribution	11/20/64	50.00	
Advance from National	11/30/64	677.45	
			$1,046.19
TOTAL			$1,055.95

DISBURSEMENTS:

Order of:	Nature:	Check No.	Amount
Oretha Castle	expense advance	237	$ 20.00
Spiver W. Gordon	payment of deficit	238	98.38
VOID		239	
Ronnie M. Moore	payment of deficit	240	250.20
Ronnie M. Moore	payment of deficit	241	25.23
Ronnie M. Moore	payment of deficit	242	13.50
Baton Rouge Water Works Co.	water bill - 2697 Sheldon	243	6.93
Gulf States Utilities Company	electric bill - 2697 Sheldon	244	11.46
Southern Bell Tel. and Tel. Co.	phone bill - Monroe office	245	6.38
Charles Fenton	subsistence for volunteer	246	20.00
Fred Brooks	payment of deficit	247	17.01
Willie Johnson, Jr.	subsistence for volunteer	248	11.00
Ford Motor Credit Company	payment on Comet	249	71.71
Willie Johnson, Jr.	subsistence for volunteer	250	4.50
East Feliciana Community Relief Fund	payment on loan	251	50.00
Marian Bernard	payment of loan	252	21.89
Dave Kramer	payment of loan	253	5.00
Kenny Johnson	payment of loan	254	5.00
Catherine Cortez	payment of loan	255	20.00
Loria Davis	payment of loan	256	5.00
Joyce Johnson	payment of loan	257	5.00
Verla Bell	payment of loan	258	5.00
Christine Wright	payment of loan	259	5.00
Sharon Burger	payment of loan	260	10.00
Dr. George Butler	office rent	261	60.00

COPY

DISBURSEMENTS (cont.)

Order of:	Nature:	Check No.	Amount
Southern Bell Tel. and Tel. Co.	phone bill - Baton Rouge office	262	$ 57.11
Southern Bell Tel. and Tel. Co.	phone bill - 2697 Sheldon	263	9.87
Southern Bell Tel. and Tel. Co.	phone bill - Monroe office	264	18.70
Ford Motor Credit Co.	payment on Comet	265	71.71
Garrard-Milner Chevrolet, Inc.	automobile repair	266	13.60
Pelican Office Supply, Inc.	payment on office equipment	267	75.00
Charles Fenton	subsistence for volunteer	268	30.00
Chicken Shack	food for workers	269	13.81
			$1,037.99

Service charge	- 11/2/64 - - - - - - - -	$ 1.56	
Handling charge (overdrawn check)	- 11/2/64 - - - - - - - -	$ .75	
Notice of overdraft	- 11/9/64 - - - - - - - -	2.00	
			$ 4.31

TOTAL	$1,042.30
INCOME	$1,055.95
DISBURSEMENTS	1,042.30
BALANCE ON HAND	$ 13.65

Submitted by: ______________________________

Ronnie M. Moore
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
November 31, 1964

COPY

BILLS ON DEMAND
November 31, 1964

65.00
71.00

Office Supplies and Equipment:		
Pelican Office Supply, Baton Rouge	$584.81	
Standard Office Supply, Monroe	61.98	
Royal Furniture Company, Baton Rouge	53.32	
		$700.11
Automotive:		
Moran Motor Co., Baton Rouge	$ 36.88	
Robinson Brothers, Inc, Baton Rouge	33.37	
Bolds Two-Stop Service, Jonesboro	4.00	
Long's Skelly Service Station, Monroe	9.37	
		$ 83.62
Staff Expense Reports:		
Fred Brooks	$ 82.72	
Spiver Gordon	5.97	
Ronnie Moore	42.47	
		$131.16
Miscellaneous:		
East Feliciana Community Relief Fund, Clinton	$250.00	
Mrs. Gladys Jackson, Plaquemine	97.50	
A & A Print Shop, Monroe	11.70	
Admiral Blueprints, Inc., Baton Rouge	6.95	
Western Union, Baton Rouge	3.04	
Ideal Drug Store, Baton Rouge	41.82	
		$381.01
TOTAL		~~$1,295.~~90 1,426.90

~~Monthly:~~
~~Office rent - 12th . . . . [illegible]~~
~~Comet payment - 30th . . . . [illegible]~~

~~1,295.90~~
~~131.00~~
1,426.90

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
assistant to the director
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Katrina M. Barnes
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
Will Maslow
A. J. Muste
Dorothy Norman
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hobson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
Lillian Smith
C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

OFFICERS
Floyd B. McKissick
chairman
Rudolph Lombard
1st vice chairman
Wilfred Ussery
2nd vice chairman
Ralph Rosenfeld
secretary
Alan Gartner
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor
Gordon Carey
program director
James T. McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

finances

November 19, 1964

Loan From Louisiana Staff Deposited for
Louisiana Committee on Registration Education

Marian Bernard ----------------	$21.89
Loria Davis ------------------	5.00
Dave Kramer ------------------	10.00
Joyce Johnson -----------------	5.00
Cathy Cortez -----------------	20.00
Sharon Burger -----------------	10.00
Verla Bell -------------------	[illegible]
Christine Wright --------------	5.00
Kenny Johnson -----------------	5.00
TOTAL -----	$ 81.89

Ronnie M. Moore
Ronnie M. Moore
Director of Louisiana Project

RMM/jmj
cc. Sharon Burger

December 10, 1964

MEMO

TO: Staff Members
FROM: Ronnie M. Moore
RE: Loans of $4.89 per pay to National CORE

Frank Battiste, Bill Yates, Sharon Burger, Bob Weaver, Judy Rollins, Henry Brown, Dave Kramer, Claudia Edwards, Al Culpepper, Cathy Cortez, Marian Bernard, Christine Wright, Kenny Johnson, and Joyce Johnson have agreed to lend CORE $4.89 every two weeks which will be paid back out of expense advances no later than the middle of March.

The procedure will be that every pay day, the total, $4.89 from each person on the individual project will be mailed to the State Office. A record will be kept at the State Office, and one by the persons contributing.

Mr. Haley has expressed his appreciation for our act of dedication.

Thank you.

Ronnie M Moore
Director of Louisiana Project

RMM/jmj
cc. - Mr. Richard Haley

CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE
2209 DRYADES ST.
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70113

Memo to staff
listing names & explaining
procedure. cc to Hdq

December 5, 1964

Mr. Ronnie Moore
1501½ East Boulevard
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Ronnie,

This letter is a confirmation of our conversation via telephone on Wednesday, December 2. At that time you stated that the Task Force workers would lend $4.40 (plus) to the project each pay-period to help the project remain operative. They promised to continue this procedure until March if that be necessary. Hopefully, in March not only would we be able to discontinue this, but CORE would be able to repay the loan.

This is a truly noble gesture and CORE has to be very grateful, and very proud to have such people on its rolls. I believe we can honor this offer by its acceptance, and take the responsibility of doing so for CORE. I feel it necessary, however, to include the following stipulations in the agreement:

1. A full list of the names of participants and the amounts of their loans be forwarded to this office as soon as possible.
2. A scrupulous chronological record of dates, amounts and persons be kept, and a duplicate of it be forwarded to this office when each installment of the transaction is made.
3. Any person leaving the project before the end of the agreed-on period be paid in full.
4. The amounts be entered in your Louisiana account books as loans to the Louisiana Project.
5. The monies be repaid from expense advances received by the project.
6. Each person should have an insididual record which will be initialed by the person who collects the money for the project.

I hope these conditions are not burdensome. They are surely necessary if we are to operate this procedure in a businesslike manner.

A copy of this letter will go to James Farmer as a matter of propriety, but also because every CORE person should know of the unselfish act of these workers.

Sincerely,

Richard Haley /ds

Richard Haley
Southern Director

RH/ds

cc James Farmer

CORE
1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Post Office
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
December 9, 1964

Mrs. Henry
2217 Breard Street
Monroe, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Henry:

I certainly appreciate you informing me of the sum of $25.00 which is owed by two (2) members of the CORE Staff. I can assure you that I will see that the debts are paid.

Thank you.

Take care.

Best regards,

Ronnie M. Moore
Director of Louisiana

RMM/jmj

2217 Sicard Street
Monroe, Louisiana
November 28, 1964

Mr. Ronnie M. Moore
State Field Secretary
Louise Branch P. O.
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Moore:

I am writing to let you know the amount owed me by two of your CORE workers. This amount was promised me by Mr. Gordon for both he and Mr. Green. So far I have not received it. Any assistance you can give me in securing this amount will be appreciated.

	Room Rent	Meals	Laundry	total
Spivey Gordon –	$ 11.00	(4) @ .75 – $ 3.00	$ 3.00	= $ 17.00
Willie Green –	5.00	(4) @ .75 – $ 3.00		= 8.00
				$ 25.00

Thank you very much.

Yours truly,

My phone number is - FA 3-1061

Mrs. Mary A. Henry

CORE
1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Post Office
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
December 4, 1964

Mr. Richard Haley
Southern Regional Office
CORE
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Haley:

We received a check from National CORE for $677.00 and now our debts are a little less.

CORE's financial situation is indeed desperate. Serious consideration on retrenchment now and future expansion of staff and program must be based on our present financial experiences.

We in Louisiana are taking the following steps to maintain our program and to help bail CORE out of its national economic delemma.

(1) Eliminating our volunteer program.

(2) As of December 2, 1964, task force workers in Louisiana have agreed to lend National CORE $4.89 out of their checks of $44.89 every two weeks until March 11, 1965. This money is to be sent to Louisiana for project operating expenses like office rent, car note, phone, and office supplies every two weeks. $4.89 x 17 workers= $83.13 project expense check for Louisiana every two weeks. By the date mentioned above workers will have received six more pay checks. Therefore, National CORE will owe each worker by that date $29.34 totaling $498.78 for the staff. (Interest free loan).

(3) Needless to say, we are cutting down on telephone calls, travel, etc.

In spite of these limited means of implementation; voter registration, freedom schools, community centers, testing the civil rights bill, direct action, economic projects, etc., will go on in Louisiana.

By the way, Sir, please send us some cash post haste to pay the following bills.

Office Rent		$ 65.00
Car Note		71.71
Office Supplies and Equipment:		
Pelican Office Supply, Baton Rouge	$584.81	
Standard Office Supply, Baton Rouge	61.98	
Royal Furniture Company, Baton Rouge	53.32	700.11
Automotive:		
Moran Motor Company, Baton Rouge	36.88	
Robinson Brothers, Inc. Baton Rouge	33.37	
Bold Two-Stop Service, Jonesboro	4.00	
Long's Skelly Service Station, Monroe	9.37	
		83.62
Staff Expense Reports:		
Fred Brooks	82.72	
Spiver Gordon	5.97	
Ronnie Moore	42.47	
		131.16
Miscellaneous:		
East Feliciana Community Relief Fund Clinton, La.	250.00	
Mrs. Gladys Jackson, Plaquemine	97.50	
A & A Print Shop, Monroe	11.70	
Admiral Blueprints, Inc., Baton Rouge	6.95	
Western Union, Baton Rouge	3.04	
Ideal Drug Store, Baton Rouge	41.82	
		381.01
TOTAL		$1,426.90

Even if you accept the suggested loan from our subsistent wages, the above bills must be paid now. These bills are on demand and past due. A contribution toward payment of these bills will be greatly appreciated. Please accept our offer.

You have our deepest sympathy during CORE's hours of financial turmoil.

Yours For Freedom,

Louisiana Task Force

Ronnie M. Moore
Director of Louisiana Project

RMM/jmj
cc. - James Farmer
James McCain
Marvin Rich

BILLS ON DEMAND

January 6, 1965

Office Rent and Maintainence:			
Baton Rouge Office rent	$ 65.00		**Dec. 12, 1964
Baton Rouge Office rent	65.00		**Jan.12, 1965
Baton Rouge Office telephone	62.25 ✓		*Dec. 7, 1964
Monroe Office telephone	41.69 ✓		*Dec. 11, 1964
		$233.94	
Office Supplies and Equipment:			
Pelican Office Supply, Baton Rouge	$659.81		*Nov. 27, 1964
Standard Office Supply, Monroe	89.46		*Dec. 28, 1964
Royal Furniture Company, Baton Rouge	53.32		*Nov. 1, 1964
		$802.59	
Automotive:			
Payment on Comet	$ 71.71		**Dec. 30, 1964
Payment on Comet	71.71		**Jan. 30, 1965
Insurance payment for Comet	13.23		**Jan. 15, 1965
Robinson Brothers, Inc., Baton Rouge	48.31		*Dec. 28, 1964
Moran Motor Co., Baton Rouge	36.88		*Nov. 20, 1964
Bolis Two-Stop Service, Jonesboro	4.00		*Nov. 2, 1964
Long's Skelly Service Station, Monroe	9.37		*Sept. 3, 1964
Rose Oil Company	15.28		*Dec. 20, 1964
		$270.49	
Workers:			
Water bill for 2697 Sheldon, Baton Rouge	$ 5.28		*Dec. 14, 1964
Gas and electric bill for 2697 Sheldon, Baton Rouge	9.29		*Dec. 9, 1964
Telephone for 2697 Sheldon, Baton Rouge	7.60 ✓		*Dec. 2, 1964
Spiver Gordon	5.97		Due
Ronnie Moore	42.47		Due
Ronnie Moore	20.45		Due
Christine Wright	10.49		Due
Sharon Burger	10.10		Due
		$111.65	
Miscellaneous:			
A & A Print Shop, Monroe	$ 11.70		*Nov. 30, 1964
Admiral Blueprints, Inc., Baton Rouge	6.95		*Nov. 6, 1964
Western Union, Baton Rouge	3.04		*October, 1964
Ideal Drug Store, Baton Rouge	71.00		Due
East Feliciana Community Relief Fund, Clinton	250.00		***Nov. 28, 1964
Mrs. Gladys Jackson, Plaquemine	97.50		***Oct. 26, 1964
		$440.19	
TOTAL			$1,858.86

* last billing date
** date payment due
*** date last payment made

Balance on hand (as reported November 31, 1964)		$ 13.65
Service charge, December, 1964	$ 1.70	
Service Charge, December, 1964	1.14	
		$ 2.84
Balance on hand, January 6, 1965		$ 10.81

CORE
1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Post Office
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
January 5, 1965

Mr. Henry Amos
General Delivery
Jonesboro, Louisiana

Dear Sir:

I have just been made aware of the fact that Fred Brooks,and Willie Green, Jr., while employed by CORE borrowed a total of $40.00 from you. Although such a loan was not authorized by CORE, since it was made in the name of the organization, we are assuming responsibility for it.

Unfortunately, at the present time, CORE's financial situation is desperate. However, as soon as humanly possible, we plan to pay the forestated.

Thanks for your patience and understanding.

Sincerely yours,

Ronnie M Moore

Ronnie M. Moore
Director of Louisiana Project

RMM/jmj
cc.- Mr. Richard Haley
Miss Oretha Castle

File

CORE
1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Post Office
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
January 5, 1965

Mr. J. B. Balds
Balds Two Stop Service
General Delivery
Jonesboro, Louisiana

Dear Sir:

Recently, Willie Green, Jr., while employed by CORE had some repair work done on his car by you. Although such an expenditure was not authorized, since it was made in the name of our organization, we are assuming responsibility for it.

Unfortunately, at the present time, CORE's financial situation is desperate. However, as soon as humanly possible, we plan to pay the total bill of $86.45.

Thanks for your patience and understanding.

Sincerely yours,

Ronnie M Moore

Ronnie M. Moore
Director of Louisiana Project

RMM/jmj
cc.- Mr. Richard Haley
Miss Oretha Castle

File

CORE
1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Post Office
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
January 5, 1965

Mrs. Gladys Jackson
1500 Allen Street
Plaquemine, Louisiana

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

CORE's financial situation is desperate. We expect things to get a little brighter within the next two weeks.

I know that you are our friend. You have been very patient. However, Mrs. Jackson, we are just broke.

Your balance is $97.50. Our Louisiana project bills on demand total somewhere near or over $2,000.00. As soon as we get some cash on hand to do anything, I'll forward you something on the balance, if not the whole amount.

At this moment, I may be able to pay you but I'll never forget you and your tolerance and goodness.

Take care. Happy New Year.

Yours for Freedom,

Ronnie M. Moore
Director of Louisiana Project

RMM/jmj
cc.- Mr. Richard Haley
CORE
Southern Regional Office
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

BILLS ON DEMAND

Louisiana Committee on Registration Education
March 18, 1965

COPY

Office Rent and Maintainence:		
Baton Rouge office rent ($48.00/month due Feb. 12 and Mar. 12)	$ 96.00	
Baton Rouge office telephone (Date of bill Mar. 7)	138.86	
		$ 234.86
Office Supplies and Equipment:		
Pelican Office Supply, Baton Rouge (Past Due Account - Nov., 1964)	$509.81	
Standard Office Supply, Monroe (Past Due Account - Jan.)	75.47	
		$ 585.28
Automotive:		
Payment on Comet (Due Mar. 30)	$ 71.71	
Robinson Bros, Inc., Baton Rouge (Past Due Account - Dec., 1964)	28.31	
Garrard-Milner Chevrolet, Inc., New Orleans (Past Due Account - Oct., 1964)	12.15	
Champlin Petroleum Company (Past Due Account - July, 1964)	2.91	
Bolds Two-Stop Service (Past Due Account - Nov., 1964)	4.00	
Long's Skelly Service Station, Monroe	9.37	
		$ 128.45
Workers:		
Baton Rouge Freedom House -		
Telephone - Jan. 2	$ 13.17	
Gas and eletric - Feb. 19	14.71	
Water - Feb. 23	3.08	
Expense reports -		
Ronnie M. Moore (Feb. 4, Mar. 18)	12.05 33.92 } 45.97	
Judy Rollins (Oct. 31, Nov. 30)	47.20	
Sharon Burger (Dec. 31, Jan. 28, Mar. 15)	40.89	
Christine Wright (Nov. 30)	10.49	
Spiver Gordon (Oct. 28)	5.97	
		$ 169.43
Miscellaneous:		
A & A Print Shop, Monroe (Past Due Account - Nov., 1964)	$ 11.70	
Admiral Blueprints, Inc., Baton Rouge (Past Due Account - Nov., 1964)	6.95	
Western Union, Baton Rouge (Past Due Account - Oct., 1964)	3.04	
Flint-Goodridge Hospital, New Orleans (Date of bill Feb. 3)	9.00	
East Feliciana Community Relief Fund, Clinton (Past Due - Sept., 1964)	250.00	
Mrs. Gladys Jackson, Plaquemine (Past Due - Summer, 1964)	97.50	

Miscellaneous cont.:

Mr. Henry Amos, Jonesboro (Past Due - acknowledged Jan. 5)	$ 40.00	
Mr. J. B. Bolds, Jonesboro (Past Due - acknowledged Jan. 5)	86.45	
		$ 504.64
TOTAL BILLS ON DEMAND		$1,622.66

COPY

NATIONAL CORE OPERATING BUDGET - MARCH 1965

Prepared by: George Wiley, Associate National Director

Payroll	$ 30,000
Payroll Benefits	3,400
Rent-National Office	1,192
Rent-New York Reg. Office	125
Telephone (National Office)	3,200
Western Union	200
Supplies (National Office)	550
Equipment Rental (National Office)	550
National Staff Travel	1,500
Postage (National Office)	1,000
Pay Mail	300
Appeals	6,500
C.O.R.E. lator	1,000
Special Fund Raising	1,500
Assoc, Membership Campaign	1,500
Publications, Etc.	600
Legal	500
Field Sec'y Expense (North)	1,000
Southern Office (Operating Expenses)	1,300
Louisiana Project " "	1,042
Mississippi Project " "	1,400
Florida Project " "	140
Western Office (Operating Expenses)	500

$ 58,999 TOTAL

F I N A N C I A L R E P O R T

Louisiana Committee on Registration Education
February 1 - April 30, 1965

INCOME:

Balance brought forward			$ 3.03
Contribution from Montana	- 2/10/65	$ 102.00	
Contribution from Algonquin Civic Club	- 2/15/65	30.75	
Advance from Southern Office	-2/23/65	110.00	
Contribution from Baton Rouge	- 2/25/65	5.00	
Contribution from Ronnie Sigal	- 3/26/65	60.00	
" " " "	- 3/26/65	46.00	
" " " "	- 4/1/65	24.00	
" " " "	- 4/1/65	14.00	
" " " "	- 4/10/65	242.84	
Advance from Southern Office	- 4/13/65	300.00	
" " " "	- 4/15/65	200.00	
Contribution from John G. Lewis & friends, Baton Rouge	- 4/15/65	475.00	
TOT		$1,609.59	
TOTAL			$1,612.62

DISBURSEMENTS:

Order of:	Nature:	Amount:	Ck. NO.:
Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co.	Baton Rouge office phone	$ 45.51	283
Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co.	Monroe office phone	2.78	284
Baton Rouge Water Works Co.	water - 2697 Sheldon	4.52	285
Gulf States Utilities Company	gas and electric - 2697 Sheldon	32.46	286
Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co.	telephone - 2697 Sheldon	26.95	287
Julius Kleinpeter	rent - 2697 Sheldon	15.00	288
United States Fidelity & Guaranty Co.	1 year insurance on Comet	110.00	289
Royal Furniture Company	balance on account (office equipment)	53.32	290
Ben Brown	pmt. of loan for B. R. phone bill	54.76	291
Julius Kleinpeter	rent - 2697 Sheldon	35.00	292
Ronnie M. Moore	payment of deficit	45.97	293
Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co.	Monroe office phone	17.11	294
Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co.	Baton Rouge office phone	138.86	295
Baton Rouge Water Works Co.	water - 2697 Sheldon	5.80	296
Gulf States Utilities Company	gas and electric - 2697 Sheldon	27.87	297
Claudia Edwards	bus fare in Shreveport	10.00	298
Julius Kleinpeter	telephone - 2697 Sheldon	92.00	299
Dr. George A. Butler	B. R. office rent (Feb. 12 - May 12)	120.00	300
Dr. George A. Butler	gas and electric - Baton Rouge office	9.96	301

LA. FINANCIAL REPORT - page 2

COPY

DISBURSEMENTS cont.

Order of:	Nature:	Amount:	Ck. No.:
Pelican Office Supply, Inc.	office supplies & equip. - balance	$ 509.81	302
Southern Bell Tel. & Tel.	phone deposit - B. R. "Freedom House"	25.00	303
Econo-Car Rental System	car rental	18.80	304
Kenny Johnson	Plaquemine rent for K. U. students	7.00	305
	VOID		306
Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co.	Baton Rouge office phone	133.97	307
Dolores R. Hebert	rent - B. R. "Freedom House"	60.00	308
		$1,602.45	

Bank charge for printed checks	$ 2.99	
Service charge - 2/11/65	.60	
" " - 2/25/65	.96	
" " - 4/10/65	.76	
	$ 5.31	
TOTAL		$1,607.76
BALANCE ON HAND		$ 4.86

Submitted by: Ronnie M. Moore
Ronnie M. Moore
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
May 7, 1965

sb

TELEPHONE EXPENSES - January - April, 1965

Louisiana Committee on Registration Education

Location:	January	February	March	April
Baton Rouge office	$ 45.51	$ 54.76	$138.86	$133.97
Baton Rouge Freedom House	26.95	8.34	33.43	50.51
Monroe office	*	*	17.11	**
	$ 72.46	$ 63.10	$189.40	$184.38

* January bill for Monroe office was paid by Oretha Castle and the amount should show on her expense report submitted to the Southern Office; February bill for Monroe office was paid out of a petty cash fund once maintained through small local contributions. The records as well as a small amount of money were kept in a small strong box which was stolen last month.

** Bill not yet received.

Note: Alexandria telephone bills are paid by the community. Jonesboro telephone bills are sometimes paid by the community; this month's bill has not yet been received. The Shreveport telephone was installed only this month; no bill has yet been received.

april 17, 1965
sb

[1965, May 31]

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

REPORT OF THE CONVENTION FUND RAISING COMMITTEE

PROBLEM

The Activity and service of the Congress of Racial Equality for which money is needed, fall into the following categories:

NATIONAL ACTION PROJECTS
REGIONAL ACTION PROJECTS
NATIONAL AND REGIONAL OFFICE OPERATING COST
STAFF SALARIES
STAFF TRAINING
CHAPTER SERVICING
RESERVES FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONAL FUND RAISING PROGRAM
EDUCATIONAL WORKSHOPS
NATIONAL CONVENTIONS
NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL AND STEERING COMMITTEE MEETINGS
LEGAL

Both the number of fund raising sources developed, as well as the amounts of funds raised to meet the above enumerated fiscal needs, are inadequate.

The number of sources for funds and the amount of funds raised must be significantly increased.

CORRECTIVE ASSUMPTIONS FOR CORE'S FUND RAISING EFFORTS.

CORE must broaden its base of fund raising efforts, to include other sources of potential funds. This will eleiminate CORE's relience on any particular community, and avoid having our funds reduced when various elements of the community becomes sensitive to some specific efforts that CORE is involved in.

In order for CORE to not have a built in sensitivity to white back-lash elements, it must develope its oun fund raising base with roots in the black community which has been referred to at this convention as an awakening giant.

(The following resolution was passed unanimously by the Convention)

Whereas the Congress of Racial Equality needs a consistently reliable annual source of revenue which would not only keep the organization viable, but which would endow the organization with that maximum degree of programatic mobility afforded only by adequate funds.

And whereas the achievement of programatic mobility is imperative to maintaining or enlarging CORE's present position of leadership in the movement.

And whereas there exists within CORE the intellectual and financial resources needed to develop an approach to a solution of CORE's monetary needs.

Whereas there also exists outside CORE, in the general community , an adequate number of sympathetic, and professional consultants in various fields related to fund raising, who would voluntarily assist CORE in the development of specific fund-raising programs.

And whereas CORE's internal resources, along with the external expertese it is able to enlist, when coupled with a concept of unified investigation and programming activity, can yield a comprehensive, contemporary, national fund-raising program.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT WE AS INDIVIDUAL ACTIVE CORE MEMBERS, AND WE AS CORE CHAPTERS, WE AS REGIONS OF CORE, WE AS A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION ALONG WITH ITS STAFF COMMIT OURSELVES TO THE IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION OF A TRULY COMPREHENSIVE, CONTEMPORARY, NATIONAL FUND RAISING PROGRAM.

This means that as an individual active CORE member, we can do the following:

(a) Each individual commit himself to sell as many associate memberships as possible.
(b) Each individual give a social affair.
(c) Person-to-person fund-raising among your friends, neighbors, and co-workers. Each person a one-man task force.
(d) Personal pledge to raise $200.00 in the next six weeks.
(e) Continuing periodical personal pledge to National CORE (preferably checks and money orders).
(f) Call on your local radio stations for fund-raising spots.
(g) Request to your local minister to take a special offering for CORE.
(h) Individuals who can call friends from the Convention stating the urgency of money for National CORE.
(i) Individuals could start a national nickel campaign for National CORE.
(j) Individuals could adopt a field worker.

This means that as chapters, we can do the following:

(a) Special mailings requesting a specific small amount of money for National CORE.
(b) Each chapter delegate at the convention give to Alan Gartner the names of any individuals who would give a gift of $1,000 or more to CORE. Or loan the organization a sum of $5,000 or more interest free.
(c) Chapters can sponsor immediate social events with all proceeds going to National CORE.
(d) Encourage people in the community to give affairs for CORE or donate funds. These groups could perhaps be sororities, fraternities, social and civic groups, churches, Masonic Temples, wealthy individuals...
(e) Send a contribution as a chapter to National CORE immediately.
(f) Send taxes in immediately.
(g) Sponsor a field worker from the South to aid in fund-raising efforts.
(h) Adopt a field worker.
(i) Enlist support of performers and performances to give one night's profits to National CORE.
(j) Have a crisis can collection, street and door-to-door, each weekend until the duration of this immediate emergency. (including bars, barber-shops, restaurants, etc.)
(k) Sponsor a theater group or musical group with all money going to National CORE.
(l) Sponsor or participate in radio and TV panels and end with an appeal.

This means that as a CORE region we can plan a Labor Day Weekend Regional Conference predominately concerned with fund raising, for the purpose of discussing specific methods of fund raising within the region and a rational determination of what allocations or division of funds between national, regional and local chapter levels of CORE.

This means that as a CORE staff person involved in community action projects, we will seek local financial support of such projects.

This means that as national office staff we can do the following:

(a) provide effective national support of individual, chapter and regional fund raising projects.
(b) Provide information to chapters as to when national officers are planning to be in their areas.
(c) Make contact with national Negro news media for coverage of CORE's new programatic thrust and the need of funds to carry it out.
(d) That Jim Farmer seeks appearance before Negro religious groups immediately.
(e) The full prestige and influence of the national office should be used in the recruiting of teams of fund raising consultants who would assist CORE in programming the abovementioned comprehensive contemporary national fund raising program in the following cities:

1. New York City, New York
2. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
3. Boston, Massachusetts
4. Washington, D.C.
5. Chicago, Illinois
6. Detroit, Michigan
7. Cleveland, Ohio
8. New Orleans, Louisiana
9. St. Louis, Missouri
10. Seattle, Washington
11. San Francisco, California
12. Los Angeles, California

CORE
Congress of Racial Equality

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURES
FOR YEAR ENCING MAY 31, 1965

Income:

General Contributions -- Individuala	$435,053.68
General Contributions -- Organizations	50,387.01
Income from Chapters	27,359.41
Miscellaneous Income	43,936.92
Grants	67,902.16
Other Fund Raising	60,927.48
Items for Sale	53,191.78
Income - Designated for Field or Raised in Field	63,514.35
TOTAL	$803,272.79

Expenditures:

Finance and Membership - Maintenance	$110,119.30
Finance and Membership - Recruitment	65,665.26
Other Fund Raising	64,725.46
Items for Sale	41,762.94
Administration	178,944.23
Public Information and Education	63,418.30
Legal Department	56,308.93
National Programs	70,325.88
National Projects	6,251.06
Training and Area Conferences	3,462.21
Northeast Region	33,297.64
Southern Region	262,950.49
Midwest Region	40,014.69
Western Region	26,085.75
TOTAL	$1,023,332.14

Excess of Expenditures over Income	$ 220,059.35

CORE
Congress of Racial Equality

Statement of Account, as of May 31, 1965

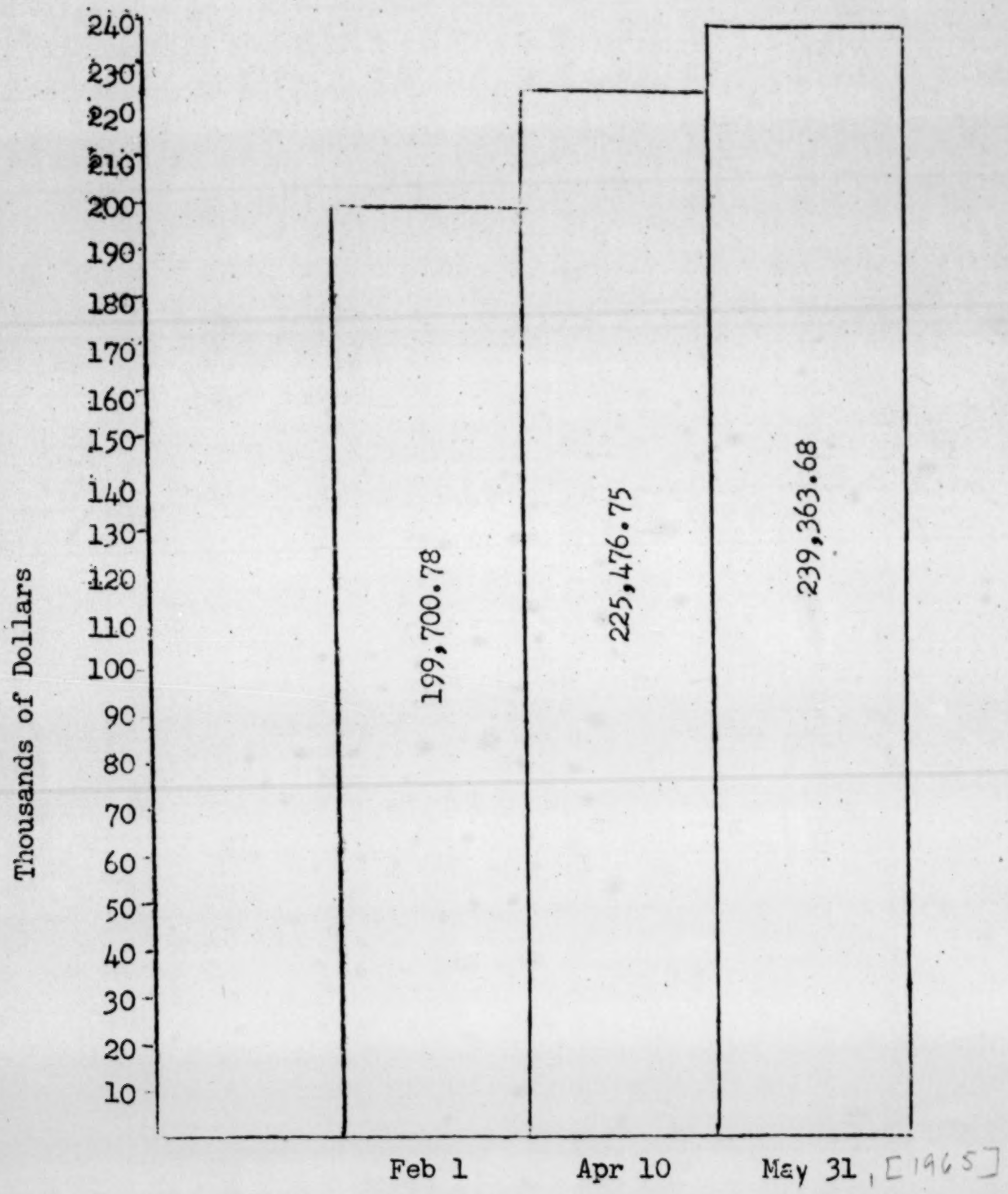
Assets

Cash			
Chemical Bank New York Trust (Deficit)			$5,458.05
Other Bank Accounts		$ 3,853.43	
Petty Cash Funds		225.00	
Western Union -- On Deposit		1,000.00	
Receivables			
Bail Bonds	$176,605.55		
Allowance for Loss	- 36,189.75		
		$140,415.80	
Expense Advances and Other Sundry Receivables		16,725.44	
Security Deposits		2,971.19	
Total Assets		$159,732.81	

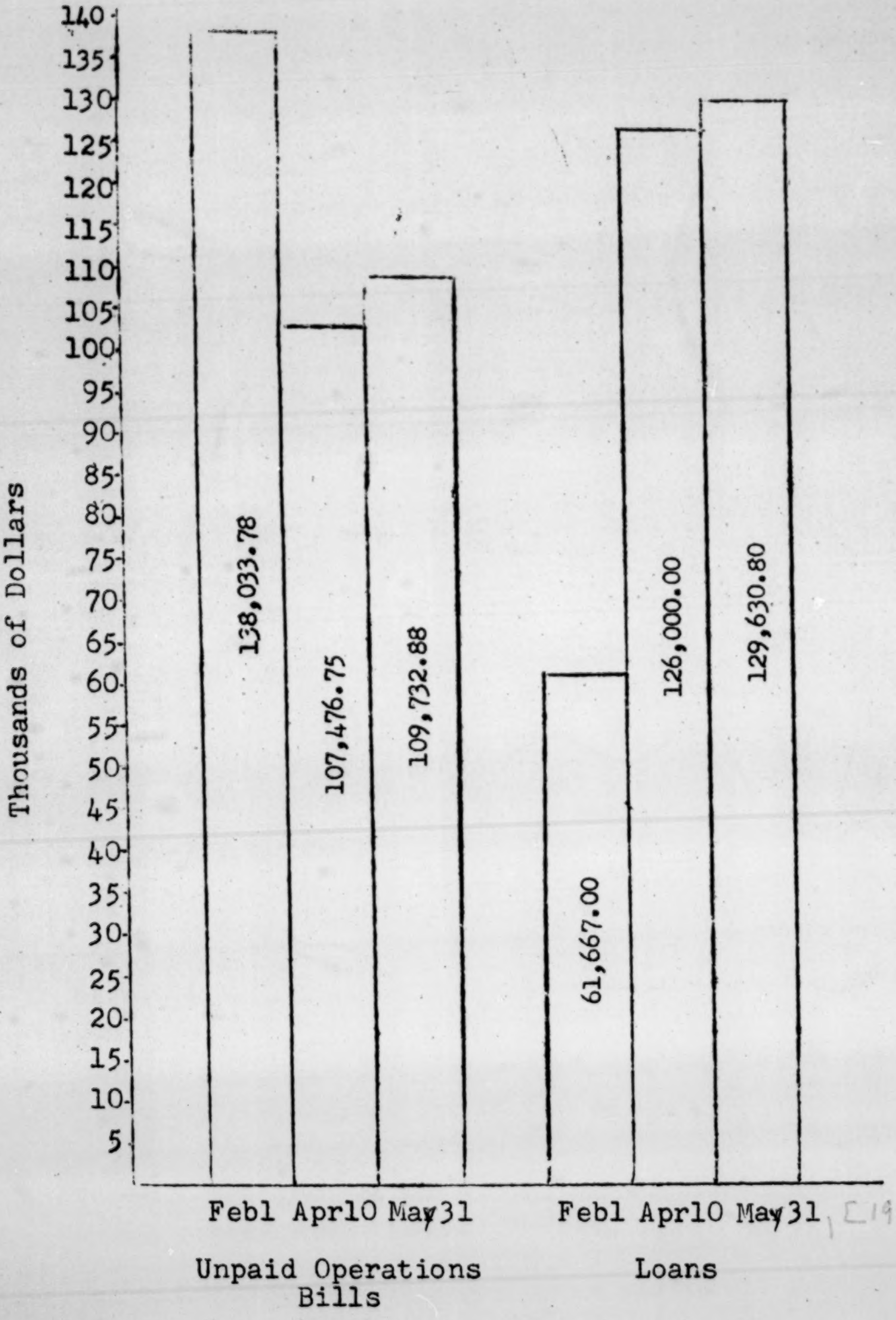
Liabilities

Withholding Payroll Taxes and Other Salary Deductions	$ 6,047.75
Due to Employees	6,705.55
Bail Bond Loans	135,013.00
Operational Loans	129,630.80
Grants -- Unexpended	84.39
Accounts Payable	91,521.53
Total Liabilities	$369,003.52
Net Worth, May 31, 1965 (Deficit)	$209,270.71
Net Worth, as of June 1, 1964	$ 10,788.64
Excess of Expenditures	220,059.35
Net Worth, as of May 31, 1965 (Deficit)	$209,270.71

Total National CORE Debt
(Including cash on hand and cash deficits.
Not including bail bonds.)



Debt of National CORE
by Type of Debt
(Not Including Bail Bonds)



[1965]

NATIONAL CORE INCOME BY MONTH FISCAL YEARS 1963-64, 64-65

(Rounded to nearest thousands of dollars)

Month	1963-64	1964-65	Difference
June	92	43	-49
July	59	102	+43
August	36	70	+34
September	65	88	+23
October	147	112	-35
November	107	70	-37
December	94	58	-36
January	59	48	-11
February	26	55	+29
March	59	63	+ 4
April	53	40	-13
May	81	58	-23
(Undetermined)	8		
TOTAL	886	803	-82

July 9, 1965

Congress of Racial Equaltiy
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
Alan Gartner
Director,
Fund-Raising Department

SPECIAL FUND-RAISING BULLETIN #1

Through the summer, we will put together "SPECIAL FUND-RAISING BULLETINS" to all chapter chairmen, field staff, national action council members and field project directors.

This newsletter will contain information such as what fund-raising events are being planned in various areas throughout the country, what progress is being made financially through these efforts, and workable fund-raising ideas.

In order to make this a useful vehicle for fund-raising program planning and an exchange of information, the bulletins will be open for suggestions and reports and announcements from everyone concerned nation-wide. Communications should be addressed to Alan Gartner at the National Office.

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Many people have brought up the suggestion that fund-raising should be more around program than around the financial crisis of an organization. Material on CORE program is available at the national office for anyone who requests it. This includes information on the three summer projects in the South, various Northern chapter programs (including political action, community organization, unioization, Freedom Democratic Movements, CORE community centers and freedom schools, etc.) If any of this would aid your fund-raising efforts, it's available.

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Income from CORE chapters last year totalled $27,359.41. (this does not include the special funds raised for Mississippi.) Of this total, 10 chapters raised $17,310.17; the single leader being Detroit CORE.

All of the chapters raised $18,232.99 especially earmarked for Mississippi. This was raised by 18 chapters, of which three raised $11,144.79; the leader being Bergen County (N.J.) CORE which raised $5,351.50.

71 of the presently 140 affiliated chapters have paid their $10.00 annual affiliation fee. That extra $690 would, for example, pay for the rental, insurance and maintenance of another car for work in the South this summer. 18 of the 140 affiliated chapters have turned in their annual 10% gross income tax.

At a series of staff meetings held during the convention, the staff- both those in the national office and those in the field- committed themselves to taking immediate steps to help with CORE's financial crisis. Some of these are detailed in the fund-raising committee's report, such as making efforts to maintain the project(s).

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Another proposel involves a serious personal evaluation by each staff member of the worth and importance of his job to CORE and the resulting cost to CORE of his or her being on staff. A number of staff members have decided that in the light of our current financial situation, they would seek to support themselves other than from CORE's funds, while continuing to work with CORE as much as possible. In this group are Oretha Castle, Rudy Lombard, and Matteo Suarez (Flunkey); the latter two are going to work on the docks in New Orleans two or three days a week to support themselves, and do community organization work for CORE in New Orleans the rest of the time. Several other members of the national staff have decided to take a voluntary cut in pay as a way to reduce the financial drain on CORE. Also at this staff meeting, each staff member committed himself to raise $1,000 each. Tony Riley was able to raise $7,500 before he left Durham.

Jim Farmer remained in Durham following the convention to work with Floyd McKissick, National Chairman, to raise funds in that area.

From the National Office, we have begun to contact people who responded to our last fund appeal - the one about Bogalusa (a copy of which is enclosed-we have plenty more of them if you want them) - and after telling them about the developments in Bogalusa, have asked them to run fund-raising events for us.

A large public dance will be given at the Rennaisance Ballroom at 138th Street and 7th Avenue on August 21st. Entertainment and bands are donating performances, and the ballroom has been promised us at a fantastically low rental.

This project is being run on their own time by Charlaine Shelto, secretary in the Legal Department and Switchboard operator, Marie Simmons.

CORE Business Manager Ed Day has reduced our cost of typewriters from $20 per unit to $9 per unit per month, for better typewriters. Also, he has improved our telephone service with two-thirds more 'phones, at a reduction in cost of extension of one-third.

Individual staff members are speaking at churches and other community groups for donations, giving fund-raising parties and requesting aid from their own contacts.

Switchboard operator Marie Simmons has already raised $200 by speaking at a church in Durham, North Carolina.

San Diego California CORE is having a raffle -- prizes include a color TV and a wig -- and then a GO GO dance.

Boston CORE is having a Freedom Folk Festival on the week-end of July 9th and 10th. They just held a successful "Freedom A GO GO" Discotheque.

Newark-Essex CORE is conducting an associate membership campaign in local churches.

At the convention, delegates pledged themselves to raise $200 each and agreed to get other CORE members back home to do the same. How about each delegate and CORE member sending 10% of that - $20 - in cash NOW.

B I L L S   O N   D E M A N D

Louisiana Committee on Registration
Education . . . . May 5, 1965

Office supplies: ($ 46.67)

Standard Office Supply, Monroe . . . . ($50 pmt. made May 3, 1965)	$ 46.67
Pelican Office Supply, Baton Rouge (purchases April 16, 19 & 27, 1965)	awaiting statement

Automotive: ($ 282.87)

~~Payment on Comet~~ . . . . (~~$71.71 due April 30 & May 30, 1965)~~	$ ~~143.42~~ VOID
Moran Motor Co., Baton Rouge . . . . (April service and purchases)	82.71
Robinson Brothers, Inc., Baton Rouge . . . . (last pmt. January 29, 1965 - no new purchases)	28.31
Garrard-Milner Chevrolet, New Orleans . . . . (October 13, 1964 - balance not paid by Nat'l Car Rental)	12.15
Champlin Petroleum Co. ; ; ; . . . . (statement from July, 1964)	2.91
Bold's Two-Stop Service, Jonesboro . . . . (service November 2, 1964)	4.00
Long's Skelly Service Station, Monroe . . . . (service and purchases - September 3, 1964)	9.37

Workers expense reports: ($ 139.06)

Christine Wright - 11/30/64	$ 10.49
Judy Rollins - 10/31 & 11/30/64	47.20
Sharon Burger - 12/31/64; 1/28, 3/15, 4/16, & 5/4/65	81.37

Miscellaneous: ($ 560.02)

A & A Print Shop, Monroe - 10/20/64	$ 11.70
Western Union, Baton Rouge - 10/31/64 & 3/15/65	12.73
F. A. Morgan Bonding Company, Baton Rouge - 3/29/65	25.00
Flint-Goodridge Hospital - 2/9/65	9.00
Dr. Gilliam - January, 1965	30.00
Ideal Drug Store, Baton Rouge	12.64
East Feliciana Community Relief Fund - September, 1964	250.00
Mrs. Gladys Jackson, Plaquemine - Summer, 1964	97.50
Mr. Henry Amos, Jonesboro - January, 1965	25.00
Mr. J. B. Bolds, Jonesboro - January, 1965	86.45

TOTAL	~~$1,028.62~~ $885.20

sb

STATEMENT

MORAN MOTOR COMPANY, INC.

701 SCENIC HIGHWAY
P. O. BOX 4568 AUDUBON STATION
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

Plymouth *Valiant*

RONNIE MOORE
9794 MERGANZER
BATON ROUGE, LA.

PLEASE RETURN THIS STUB WITH YOUR CHECK AMOUNT ENCLOSED $________

DATE	REFERENCE	CHARGES	CREDITS	BALANCE
	BALANCE FORWARDED			
SEP 29'64PS	9,098	16.48		16.48
SEP 29'64WS	24,977	3.09		19.57
OCT 27'64CR	212		3.09	16.48
OCT 27'64CR	212		16.48	.00
OCT 27'64WS	25,660	18.70		18.70
NOV 20'64WS	26,193	18.18		36.88
JAN 8'65WS	27,323	30.28		67.16
JAN 11'65WS	27,412	2.99		70.15
APR 6'65WS	29,729	28.94		99.09
APR 6'65	76	CR	70.15-	28.94
APR 7'65PS	3,464	16.48		45.42
APR 7'65WS	29,787	20.39		65.81
APR 15'65PS	3,635	16.90		82.71
MAY 17'65WS	30,798	22.82		105.53

MORAN MOTOR COMPANY, INC.
701 SCENIC HIGHWAY
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

PAY LAST AMOUNT
IN THIS COLUMN

ALL ACCOUNTS DUE AND PAYABLE 30 DAYS FROM DATE OF INVOICE

[illegible] ON PAST DUE ACCOUNTS

MARYLAND NATIONAL INSURANCE COMPANY
BOND DEPARTMENT
CINCINNATI 19, OHIO

FROM THE OFFICE OF
F. A. Morgan
~~120 MURRAY STREET~~ 130 St. Louis
~~ALEXANDRIA, LOUISIANA~~ Baton Rouge, La.
~~TEL. HI 2-0440~~

May 21, 1965

C. O. R. E.
1501 1/2 East Blvd.
Room 207, Butler Bldg.
Baton Rouge, La.

Attn: Mr. Ronnie Moore

To invoice you for the following:

Bail bond fee for Sam Barnes
22nd Dist. Franklinton, La.
on May 20, 1965

Bond Fee	$75.00
Agents Expense	7.50
Total	$82.50

Thanking you in advance, I am

Sincerely,
Vernon Raborn
Vernon Raborn

VR:eb

COPY

1501½ East Boulevard
Louise Street Station
Baton Rouge, Louisiana
July 20, 1965

Mr. Fred Williams
Temple Theater
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Fred,

Billy Brooks is working on a fund raising drive for CORE. He has been on the CORE staff since early this year, and we have fully discussed his present activities.

I am leaving today to visit the various projects in the state and will be out of the city for a few weeks. Since I will not be able to talk to you personally, I hope you will make all necessary arrangements with Mr. Brooks. As he has no doubt explained, our financial situation is extremely critical. We will sincerely appreciate any help you can give us.

Best regards,

Ronnie M. Moore
Field Secretary

RMM/sb

July 1965

Dear Friends of Freedom:

In the past few years CORE has been instrumental in bringing about certain significant changes in the area of race relations throughout the State of Louisiana. In Baton Rouge, parish officials who once used tear gas, beatings, police dogs, cruel arrests, and illegal criminal prosecutions to curb racial demonstrations are now attempting to implement the civil rights law of 1964.

In St. Francisville, Louisiana Negroes registered to vote for the first time in their lives.

Campaigns by CORE in Jonesboro and Bogalusa have forced Governor McKeithen to change his attitude from conservative to moderate.

No one can honestly disagree on the fact that the Congress of Racial Equality has made numerous significant contributions toward fostering the cause of democracy throughout the state and the nation. CORE plans to continue its work in Louisiana. On June 20, 1965 CORE increased its staff to nearly one hundred workers in the northern, central, and southeastern regions of the state, covering fifteen parishes. Our budget for this summer alone will be $44,472.50. We are conducting programs of community organization aimed at fair implementation of federal programs, enforcement of recent civil rights legislation, increased voter registration, freedom schools, community centers and other programs that will bring about the essential political and social changes indicated in order to insure equality for all Americans regardless of race, creed,

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or color.

CORE can not do this alone. CORE's project in Louisiana is in desperate need of funds. We need your help. Please give generously. National CORE has a deficit of nearly $210,000. If you don't give now our project may be forced to end any day. While others are losing their jobs, going to jail, being beaten, and in many cases such as those of Frank Morris of Ferriday, and O'neal Moore of Bogalusa, giving their lives; can you give a few dollars? Your contribution will buy food for hungry volunteer workers, pay for gasoline for cars, furnish bond for civil rights workers, pay medical bills for persons injured by bats, bottles, knives, and guns, and will cover the costs of other needs.

Let us work together! Please help us! Give now!

Yours for Freedom,

Ronnie M. Moore
State Project Director,
Congress of Racial Equality

[1965]

Dear Ronnie —

Sorry the money and books are so long in coming. The other $150 will be sent within the next week. The money and books were collected by the Ohio State U. Campus YMCA — so if you could drop me a brief note when you have the chance — I'll pass it on to them.

My best to you, Mike, Mimi, Judy and the rest of the gang.

Jeff Schwartz

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        *
  5.00
 50.00
 15.00
 10.00
  5.00
  5.00
  5.00
  4.00
  3.00

102.00s

 62.00

164.00*
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[1965]

BUDGET MONTHLY

I.	Baton Rouge Office		
	A. Telephone	$100.00	
	B. Transportation	80.00	
	C. Office supplies and miscellaneous	100.00	
		$280.00	$ 280.00
II.	Freedom School Operation		
	A. Rental of storage place	$ 45.00	
	B. Stationery and purchase of supplies that cannot be obtained as donation	75.00	
		$120.00	$ 120.00
III.	Automobiles Up keep of volunteers' cars (2 now in use), Clinton car, minor accidents, traffic violations, rented cars from National, etc.	$200.00	$ 200.00
IV.	Monroe Project		
	A. Telephone	$ 50.00	
	B. Office supplies and miscellaneous	75.00	
	C. Extra lodging costs for workers	25.00	
		$150.00	$ 150.00
V.	Caddo Project		
	A. Volunteer's car in use (gas only for month)	$ 80.00	
	B. Extra lodging costs for w orkers	$ 15.00	
	C. Stationery and miscellaneous	25.00	
		$120.00	$ 120.00
VI.	Alexandria Project		
	A. Transportation	$ 35.00	
	B. Stationery and miscellaneous	25.00	
	C. Extra lodging costs for workers	25.00	
		$ 85.00	$ 85.00
VII.	Clinton Area Project		
	A. Gas for Clinton car	$ 80.00	
	B. Stationery and miscellaneous	25.00	
		$105.00	$ 105.00
VIII.	Ascension and Iberville and St. James Project (good community cooperation)	$ 25.00	$ 25.00
IX.	Volunteers Subsistence (3 full time and a few part time workers).	$200.00	$ 200.00
	Monthly Total		$1,285.00